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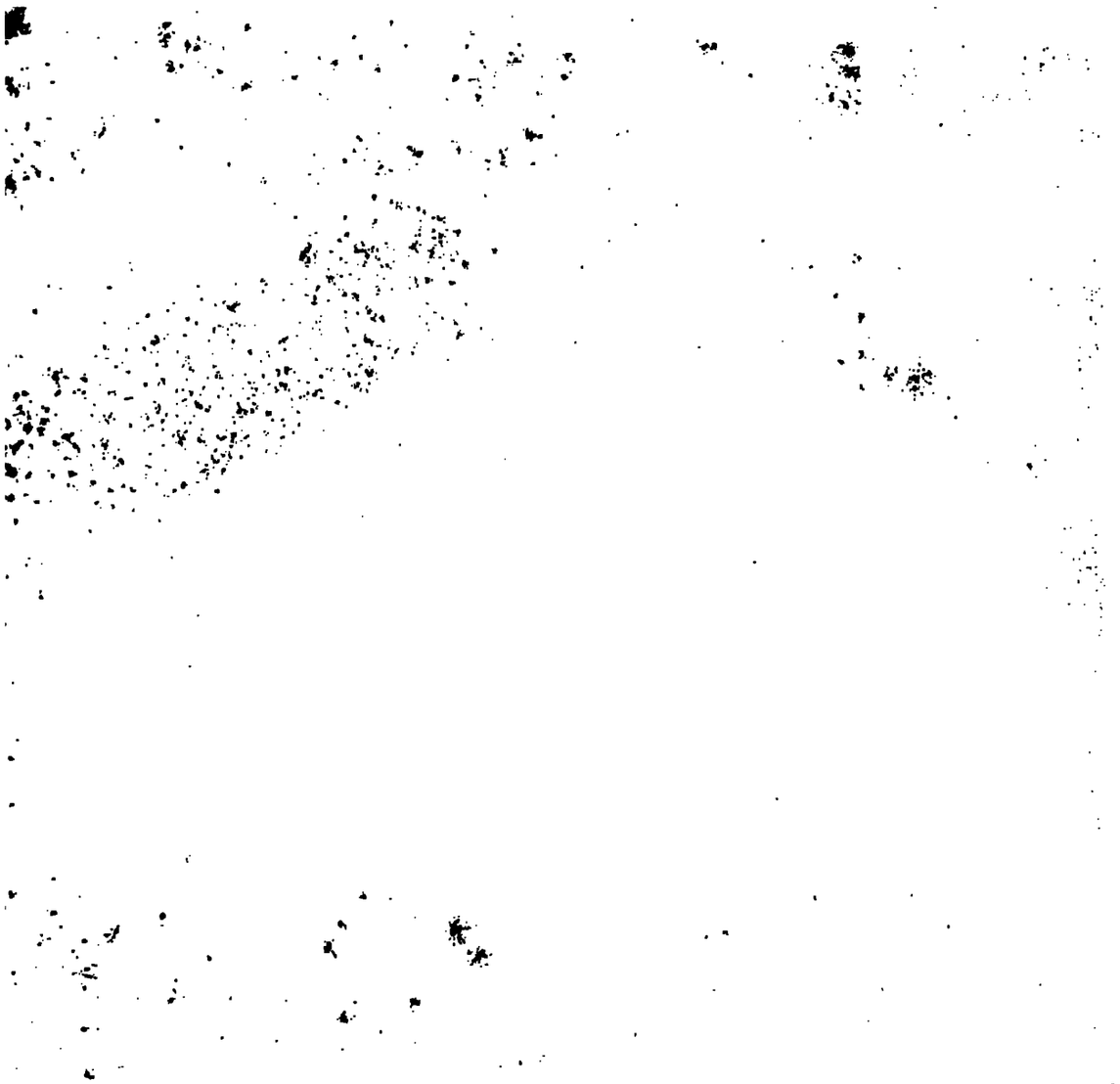
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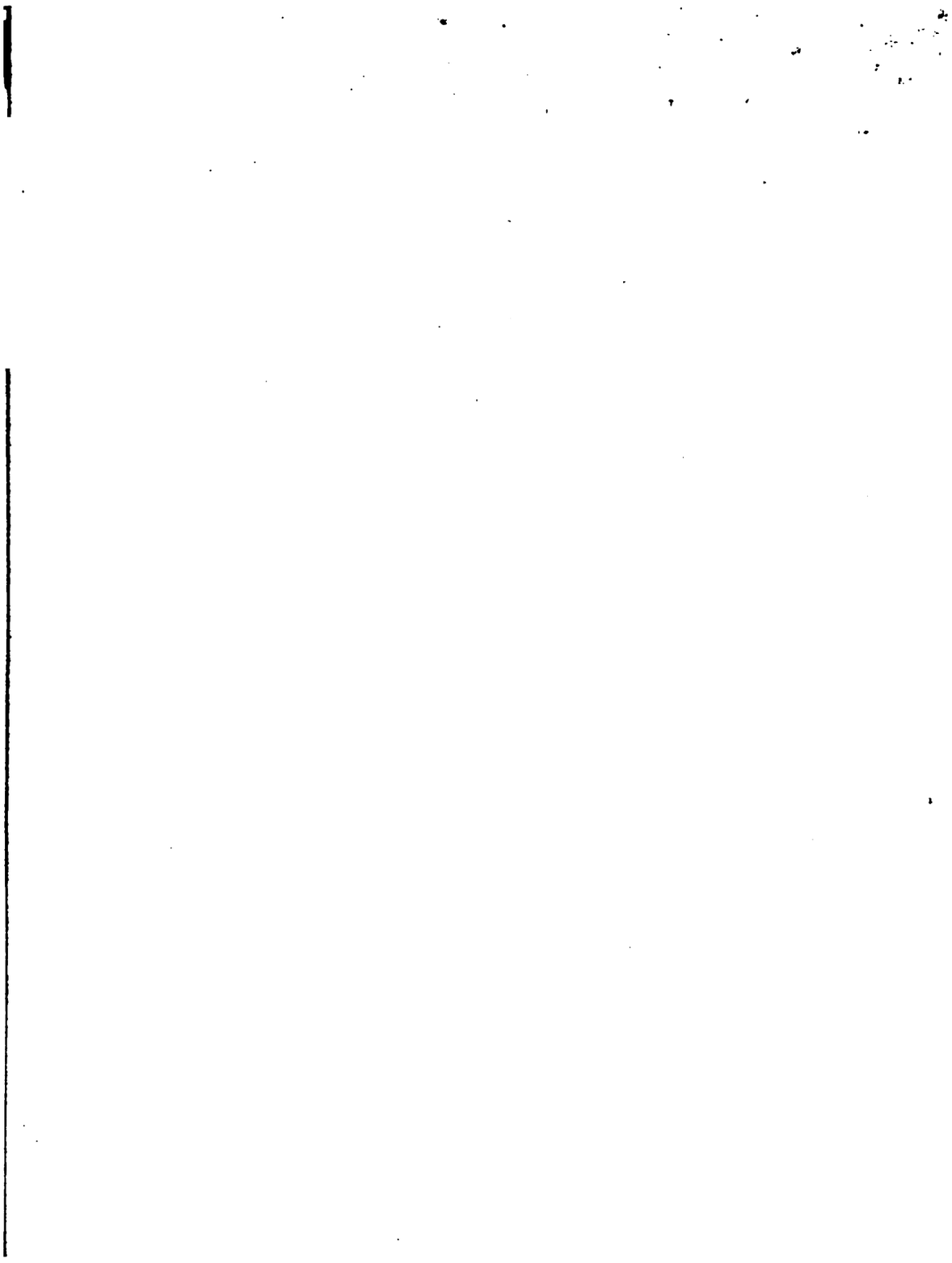
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ERRATA.

Page 164, col. 2, lines 2—3, *for* "the third of the Comneni," *read* "the next but one in succession to Isaac Comnenus."
Page 323, col. 1, line 32, *for* "Matthew of Paris," *read* "Matthew Paris."
Page 378, col. 1, line 3 from bottom, *for* "Pietro delle Vigne," *read* "Piero delle Vigne."
Page 511, col. 1, last line, *for* "reign," *read* "realm."

NOTE.

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THE CEREMONY OF FEUDAL SERVICE.

The Middle Ages.

CHAPTER I.

THE RISE OF MODERN EUROPE.

The Passing of Ancient into Mediæval History—Reigns of Arcadius and Honorius in the East and the West—Brilliant Services of Stilicho—Repeated Invasions by Alaric the Goth—Incursions of Radegast—Murder of Stilicho—Sack of Rome by the Goths—Deaths of Alaric and Honorius—Valentinian III., Emperor of the West—Genseric the Vandal and Attila the Hun—Desolation of Italy by the Barbarians—Odoacer, First King of Italy—Fall of the Western Empire—The Vandals in Southern Spain—Settlement of the Burgundians in Gaul and Helvetia—Temporary Independence of Britain—The Kingdoms of the Visigoths and of the Franks—Britain abandoned by the Romans—The Kingdom of the Suevi—Establishment of the Vandals in Africa—The Huns, Ethnographically and Historically Considered—Character of Attila—His Invasion of the Eastern Empire—Attila in Gaul—His Defeat by Aëtius—Subsequent Invasion of Northern Italy, Withdrawal, and Death—The Kingdoms of the Ostrogoths, Gepidæ, and Lombards—Death of Aëtius—The Beginning of Venice—State of Britain in the Early Part of the Fifth Century—The Country Harassed by the Caledonians—Arrival of the Saxons and other Germanic Tribes—Liberal Rule of Odoacer in Italy—Conquest of Gaul by the Franks under Clovis—Conversion of Clovis to Christianity—Further Successes of the Frankish Chieftain, and Creation of the Kingdom of France—Attacks on the Eastern Emperor by Theodoric the Ostrogoth—Defeat and Death of Odoacer—Succession of Theodoric to the Kingdom of Italy—Settlement of Goths South of the Alps—Jealous Opposition of the Eastern Empire—Extensive Power and Wise Government of Theodoric—Visit of the Gothic King to Rome—Prosperity and Happiness of Italy—Disagreement with the Eastern Empire—The Case of Boëthius and Symmachus—Death of Theodoric.

ANCIENT History, like all other great divisions of the human annals, faded gradually into that which followed it, instead of coming, as we are too apt to consider, to a sharply-defined stop, in order that something totally different might take its place. For some generations before the time of

Theodosius the Great, the distinctive character of antiquity had been yielding to new influences, and the forms of the Middle Ages appear to be dimly separating themselves from the chaos of a dissolving society. The spread of Christianity was undoubtedly the greatest of those influences; but there were others which contributed to the same result. When Constantinople was founded, it became the principal metropolis; and Constantinople was never a city of the true ancient world. The final division of the Empire put an end to the system which Julius and Augustus had methodised out of the vast disorganisation of the Republic: the monarchy of divine right, and the aristocracy of territorial possession, arose in its stead. From the successes of the barbarians were born the nations of modern Europe; and the shadow of Imperial dominion shrank before the wild Aurora of the North.

The reigns of the two brothers, Arcadius, Emperor of the East, and Honorius, Emperor of the West, were distinguished by the increasing strength of those insatiable tribes which had long threatened the Roman power with extinction. Arcadius was the mere creature of his favourites, and concluded an ignominious reign of thirteen years in 408. The influence of his wife Eudoxia was at once evil and unfortunate; and it was owing to her contrivance that the great Christian preacher, John Chrysostom, was so unrelentingly persecuted. Honorius presents a rather more respectable figure as a sovereign, but chiefly through his being served by a general of great ability and courage, the heroic Stilicho. That brilliant commander was himself of barbarian origin, being probably a Vandal by race. He had given proof of his soldierly qualities at an early age, and, during the reign of Theodosius (whose niece he married), had attained high rank in the army. As Honorius was only eleven years old on his accession to the throne, Stilicho acted as his guardian, and administered the affairs of the Empire in his name. He had to encounter a formidable enemy in Alaric, the ruler of the Goths, who, after devastating Dacia and Thrace, entered Macedonia and Thessaly in the summer of 395, and then, pouring through the pass of Thermopylæ, descended upon southern Greece, which experienced the full rigour of his hordes. The inroad was met by Stilicho in three campaigns; but the jealousy of Arcadius's ministers at length compelled him to withdraw from the territory of their master, who endeavoured to come to terms with Alaric. Three years later, the daughter of Stilicho was married to the youthful Honorius, and the influence of the great general was thus increased and confirmed. But the inroads of the Goths were only for a time arrested, and the years 402 and 403 saw Alaric in Italy. He was defeated by Stilicho, and Honorius celebrated a triumph at Rome in 404. On this occasion, gladiators fought for the last time in the public arena. A monk named Telemachus rushed forward to separate them, and was stoned to death; but an edict was issued shortly afterwards, by which these brutal shows were abolished for ever.

A fresh invasion of the barbarians, led by a Sclavonian named Radegast, who brought with him a mixed body of Vandals, Suevi, Burgundians, and Alans, followed in 405. This danger also was warded off by Stilicho, who justly earned the title of "the Deliverer of Italy"; but the defeated savages retired into Gaul in 406, and committed terrible havoc before they left the country. Italy continued for a short time longer to be protected by the genius and courage of Stilicho, who concluded with Alaric a treaty of peace and alliance, by which the latter entered the service of the Western Emperor; but Honorius was ultimately persuaded that Stilicho was conspiring to place his own son upon the throne. The result was that his friends were massacred, and that the general himself was dragged from the church at Ravenna, where he had taken refuge, and executed on the 23rd of August, 408. Before the close of the year, the Goths under Alaric had advanced to the walls of Rome, and the Senate, finding no succour arrive from Ravenna, where Honorius had for some time fixed his court, sent envoys to the victor to make the best terms possible. After a vain attempt at compromise, the Goths entered Rome itself (one of the gates of which was opened to them by the slaves), and the Imperial city was sacked, and partially burned, towards the end of August, 410. Laden with treasure, and accompanied by long trains of captives, the Goths departed for Southern Italy, and were about to cross into Sicily when Alaric expired at Consentia, in Bruttium. His successor, Athaulf, made peace with Rome in 412, and in 414 married a sister of the Emperor, who during the wars had been taken prisoner by Alaric.

Honorius died in 423, and was succeeded by the infant son of Constantius, an able general, to whom the late Emperor's sister, Placidia, was married after the death of her first husband, Athaulf. Valentinian III. being not more than four years old at the decease of his uncle Honorius, Theodosius II., the successor of Arcadius in the Eastern Empire, proclaimed him Cæsar at Thessalonica,

and for two years reunited the Roman dominions under one head. The reign of the third Valentinian, whose separate rule was acknowledged in 425, lasted thirty years from that date, during which the Western Empire was desolated by Genseric the Vandal and Attila the Hun, the second of whom acquired by his severities the title of "the Scourge of God." Valentinian was assassinated in 455 by Petronius Maximus, whose wife he had dishonoured, and Maximus himself was slain shortly afterwards during an insurrection of the populace. A succession of misfortunes marked the succeeding reigns, the best of which was that of Majorian (457–461), who at once defended his possessions from the Vandals and Goths, and gave his subjects an improved body of laws. Italy now became the sport of the Suevian chieftain, Count Ricimer, who made and unmade Emperors at his pleasure, and in 472 sacked Rome with every elaboration of cruelty. The last of the Roman Emperors was named, by a curious coincidence, Romulus Augustus, soon contemptuously changed into Augustulus, by which appellation this unfortunate and inoffensive person is generally known to history. His father was Orestes, a native of Pannonia, who had served under Attila, and who in 475 revolted against Julius Nepos, the reigning Emperor of the West, by whom he had been appointed to the chief command of the troops. Orestes, however, declining to take the Imperial power himself, suffered the army to confer it on his youthful son. Augustulus assumed the purple in 475, and in the following year gave up his power to Odoacer, chieftain of the Heruli, a German tribe, who had already been saluted by his troops as King of Italy. The barbarian soldiers in the service of the Empire had shortly before claimed a third part of the land of Italy, in addition to the enormous pay which they enjoyed; and this had been refused by Orestes, who retained the actual control of affairs. Odoacer accordingly led a great force against him, and, flying to Pavia, he was killed in the storm of that city. The conqueror advanced to Ravenna, where he received the submission of Augustulus, who sent in his formal abdication to the Senate. That illustrious body then addressed an epistle to the Eastern Emperor, Zeno, disclaiming the necessity, and even the wish, to continue the Imperial succession in Italy; and Zeno recognised Odoacer as a subordinate ruler, though not as a king, for the fiction of a Republic was still maintained. In the year 476 of the Christian era, the Fall of the Western Empire brought the line of the true Roman Emperors to an ignominious close; for the sovereigns of Constantinople, though calling themselves Roman to the last, eventually became Greek in their language, their traditions, and their ecclesiastical practices.

As the dominion of Rome was hastening to its extinction, several new nationalities were arising in various parts of Europe, in consequence of the barbarian successes. When Radegast invaded Gaul with his Vandals and other hordes, at the beginning of the fifth century, he effected, without intending it (for his designs went no farther than those of a pirate), the complete severance of that province from the Roman Empire. Retreating from Gaul, the Vandals, Suevi, and Alans entered Spain, in the south of which they established, for a few years, the Kingdom of Vandalusia, forming in modern times the province of Andalusia. The Vandals (whose name has become synonymous with the most extreme barbarism) were a people of mixed Teutonic and Sclavonian race; but the predominating element was that of the Teutons. The Burgundians, not caring to cross the Pyrenees, settled in the mountainous regions of Eastern Gaul and Western Helvetia, where Geneva became their principal city. In Britain, everything was in a state of turmoil, owing to the inroads of the Picts across the Roman walls, and the frequent landing of Germanic tribes upon the eastern coast. An attempt at independence, similar to that of a hundred and twenty years earlier, was made in 407 by a private soldier named Constantine, who, after securing his insular power, crossed over to the continent, and for a little while acquired the mastery of Gaul and Spain. One of his lieutenants, however, revolted against him, and both were overthrown by Constantius (afterwards son-in-law of the Emperor Honorius) in 411. Aquitania was conferred by the Western Emperor on Wallia, a Goth, who had helped him to expel the Vandals and their allies from Northern Spain. The province was thus added to the Kingdom of the Visigoths, which was founded in the early years of the fifth century, and included a large portion of the north of Spain, as well as of the south of France.

The Kingdom of the Franks was established by Pharamund in 418, and in the same year the Britons, who in 410 had been absolved from their allegiance by Honorius, besought the aid of that Emperor against the Northern barbarians. The Western Emperor contrived to send some legions to their assistance, and the invaders were driven back; but the Roman soldiers, after repairing the fortresses, quitted our island for ever. The Vandalic Kingdom in the south of Spain came to

an end in 429, and the territory was afterwards united to the Kingdom of the Visigoths, excepting a portion of Lusitania (Portugal), which, together with Galicia, in the north-western part of the peninsula, was erected into the Kingdom of the Suevi. The departure of the Vandals from Spain resulted from a new adventure undertaken by their chieftain, Genseric. During the childhood of Valentinian III., the Western Empire had been governed by his mother, Placidia, while the army was commanded by two able generals, Aëtius and Bonifacius, whose mutual enmity proved disastrous to the State. Boniface was Count of Africa, and, having raised the standard of revolt, he begged assistance from the Vandals of Spain. The native Spaniards, glad to get rid of such fierce intruders, lent their ships to carry them over the Straits, and in 429 Genseric landed in Africa with 50,000 men, who were soon largely reinforced by the people of Mauritania. Boniface was shortly afterwards reconciled to Placidia; but Genseric continued the war on his own account, and gained two victories over the Roman forces. In 439, he completed his conquest of the north of Africa by the capture of Carthage. He then established a powerful kingdom in that historic region, and conducted several expeditions against Italy, during one of which, in 455, Rome itself was plundered for fourteen days. But Genseric was not merely a successful warrior; he was also a religious persecutor, and, being an Arian, behaved with great cruelty to the upholders of the more orthodox creed. He defeated all attempts to reduce his power, twice burned the Roman fleets that were sent to attack him, and died at an advanced age in 477.

Attention must now be directed to the Huns, a large and important nationality belonging to that great Turanian race whom the Greeks called Scythians, but who are better known to the modern world as Tartars. They were a nomadic people, consisting almost entirely of warriors, huntsmen, and shepherds, and their origin is to be found in the wide eastern plateau of Central Asia. Their chief physical characteristics are seen at the present day in the Chinese, who come within the same general division of the human race. Various members of this ancient stock are scattered all over Northern Asia and Europe, and in many southern regions also. The Finns, the Magyars of Hungary, and the Turks, belong to the Hunnish race, which is to be found on the Sea of Japan, the Arctic Ocean, the Caspian, and the Euxine. The Alani, of whom we have already heard, were a tribe of the European Scythians described by Herodotus, and the Huns were closely related to them. It was these European Scythians who overran Media in the early days of that kingdom. It was against their multitudinous hordes that Darius the Persian conducted his expedition across the Danube; and the "royal tribe" attacked by the Emperor Trajan in Dacia probably consisted of Huns who had settled in the highlands of that country. The chief community of European Scythia is called by Herodotus the tribe of "the Royal Scythians," and the Huns of Attila were distinguished by the same appellation. The court and camp of this chieftain were entitled "the Royal Village," and they appear to have been fixed in that district, between Roman Dacia and Roman Pannonia, which the Empire was never able to subdue, though it received large settlements of Goths. The stronghold of Decebalus, the opponent of Domitian and of Trajan, was in much the same region as that of Attila, who hastened the ruin of the later Empire.

Before coming into collision with the Romans, the Huns, as already related, had waged a sanguinary war with the Visigoths of the Danube, who in the latter part of the fourth century were severely handled by their Turanian adversaries. In the "Niebelungen Lied" and the Norse Sagas, Attila is described as a warrior of almost supernatural qualities, whose power it was impossible to resist; and in later times he has generally been represented as a prodigy of horror. Both his power and his wickedness, however, have been a good deal exaggerated. He was, indeed, terribly stern where his designs required the exhibition of such a quality; but, when deciding causes from the judgment-seat, his justice was inflexible, and his personal habits were marked by sobriety and self-restraint. He succeeded to power in 434, when his father died, leaving two sons, himself and Bleda. Ancient legends affirm that an iron sword, worshipped by the Scythians as the god of war, was miraculously discovered by Attila, who, regarding this as a divine intimation that he alone was intended for the sovereignty, put his brother to death. It was not until seven years later that he made an attack on the Roman Empire, and even then the idea was suggested to him by Honoria, the sister of Valentinian III., who had been banished for immoral conduct. The Romans had already tested the martial qualities of the Huns; for Aëtius, the general of Placidia, was aided by 60,000 of the race in various military operations. Attila was treacherously invited across the Danube in 441, and announced his approach by a proclamation, in which he described himself

as "Attila, descendant of the great Nimrod; nurtured in Engaddi; by the grace of God, King of the Huns, the Goths, the Danes, and the Medes; the Dread of the World." This Scythian warrior boasted that where his horse's hoof once struck the ground, the grass never grew again; but his ferocity was certainly not equal to that of many other Oriental conquerors. The Illyrian provinces, however, suffered for years from the attacks of the barbarians, and the Eastern Emperor, after a dastardly attempt to procure the assassination of Attila, which the latter generously forgave, at length obtained peace by ceding to the Huns a large territory south of the Danube. This was in 449, and the following year saw the death of the Eastern Emperor, Theodosius II., who had distinguished himself by a brilliant war with the Persian king, Varanes V., and by the compilation of a great body of Roman law, issued in 438 under the title of "The Theodosian Code."

The Eastern Empire would probably have suffered from the renewed attacks of Attila, had not the attention of the Hunnish chieftain been drawn away towards the west. The Franks of the Lower Rhine had recently extended their power over Belgic Gaul, and, on the death of their king, Clodion, the succession was disputed by his two sons. The younger was supported by the Romans; the elder sought aid from Attila, and the king of the Huns set out, in 451, on a march of seven or eight hundred miles, at the head of a large force, which he divided into three bodies. His right wing united with the Franks; his left attacked and discomfited the Burgundians; while the centre moved towards the Loire, under the command of Attila himself. An adroit movement of Aëtius compelled the barbarian to abandon the siege of Orleans, when, retreating towards the Marne, he formed a junction with his wings, and took up a position near the modern Châlons, in the plains called by the Romans the Campi Catalaunici. Aëtius had for his ally Theodoric, King of the Visigoths; and men of Gothic race fought on both sides in this deadly encounter. In the course of the battle, Theodoric was killed by a javelin; but the command of the Visigoths was gallantly taken up by the king's son Thorismund, who routed the Ostrogoths of Attila. The position of the Hun was now so serious that he retired behind his entrenchments, and placed his wives and children on a large pyre, which he was prepared to kindle if his position should be forced. To the prudent mind of Aëtius, however, it appeared that sufficient had been accomplished, and he persuaded Thorismund that it would be wiser to withdraw, and leave the invader to retreat without any further attack.

Attila made his way across the Alps to Aquileia, which he took, and then, after ravaging Lombardy, evinced a disposition to open negotiations. Leo the Great, Bishop of Rome, was in 452 charged with a mission to the conqueror, whom he found at his encampment on the Mincius, near the junction of that river with Lake Benacus. Attila listened with courtesy to the representations of the ecclesiastical ambassador, but did not at once relinquish his plan of marching on Rome. At length, however, his mind was influenced by a superstitious dread of attacking so renowned a city; perhaps also by the knowledge that his soldiers had been enfeebled by the warmer climate of the south. One of the legends of the Roman Church is to the effect that the Apostles Peter and Paul appeared before the haughty warrior, and menaced him with instant death if he rejected the proffered terms of their successor. In any case, an agreement was ultimately effected, and it was promised that, as the price of his withdrawal, Attila should receive the hand of the Princess Honoria, to obtain whom was one of the objects of his invasion. Before evacuating Italy, he threatened to return in still more terrible array if his bride were not delivered within the time stipulated. In the meanwhile, he married another woman, and expired on the very night of his nuptials by the breaking of a blood-vessel. The death of this renowned chieftain took place in 453, and his immense dominions fell to pieces immediately after. The German kingdoms of the Ostrogoths, the Gepidæ, and the Lombards, arose out of the ruins; but the Huns were still predominant in the south-east of Europe. The year following the death of Attila, Aëtius was slain by Valentinian, who, forgetting his great services to the Empire, conceived a jealous hatred of one whose popularity and influence largely exceeded his own. The intrigues of Aëtius against Boniface, whom he ultimately slew, are blots upon his character; but he was a man of conspicuous ability and courage, and both by his military genius and diplomatic skill delayed the extinction of the Western Empire for several years.

The invasion of Northern Italy by Attila resulted in the foundation of a Republic which in later days rivalled, to some extent, the grandeur and predominance of Rome, though after a different fashion, and by different means. A large extent of country to the north-east of the Italian peninsula had, from an early age, been distinguished by the appellation of Venetia; but the name of Venice ha

not until now appeared in history. When, however, Attila conducted his Huns across the Alps, and destroyed with fire and sword the flourishing



ATTILA ON THE PYRE, AFTER HIS DEFEAT BY AËTIUS.

cities of Aquileia, Altinum, Concordia, and Padua, several families thus deprived of their homes fled for refuge to a number of half-submerged and desolate islands situated at the head of the Adriatic. These islands were nearly a hundred in number, and, although separated from one another, and from the neighbouring continent, by very shallow water, were extremely difficult of approach, even to vessels of light burden, owing to the sinuous and mazy channels by which alone the passage could be made. In the middle of the fifth



ODOACER AND THE MONK SEVERINUS.

century, the forlorn and miserable archipelago could boast of only a few inhabitants, and the ground was almost entirely uncultivated. The fugitives from the mainland, however, gave in time a totally different aspect to the watery region they had entered. Two mercantile cities, named Rivoalto

and Malamocco, were founded by the emigrants, and from their subsequent incorporation Venice itself arose at a much later date. It was to this movement of the northern Italians, about the year 452, that we must ascribe the commencement of one of the most celebrated cities in the modern world. The Venice of the Middle Ages and of the Renaissance was a principal seat of commerce, of maritime enterprise, of naval power, and of that ornate civilisation which displays itself in splendid architecture, in sumptuous living, and in works of art. Attila knew not what he was doing when he drove the cultured citizens of Aquileia and the adjacent towns into a sandy and inhospitable desert, where, if he considered their case at all, he might have supposed that they would perish.

To much the same period must be assigned the commencement of those events which gradually converted the ancient province of Britain into the modern kingdom of England. After the final retirement of the Romans, in 418, the Britons managed their own affairs by the help of such experience as they had derived from a long subjection to the most consummate rulers of the ancient world. In the fifth century, a very fair degree of civilisation existed within the bounds of our island, from its southern shores to the more northern of the Roman walls. Londinium, Verulamium, Camulodunum, and Eboracum, were cities of considerable prosperity and some splendour; so also was Bath, the Aquæ Solis of the Romans. The land had been redeemed from much of the waste forest which at one time encumbered it, and the Thames was a highway of commerce then, as it is now. Left to itself, the country was for a time governed by the clergy, the nobles, and the municipal towns, and seems to have formed a species of republic, or perhaps a federation of small commonwealths. Its military position, however, was extremely weak, owing to two causes: first, the withdrawal of large numbers of the population, who followed the usurper Constantine into Western Gaul, and helped to establish there the independent kingdom of Armorica; and, secondly, the impressment of a considerable proportion of the British youth for service in the Roman legions when they finally retired.

The whole of the British population was now converted to Christianity, and theological questions engaged a great deal of attention. Pelagius, the celebrated opponent of St. Augustine, was a Briton of the West, whose real name is thought to have been Morgan; and his heresy (which consisted in denying the necessity of divine grace to the performance of good actions, and in the assertion of a power in man himself to obtain eternal happiness by the practice of virtue) excited so great an agitation in this part of Europe that St. Germain, Bishop of Auxerre, twice visited our island, to oppose what he regarded as a mischievous error. On the occasion of one of his visits, he was present at a battle between the Britons and the Caledonians, and is said to have materially assisted the victory of the former by his war-cry of "Hallelujah!" But, notwithstanding this temporary discomfiture, the barbarians proved a greater danger to their neighbours than the metaphysics of Pelagianism. The civilized communities were wanting in energy and martial spirit, and recoiled before the hardy and ferocious tribes who again and again made their way across the Roman walls, and devastated or seized the more fertile country to the south. About the year 446, the Britons addressed a piteous appeal to Aëtius for that assistance which they had been accustomed to expect from the sometime masters of the Western world. This humiliating document was entitled "The Groans of the Britons," and contained an undisguised confession of the inability of the people to protect themselves against their Northern enemies. It was here that the celebrated phrase occurred,—"The barbarians, on the one hand, drive us into the sea; the sea, on the other, drives us back on the barbarians."

The Romans were not in a position to render aid to their late subjects, and the Britons, in their extremity, turned to those Germanic races which had already effected some settlements on the eastern coast. The events of this period are extremely obscure, for there are no contemporary records, and we have to depend for our information on much later authors, who could do little else than repeat the popular traditions. The picturesque story of Hengist and Horsa, of Vortigern and Rowena, is now generally regarded as fabulous, or at any rate as only partially true. Yet it cannot be questioned that in 449 a body of foreigners from the northern parts of Europe came over to Britain, by invitation of the people themselves, and landed on the south-eastern coast. The Germanic colonisers of our island ultimately consisted of Saxons, Angles, Frisians, and Jutes—all of them branches of the Low German division of the Teutonic race. Their places of abode were in Holstein, Schleswig, and Jutland; but, even before their arrival in Britain these tribes went by the general name of the English people, although the term was more particularly applied to the inhabitants of Schleswig, whom the Latin writers called Angli. The first to arrive, in obedience to the call of the Britons, was

a body of Jutes and Frisians from Jutland, whose leaders were Hengist and Horsa. They landed at Ebbsfleet, then on the coast of the Isle of Thanet, but now an inland spot, owing to the retirement of the sea. In combination with the Britons, they defeated the Northern barbarians in a great engagement in Lincolnshire; but, after a while, quarrels arose between the Britons and their allies, which ultimately led to consequences very disastrous to the former. The foreigners assumed a dictatorial tone towards the natives, and large reinforcements of their countrymen arrived from time to time, in the hope of making a profitable settlement in the great island of the West. The Saxons, properly so called, landed on the coast of Sussex in 477, under the leadership of their chieftain, Ella. The Angles did not appear until 527; but from that time forward the Britons had to struggle, not merely for predominance, but for existence. Although we are accustomed to speak of the Saxon colonisation of England, the Angles were by far the most important of those Teutonic tribes which so powerfully affected the population of our country. They came over, indeed, in such large numbers that, according to Bede, who wrote in the seventh and eighth centuries, their original domain, which was south of Jutland, and which he calls Anglia, had remained waste ever since. But the further progress of the Germanic tribes in Britain, and the gradual subjugation of the earlier race after a prolonged and desperate struggle, belong to a later period of history, and must be treated in a subsequent Chapter.

Returning to Gaul, we find Theodoric II., king of the Visigoths in that country, assassinated in 466 by his brother Euric, who, crossing the Pyrenees at the head of a large army, subdued the greater part of Spain. Whatever his crimes, Euric was a warrior of great valour and capacity, and he reduced nearly the whole of Gaul. Odoacer, who completed the ruin of the Western Empire, and erected the Kingdom of Italy in its stead, sought his friendship, and resigned to him all the Roman possessions beyond the Alps. The conduct of Odoacer was, indeed, marked by greater generosity than was usual among the barbarian warriors of that time. He spared the life of the last Western Emperor, Augustulus, though the ordinary practice of those lawless days would doubtless have justified him in taking it; and, on dismissing him from the Imperial palace at Ravenna, he fixed his annual allowance at six thousand pieces of gold, and assigned the castle of Lucullus, in Campania, as the place of his retirement. While still a very young man, Odoacer heard a prophecy of his future greatness, which doubtless influenced his after life. Before setting out for Italy, it is said that he visited the hermit St. Severinus, dwelling in the valley of the Noric Alps, and was by him encouraged with the assurance of victory. His reign was characterised by vigour and wisdom. In 483—seven years after the fall of the Empire—he restored the Consulship of the West, and Italy was so well protected by his arms that for several years the surrounding barbarians did not venture to renew their attacks. The task of governing was one of extreme difficulty; for a long series of troubles had brought the land into a condition of the utmost wretchedness. The population was reduced, both in numbers and in spirit; many of the cities were in ruins; much of the land was desolate; and, as the usual supply of corn from Egypt and Northern Africa was no longer forthcoming, the people often suffered from famine, as well as from pestilence. Himself an Arian, Odoacer acted with impartiality towards his religious opponents; and it is doubtless a true observation of Gibbon that the silence of the Catholics (as the more orthodox Christians were called) is a sufficient testimony to the protection they enjoyed.

Euric, the king of the Gallic Visigoths, died in 485, leaving behind him an only son, Alaric, who was at that time an infant. The premature decease of Euric, and the absence of an efficient successor, were attended by memorable results. The Franks had already established themselves in the north-eastern parts of Gaul, but up to the present time were divided into two principal bodies, one of which—the Salian tribe—was situated in the island of the Batavians, and in the dioceses of Tournay and Arras, while the members of the other community were established in Belgic Gaul, along the lines of the Scheldt, the Meuse, the Moselle, and the Rhine. The possessions of the latter were shared by several kings belonging to the Merovingian race, descended from Merovius, the prince who was supported by the Romans in their contest with Attila. At the death of Euric, the reigning king of the Salian Franks was a youth of twenty, named Clovis (also one of the Merovingian line), who had succeeded his father Childeric five years before. His dominions were small, and his warriors inconsiderable in number; but his energy and military genius soon asserted themselves. He overthrew a body of Romanised Gauls near Soissons, and took possession of the whole country between the Somme and the Loire. He next conquered the Alemanni, who occupied both banks of the Middle Rhine, and in 496

appropriated their territory. Clovis (whose true Frankish name was Chlodwig) had married a Christian princess, Clotilda, daughter of a Burgundian sovereign. She used her influence for the conversion of her husband, and the desired event is said to have been brought about by one of those incidents which are repeated with suspicious frequency in the annals of the Middle Ages. In a battle with the Alemanni at Tolbiac, near Cologne, Clovis, being hard-pressed, offered to become a Christian if the victory were his. The Alemanni were routed, and Clovis was baptised, with some thousands of his army. It was to the orthodox section of the Christian world that Clovis allied himself, and he was accordingly saluted by Anastasius, Bishop of Rome, as "the Most Christian King," a term of honour which has ever since belonged to the sovereigns of France. The princes of the West were mostly Arians, and Anastasius not unnaturally placed all the greater value on the unimpeachable Catholicity of the new convert.

Renewing his warlike enterprises with fresh energy, Clovis conquered the Armoricans, and in 500 gained a great victory over the Burgundians, whose territory was situated towards the south of Gaul. The successful Frank then advanced against the Visigoths, whom he overthrew at the battle of Poitiers, in 507. In this encounter, the Visigothic king, Alaric, was slain by Clovis himself; but the people were allowed to retain a narrow tract of coast from the Rhone to the Pyrenees. The large and fertile province of Aquitania was now united to the kingdom of Clovis, and from this time the monarchy of France, as distinguished from the Roman province of Gaul, may be considered as established. The military power of Clovis was indeed so universally recognised that, in 510, Anastasius, Emperor of the East, bestowed on him the honour of the Roman Consulship. The Visigoths, humbled in Gaul, indemnified themselves by a series of conquests in Spain, where they continued to rule until defeated by the Saracens at the beginning of the eighth century. In the latter part of his life, Clovis took up his residence at Paris (formerly called Lutetia), where he died in 511. His great design of uniting the whole of Gaul into a single kingdom, under the rule of the Franks, was for a time defeated by his own division of his dominions among the four sons whom he left. But the end was ultimately attained, though not without considerable bloodshed and disturbance.

While these events were progressing in the West, the dominion of the East pursued an obscure career under the Emperors Marcian, Leo I., Leo II., Zeno, and Anastasius I. During the earlier part of the time, the prosperity of Italy was developed by the genius and prudence of Odoacer; but in 490 that able prince was attacked by an enemy who proved stronger than himself. This was Theodoric the Ostrogoth, a warrior descended from the royal line of the Amali, and born near Vienna in 455. His father was Theodimir, who, with his two brothers, ruled in Pannonia; but Theodoric had been brought up at Constantinople, where he was trained in warlike exercises, and derived some general ideas of policy, though his mind always remained untutored in literature and science. He returned to the Ostrogoths at the age of eighteen, when his father had become sole king of that people. The poverty of the nation was then so extreme that a piratical expedition was made against the Eastern Empire; but the invaders ultimately consented to be bought off by a gift of lands and money, coupled with the condition that they should defend the Lower Danube from all attacks. On his father's death, in 476, Theodoric succeeded to the throne. For some time he gave his support to the Eastern Emperor, Zeno; but, when his people were hard-pressed by their ever-recurring necessities, the frontiers of the Empire were devastated by their hordes. A precarious existence of this kind was unsatisfactory to a man like Theodoric, and he therefore proposed to the Byzantine monarch that he should march against Odoacer, and restore Italy to the Roman Empire. Anastasius was delighted to get rid of such dangerous enemies, and an agreement was drawn up, which, with an intentional vagueness, left it doubtful whether Theodoric should act as the lieutenant of the Eastern Emperor, or reign as an independent, though friendly, monarch.

The numerous attractions of Italy, whether as regarded its wealth, the beauty of its scenery, the charm of its climate, or the splendour of its renown, were familiar to the half-starved and nearly barbarous Ostrogoths. The war was highly popular, and the whole people, including women, children, and aged persons, set out, accompanied by a multitude of waggons, carrying such household goods as they possessed. Their march, which commenced in the depth of winter, extended over seven hundred miles, and entailed great hardships on the less robust. Theodoric, however, pressed on, crossed the Julian Alps, and entered the sunny peninsula of the South. There he was encountered by Odoacer, who, after sustaining three defeats, in 489 and 490, shut himself up in Ravenna. The position of that city was remarkably strong, and the Italian king, during a siege of nearly three

years, made repeated sallies from the walls, which spread dismay into the heart of the Gothic camp. At length, that which could not be accomplished by the arms of Theodoric was brought about by the pressure of famine. Odoacer listened to the piteous appeals of the citizens, and empowered the Bishop of Ravenna to negotiate a peace. The vanquisher of the Western Empire consented to yield up half his kingdom to the successful Ostrogoth, but a few days later was treacherously slain at a banquet. Thus, in 493, Theodoric became master of Italy, though at the price of a crime which it can hardly be doubted that he sanctioned, if he did not actually carry it out with his own hand.

It seems strangely inconsistent with this detestable deed that the reign of Theodoric, which lasted thirty-three years—viz., from 493 to 526—was marked by justice and humanity, and by a degree of considerate wisdom which confirmed the reviving prosperity of Italy. The conqueror, indeed, assigned a third part of the land to his soldiers; but he was undoubtedly bound to make provision for those who had accompanied him on a dangerous expedition, and it may be that an infusion of the vigorous Gothic blood into the effete Italian population was a benefit to the latter. The barbarian settlers received their lands on strictly feudal terms. They were to hold themselves at all times ready to follow their sovereign to the field of battle, and the peninsula was divided into several quarters, which were governed after the fashion of a camp. The Ostrogoths of Italy soon multiplied into a body of two hundred thousand men, who, while preserving their northern speech and martial prowess, acquired, after a while, some tincture of the elegant civilisation which still existed among the people they had subdued. The native Italians were ruled in a spirit of fairness and moderation, and every freeman enjoyed the protection of the laws. The practices of judicial combat and private revenge, which had been common among the victors, were steadily restrained by Theodoric; and, while the Goths were maintained in a state of efficiency as warriors, the Italians were employed in those arts of peace for which they were peculiarly adapted.

The position of Theodoric was speedily recognised by all the other sovereigns of Western Europe; and the Italian prince, through the various members of his family, contracted matrimonial alliances with the kings of the Franks, the Burgundians, the Visigoths, the Vandals, and the Thuringians. Rhætia, Noricum, Dalmatia, and Pannonia, were brought under a regular government; but the Emperor Anastasius viewed with jealousy the unexpected success of an enterprise which he had at first encouraged. He made war against one of the allies of Theodoric, and underwent a crushing reverse in 505. Four years later, he despatched two hundred ships to plunder the coasts of Calabria and Apulia, and the city of Tarentum suffered much from this unjust assault. Warned of his danger, Theodoric built a fleet of one thousand light vessels with extraordinary quickness, and their appearance near the scene of attack probably hastened the departure of the Byzantine ships. Peace was re-established soon after, and Theodoric was regarded as the arbiter of the West. When Clovis overthrew the king of the Gallic Visigoths, who was a relation of the Italian king, the latter protected his family and adherents, and by the firmness of his bearing placed some bounds on the ambition of the victorious Frank. At a somewhat later period, an inroad of the Burgundians was repelled, while, by the conquest of Arles and Marseilles, Theodoric established a communication with the Visigoths of those parts. The supremacy of Theodoric was gladly acknowledged by all the Gothic communities of Europe, and his authority was undisputed, not merely in Italy, but in the southern part of Gaul, in Spain, and in the vicinity of the Danube. To a considerable extent, though not in terms, the Western Empire was revived by this valiant Ostrogoth, whose sceptre maintained peace over a region which extended from Pannonia to the shores of the Atlantic.

"The life of Theodoric," observes Gibbon, "represents the rare and meritorious example of a barbarian who sheathed his sword in the pride of victory and the vigour of his age. A reign of thirty-three years was consecrated to the duties of civil government, and the hostilities in which he was sometimes involved were speedily terminated by the conduct of his lieutenants, the discipline of his troops, the arms of his allies, and even by the terror of his name." His wars, after the conquest of Italy, were chiefly wars of self-defence, and he appears to have been sincerely desirous of perpetuating a friendly understanding with the Eastern Empire, to which he paid a certain verbal deference, as to a realm possessed of more ancient and authentic powers than his own. From his royal capital of Ravenna, Theodoric ruled his vast dominions with the established machinery of the Empire to which he had in fact succeeded. For judicial and administrative purposes, Italy was divided into fifteen regions, where the principles and the forms of Roman jurisprudence were pre-

served. The civil administration was confined to Italians, whose national customs and ancient language were left undisturbed; and, by a remarkable unlettered barbarian; but, in all other respects, their condition was immeasurably better than it had been during many years of the later Empire.



TOMB OF THEODORIC, RAVENNA.

exercise of generosity, Theodoric appointed Tiberius to the office of Prætorian Prefect, for the very reason that he had been faithful to Odoacer. The Italians had, indeed, lost a third of their estates, and found themselves beneath the sceptre of an

In the year 500, Theodoric flattered the Romans by paying a visit to the ancient city of Imperial dominion. Much of the former grandeur of that mighty capital still remained unimpaired, and the simple mind of Theodoric was astounded at the

magnificence which he everywhere beheld. To his great credit, he appointed an officer to protect those works of art and antiquity, and by various edicts shielded the monuments of Rome from the ill-usage of Roman citizens themselves. The public games of an earlier day were still celebrated, though in modified and less sumptuous forms. The Gothic sovereign witnessed these celebrations with an affability which charmed the people; and the Senate and nobles were treated in a spirit of graceful flattery, not unbecoming one who by force of arms had succeeded to the greatest realm of the ancient world. Yet Theodoric refrained from transferring the seat of his government from Ravenna to the city of the Cæsars. Whenever his kingdom was threatened from the north, he removed his court to Verona, where he built himself a palace in a somewhat barbaric style; and here, as in other cities, he erected a large number of churches, aqueducts, baths, and splendid residences. In those golden years of safety and liberal rule, Italy became once more the most prosperous country in the world. Riches increased with reviving commerce; agriculture was pursued with extraordinary success; new mines were worked, and the Pontine and other marshes were drained and cultivated. Such was the sense of security that the gates of the cities were never shut, even by night; such was the honesty of the people, or the fear inspired by good laws vigorously enforced, that a purse of gold, according to the popular belief, might have been left unguarded in the fields, without any fear of its misappropriation.

The religious tolerance of Theodoric equalled the justice of his secular administration. He was himself an Arian; but the professors of the Catholic view, who formed the immense majority in his Italian dominions, were treated with respect and fairness. The Gothic sovereign, however, admitted no undue encroachments on his power. He asserted his supremacy over the Church, and the claim was acknowledged. When a dispute arose between Symmachus and Laurentius, as to which had been elected to the Roman See, both claimants appeared before Theodoric, in obedience to his summons, and it was by his edict that the dispute was settled by the choice of Symmachus. The prevailing character of this powerful monarch's rule was singularly creditable to one whose birth and training might easily have led to very different results. But there were shadows on the reign of Theodoric; and, equitable as the king usually was, he sometimes gave way to attacks of fury or suspicion. His soldiers, moreover, could not entirely deliver themselves from the violence which was natural to their barbarian natures; and the wealthy Jews of Italy were exposed to the fanaticism and cupidity of the Italian populace. The excesses of bigotry were, indeed, restrained and punished by the Gothic sovereign; but the unfortunate result was, that in the latter years of his life he became widely unpopular. He grew suspicious and morose, and resorted to the precaution of disarming the native Italians. These troubles were followed by a misunderstanding with the Eastern Empire. Theodoric required that the Arians in that dominion should be treated with the same fairness which he had himself shown to the Catholics; and, on this being refused, he prepared a mandate, to prohibit, after a certain period, the exercise of the Orthodox worship in Italy. One of the most painful incidents in the reign of Theodoric was that which terminated in the execution of the Senator Boëthius, and of his father-in-law, Symmachus. The former was a man of great literary genius and erudition, whose name is familiar to us at the present day as the author of an ethical work entitled "The Consolation of Philosophy." Boëthius was suspected by the king of intriguing with the Eastern Emperor for an invasion of Italy. He was accordingly imprisoned in 522, and wrote his philosophical work during this enforced seclusion. His execution, in 524, occurred under circumstances of great barbarity; and in the following year Symmachus was taken in chains from Rome to Ravenna, and put to death, in spite of his age, and his probable innocence of any design against the king. Theodoric was soon afterwards tormented with remorse for his cruelty, and, falling into a fever, confessed to his physician his repentance for the murders of which he had been guilty. He expired in 526, and, as he left behind him no male issue, Athalaric, the son of his daughter, nominally succeeded him on the throne of Italy, and Amalaric, another of his relations, became King of the Visigoths. The ashes of the great chieftain were enclosed in a porphyry urn, which may even yet be seen in the wall of the castle of Ravenna.

CHAPTER II.

THE WARS OF JUSTINIAN.

Reign of Justin I. at Constantinople—Reconciliation between the Greek and Latin Churches—War with Persia—Disastrous Earthquake—Death of Justin—Accession of Justinian I.—The Empress Theodora—Suppression of the Schools of Athens—Simplicius and his Friends—Discontinuance of the Roman Consulship—Factions of the Circus—The Nika Sedition at Constantinople—Rebuilding of the Cathedral of St. Sophia—Other Public Works of Justinian—Sufferings of the People—Wars with Persia, and Protection of the Frontier—Declaration of Hostilities against the Vandals of Africa—Early Life of Belisarius—His Rapid Successes in the Vicinity of Carthage—Defeat of Gelimer, the Vandalic King—The Triumph of Belisarius—Relations of the Spanish Visigoths with the Eastern Empire—The Ostrogoths in Africa—The Kingdom of Italy under Amalasontha—Invasion of Italy by Belisarius—Conclusion of a Truce, and Subsequent Renewal of the War—Belisarius Besieged in Rome by the Goths—Defeat of the Latter, and Retirement within the Walls of Ravenna—Invasion of Italy by the Franks—Admission of Belisarius to Ravenna—His Return to Constantinople, and General Popularity—Invasion of Syria by Chosroes I. of Persia—Successful Measures of Belisarius—War in the Caucasus—Antagonism of the Empress Theodora to Belisarius—Misfortunes of the Eastern Empire in Northern Africa and Italy—Rapid Conquests of the Gothic King, Totila—Belisarius again in Italy—Rome Taken by the Goths—Subsequent Occupation by Belisarius—Recall of the Eastern Commander.

For some years after the fall of the Western Empire, and the existence of the Eastern as an entirely separate dominion, the career of the latter was not distinguished by any notable events, or by the services of any remarkable genius. But we are now approaching a time when the sceptre of the East was wielded by a monarch of great ability and influence, who, for a large part of the sixth Christian century, made Constantinople the foremost city of the world. The origin of Justinian was extremely humble; but his advent to power was preceded by the elevation of his maternal uncle, Justin, a native of the wild and barbarous country of Dardania, afterwards included in Dacia, and now forming part of Bulgaria. Some time in the second half of the fifth century, Justin, in company with two other peasants of the same village, set out on foot for Constantinople, with the intention of enlisting in the Imperial army. Their strength and height recommended them to the reigning Emperor, Leo I., who enrolled them among his guards. Rising to wealth and honour under the rule of Leo II., Zeno, and Anastasius, Justin was, in 518, on the death of the last-named sovereign, elected by the soldiers to the supreme position. He was at that time sixty-eight years old, and not at all fitted, by education or training, for the duties of an Emperor. He therefore relied for the despatch of official business on the Quæstor Proclus, and he was also much influenced by his nephew Justinian, who, when his uncle ascended the throne, was about five-and-thirty years of age. He too had been born in the humblest ranks of labour, near Sardica (now Sophia); but his fortunes bettered with those of his relative, and he received a literary education at Constantinople. His power as a monarch may be said in some degree to have commenced before the diadem was actually placed upon his head; yet the events of the period from 518 to 527 must be associated with the name of Justin I., who was at least the nominal sovereign.

Justin is described as, for the most part, an honest and well-meaning man, though so grossly illiterate as to be ignorant (like Theodoric, the conqueror of Italy) of the very alphabet. But there are some grave shadows on his character and reign—shadows which fall equally on his nephew and adviser. A Gothic chieftain named Vitalian, who had revolted against Anastatius, and who still commanded a powerful army, was treacherously invited to a banquet at the Imperial palace, and there slain. A severe persecution of the Arians forms another blot on the rule of Justin; but against this should be set his attempt to effect a reconciliation between the Greek and Latin Churches. The See of Rome was gradually acquiring a position of great importance, and assuming to itself an influence over the West, which was ultimately equal to that of the Empire destroyed by Odoacer. For a military and political, it was substituting a spiritual dominion; but the steps by which this result was accomplished are not very easy to trace. The earlier Bishops of Rome were called by that title, and no other. They professed to derive their power from the Apostle Peter, to whom Jesus Christ himself had delivered "the keys of the kingdom of heaven," with power to bind and loose according as he pleased.* From Peter, when he was at Rome (if he was ever there at all), the mysterious commission, it was alleged, passed to Linus, a native of Etruria, who died in 68, and

* Matthew, xvi. 19.

from whom it was regularly transmitted to all succeeding incumbents. The Greek Church is said to have been founded by the Evangelist Mark, at Alexandria, about the year 60: it was ruled by a number of Patriarchs, the principal of whom was the Patriarch of Constantinople. The chronology of the early Roman Bishops is very obscure, and there is but little to relate of those who filled the chair down to the time which now engages our attention. At the Council of Nicæa, in 325, it was decreed that the Bishop of Rome should be Primate over all the religious bodies of those provinces which in civil matters were subject to the Vicarius Urbis, or Imperial Vicar of Rome. The division of the Empire after the death of Constantine tended to increase the separation of the Western and Eastern Churches which had already begun, and which resulted, not unnaturally, from differences of race, of tradition, of language, and of metaphysical ideas; yet the two must still be regarded as in some respects one Christian community, the final and complete division not occurring until the ninth century. When the Western Empire succumbed to the Goths, the power of the Roman Bishops increased with the diminution of all other authority. As yet, however, they were not called Popes, nor were they temporal sovereigns, but simply spiritual overseers, elected by the clergy and laity. The claim to exercise jurisdiction over kings and commonwealths was not made until a much later age; but in the time of the Emperor Justin the See of Rome was sufficiently strong to render an understanding desirable, and this was brought about in 519, when mutual concessions established a degree of harmony which had long been wanting.

It was the policy of Justin to stand well with Italy, and in 523 he resigned to Theodoric the right of appointing Consuls at Rome, which his predecessors at Constantinople had for some time past claimed for themselves. His great opponent was Persia, with which powerful monarchy Anastatius had waged an inglorious war, and which Justin now found himself obliged once more to encounter. No great success, however, distinguished his reign, and in 525 the Empire was visited by a tremendous calamity. An earthquake laid Edessa, Pompeiopolis, Corinth, and Dyrrachium in ruins, and completely destroyed Antioch. Justin was so much afflicted by these misfortunes that he threw aside his Imperial robes, put on sackcloth, and sought to propitiate the Deity by fasting and prayer. He also devoted large sums to the relief of the sufferers, and in this way added to his popularity as his reign drew to a close. Shortly afterwards, he fell into a state of physical and mental weakness, and in the spring of 527 made his nephew Emperor with himself. His death ensued about four months later, after a reign of nine years.

One of the first acts of Justinian, on receiving the crown from his uncle, was to marry the celebrated Theodora, who had previously lived with him as his mistress. Theodora was the daughter of a certain Acacius, who had the care of the wild beasts exhibited in the Constantinopolitan arena. In her youth she performed buffoonish parts in the theatre, and gave herself up to a life of venal profligacy. Justinian was attracted by her beauty and spirit, and, after an irregular connection, resolved that she should enjoy the dignity of Empress. To this union there were several obstacles. The mother of Justinian, and the wife of his uncle, were strongly opposed to such a match, and the death of the former is said to have been hastened by the determination of her son to wed Theodora. But a further difficulty presented itself in the shape of a Roman law which prohibited the marriage of a Senator with any woman of servile origin, or who had followed the theatrical profession. The law was set aside by a special edict of Justinian, and Theodora became the Imperial consort. Her husband even insisted on making her joint sovereign with himself in the actual government of the Empire; and some of the worst features of the ensuing reign were due to her advice and influence. As regards her moral character, however, we should bear in mind that the chief evidence to her discredit is in the "Anecdota," or secret history of the court of Justinian, written by Procopius—an author who has been suspected of exaggeration, and who certainly varied the tone of his works according to his convenience or his interests. Still, it cannot be questioned that Theodora was a woman of very indifferent character, and that her advent to power was in many ways a misfortune.

In the course of his reign, Justinian suppressed the schools of Athens and the Consulship of Rome. The once-celebrated Academies of the Attic city had declined from their original authority, and the Roman Consulship was simply a mockery of that power which at one time held so large a portion of the world in awe. Justinian acted from motives of policy which can be readily understood; yet one parts with regret from institutions which had formerly been so famous. The Athenian schools were closed in 529; the succession of the Consuls lasted until 541, when, without being actually forbidden, it was allowed to lapse. The abolition of the Academies was directed against the lingering relics of Paganism; for the schools which had once listened to the wisdom of

Plato continued to the last to expound those ancient forms of religion which Plato, indeed, endeavoured to spiritualise, but which he never denied. In consequence of Justinian's prohibitory edict, seven of the Athenian philosophers —of whom the most celebrated was Simplicius, the commentator on Aristotle, and a writer whose pure and lofty morals may be seen reflected in his works—quitted the Eastern Empire, and went into Persia, but, being offended by the intolerance of the Magi, soon returned. They passed the remainder of their days unmolested in Greece; but that they did not become the victims of bigotry is due solely to the noble disposition of the Persian king, Chosroes, who, in a treaty of peace concluded about that time, expressly stipulated that Simplicius and his friends should be exempted from the penal laws promulgated by Justinian against his Pagan subjects. The discontinuance of the Consulship was a necessary part of the Emperor's design to subject Italy, and Rome itself, to his dominion, and to re-establish, so far as it was possible, the Empire of the earlier Cæsars. But the Consulship was still supposed by the Roman people to retain its legal existence. From year to year they expected its restoration, and successive princes flattered the popular feeling by assuming the title of Consul at the beginning of their reigns. It was not until the time of the Eastern Emperor Leo VI., more than three hundred years after the death of Justinian, that the Roman Consulship was abolished by law.

Five years after the accession of the new Emperor—viz., in 532—Constantinople was disturbed by an insurrection of a very serious character, arising from an extremely trivial cause. The competitors in the chariot-races at Rome had been distinguished by four several colours—white, red, green, and blue; and the colours became, after a while, the distinctive symbols of certain violent factions, who took up the contentions of the arena as if they had been matters of the gravest importance. These insane rivalries were transferred to Constantinople. Political, and even religious, ideas were associated with the representative tints, although the connection with the hippodrome was never abandoned. All the principal cities of the Eastern Empire were disturbed from time to time by the sanguinary quarrels of heated partisans, and at length the evil acquired dimensions of the most alarming nature. The adherents of the green faction were suspected of an attachment to the family of Anastasius, the predecessor of Justin, whose soundness in the matter of religious doctrine had been called in question. The supporters of the blue division were devoted to the reigning Emperor, Justinian, and boasted of their unimpeachable orthodoxy. The Emperor had the folly to give his countenance to these turbulent sectaries, and even protected them against the legitimate consequences of their violence. The blues frequently attacked the greens at night, and slaughtered them with their poniards. Not only did the former escape all punishment for these outrages, but the greens, when they retaliated, were sent to execution, or driven into exile. Large numbers took refuge in woods and caverns, where they lived the lives of brigands, and from which they sallied forth to make irregular war upon society.

A terrible outbreak of popular fury occurred in the middle of January, 532, when the green and blue factions came into collision, but subsequently united their ranks against the authorities. The palace of the Prefect was burned; his officers were massacred; the prisons were broken open; and the metropolis found itself at the mercy of a horde of desperate miscreants. The forces of the malcontents, recruited from both the factions, and strengthened by all the thieves and murderers in the city, became at last so formidable that pitched battles were fought in the streets with the army sent to restore order. The fury of the populace was presently increased by the act of some barbarian soldiers, who, whether intentionally or accidentally, assaulted the priests in their zealous endeavours to restrain the conflict, and threw down the sacred relics interposed between the combatants. The military were attacked with still greater violence, and retorted by throwing fire-brands against the houses. Conflagrations now burst out in several parts of the city, and the Cathedral of St. Sophia, the Baths of Zeuxippus, and many other splendid buildings, fell a prey to the flames. The wealthier citizens escaped across the Bosphorus to the shores of Asia; but the terrible struggle continued for five days, and was at length terminated by the fall of two unpopular ministers. The rioters, however, were still far from content, and they conferred Imperial power on a nephew of the Emperor Anastasius. Justinian was preparing to fly, when the courage and resolution of Theodora restored him to a more manly frame of mind. Communications were opened with the blues, who agreed to act with the veterans of the army against the members of the green faction, the chief supporters of the rival Emperor. That would-be potentate and his adherents were assembled in the hippodrome, when they were suddenly attacked by two bodies of soldiers, who burst in from opposite points. The result was a frightful carnage, in which it is said

that as many as thirty thousand persons were slain. The principal leaders of the insurrection were afterwards privately executed, and for several years the hippodrome was abandoned as an accursed place. From the watchword of the rioters —*Nika* (overcome)—this terrible convulsion is known to history as the Nika Sedition.

Peace having been restored, Justinian undertook the reconstruction of St. Sophia, which had been destroyed once before, and which the Emperor now determined to rebuild on a scale of unexampled splendour. The architect was Anthemius, a native of Tralles in Lydia, assisted by Isidorus of Miletus; and the edifice was completed in about six years. Twenty years later, a portion of the dome was cast down by an earthquake; but the work was repaired by Justinian a little before his death. This famous structure still exists, though in the form of a Turkish mosque. It was contrived for strength and durability; but the humble bricks composing the mass of the building were covered with marble, jasper, porphyry, and other valuable stones, extracted from the quarries of Asia Minor, of Greece, Egypt, Africa, and Gaul, and glowing with a variety of splendid tints, the combination of which produces a brilliant effect, even at the present day. In the time of Justinian, and for many centuries after, a profusion of golden adornments gave additional lustre to the temple, and the vases and vestments used in the religious services blazed with the most costly jewels. The cupola of St. Sophia was a somewhat novel feature in edifices of this kind; but the entire dimensions of the cathedral were considerably less than those of several churches in the west of Europe, and the style of the architecture is open to objections on the score of taste and dignity. Among the other great works of Justinian must be reckoned the fortifications by which he endeavoured to protect the northern part of his European Empire from the attacks of the barbarians, and the long walls beyond the Crimea, designed for the security of that peninsula. Had he ruled a more warlike population, these defences would not have been needed: as it was, they did little towards checking the inroads of men who possessed the strength of numbers and of valour. The poverty-stricken hordes of the North repeatedly poured down upon the richer lands of the South, and the villas and gardens of the wealthy were pillaged and burned within sight of the very walls of Constantinople. These circumstances created a vast amount of misery among the subjects of Justinian, while, at the same time, the immense expenditure on military and ecclesiastical works added seriously to the general taxation. The result was seen in widespread discontent; and this was increased by the rapacity of the Prætorian Prefect, John of Cappadocia, who was deprived of his high position during the Nika riots, but who, being afterwards restored to favour by the Emperor, continued to oppress the people for more than ten years, until, having ventured to oppose himself to Theodora, he met with his final overthrow.

The wars of Justinian were numerous, and some were attended by important results. The first, which was with Persia, lasted about five years, and terminated in 533, after a manner highly discreditable to a great military Power. Justinian consented to buy a cessation of hostilities at the price of 11,000 pounds' weight of gold. The arrangement then concluded was ostentatiously entitled "the endless peace"; but the jealousy of the two Empires was not to be assuaged by flattering words. Peace had been purchased once before, in the reign of Anastasius; yet war broke out again, after but few years. The fortified cities protecting the Byzantine from the Persian Empire had for the most part fallen into ruins; but Anastasius founded a colony at the town of Dara, four days' journey from the Tigris—a post which was afterwards strengthened by Justinian, and which for more than sixty years presented an impregnable barrier, in that quarter, to the ambition of the Oriental monarch. The safety of the East being thus for a while secured, Justinian formed a project for attaching to his own Empire the dominions of Rome which had passed into the hands of the triumphant Goths and Vandals. The Eastern Emperor affected to believe that those possessions belonged of right to him, now that the Western Empire had ceased to exist; and he resolved, in the first instance, to invade the province of Africa, where the Vandals had established a powerful kingdom. His design was favoured by a revolution which had lately occurred in that sovereignty, where Hilderic, the reigning prince, had been deposed by Gelimer for favouring the Catholics at the expense of the Arians. Gelimer, who acted on behalf of the latter, threw Hilderic into prison; but the misfortune of one who had shown himself the friend of Orthodoxy furnished Justinian with a pretext for attacking the Vandalic kingdom, while the division of parties increased the probability of a successful issue.

The general appointed to the command of the Imperial forces was Belisarius, who had already distinguished himself in the Persian wars, and in the suppression of the Nika tumults. He was a

native of Germania, in Illyricum—that province, or assemblage of provinces, which furnished so many heroes to the declining fortunes of Rome. He appears to have belonged to the peasant class, though the meaning of his Sclavonic name—*Belitzar*, or White Prince—seems to denote an exalted origin at some earlier period. Coming to Constantinople, he was enrolled in the body-guard of Prince Justinian, as the Emperor Justin had in his youth been admitted to that of Leo I. Great dependence was placed upon his courage, acuteness, and experience, and he was provided with an immense force, both military and marine. The fleet sailed from Constantinople in June, 533, and cast anchor at the promontory of Caput Vada, about a hundred and fifty miles to the south of Carthage. The troops then advanced, without opposition, to Decimum, where the Vandals were defeated. From this point, a march of eight miles brought the invaders to Carthage itself—a city built shortly after the time of Julius Cæsar, and occupying about the same spot as the more ancient and more famous metropolis of the Punic commonwealth. Here the Vandal kings had fixed their court; but Gelimer did not care to defend his capital. Without waiting for attack, he fled towards the deserts of Numidia, and began to collect an army better able to cope with his antagonist than any he at that time possessed. He left behind him secret orders that Hilderic should be assassinated; but the accomplishment of this crime only rendered it the more easy for Justinian to appropriate the Vandalic territory.



JUSTINIAN. *(From a Coin in the British Museum.)*

Having entered Northern Africa as the avowed friends of the legitimate king, the victors could not, save by a gross breach of faith, have seized his realm while he himself still lived. They were under no such obligation to Gelimer; and, from that time forth, Belisarius regarded the Vandalic dominion as belonging to his Imperial master. The great cities of Leptis and Hadrumetum, and the small town of Sullecte, had already declared their allegiance to the Eastern Emperor, as the representative of that Power to which they had formerly been subject; and the conqueror entered Carthage itself at the head of his legions. The great majority of the people hailed his appearance with transports of joy. The Vandals alone

were cast down; but they received their lives from the conqueror, who protected the city from pillage. The fortifications of Carthage had fallen into decay under the rule of the barbarians; and Belisarius now caused them to be restored. Gelimer was shortly afterwards reinforced by his brother, who, having been previously despatched to the conquest



THE OLD WALLS, CONSTANTINOPLE.

of Sardinia, returned with a body of veterans. The king encamped in the fields of Bulla, four days' journey from Carthage; and here a great battle was fought, which ended in the entire defeat of the Vandals. Thereupon, Gelimer fled to the steep mountain of Pappua, near Hippo Regius, and Belisarius, having fixed his winter quarters at Carthage, sent a despatch to Justinian, informing him that in the space of three months he had conquered the whole province of Africa. The islands of Sardinia, Corsica, Majorca, Minorca, and Yviça, shortly afterwards surrendered to the lieutenants of the chief commander. The Eastern Empire thus received a large accession of territory, and at the same time acquired a reputation for military power, such as, until then, it could hardly have claimed.

Measures were speedily taken for organising the secular government of these new provinces, and a synod was assembled at Carthage, by which the Emperor's edicts for the suppression of the Arians and other heretics were warmly approved. Meanwhile, Gelimer was being blockaded on the mountain where he had taken refuge; but, in the spring of 534, having received assurances of safety, he surrendered to one of the officers of Belisarius, the general himself having by that time quitted Africa. His return to Constantinople had been hastened by injurious reports sent home by some of the commanders, who affirmed that he had formed a design for establishing a kingdom of his own in

the former dominion of the Vandals. He therefore hastily sailed for Constantinople with his guards, his captives, and his treasures. The suspicions of Justinian were removed by the prompt arrival of the hero, and a splendid triumph rewarded his services. This was the first ceremonial of the kind which Constantinople had ever witnessed, and which, at Rome itself, had been reserved for the Emperors alone since the reign of Tiberius. Among the interesting or splendid objects paraded before the people were the sacred vessels of the Jewish Temple, which had long before been removed to Carthage, and were now transmitted to the Christian Church of Jerusalem. Gelimer, clad in a purple robe, followed the procession with frequent repetitions of the words of Solomon, pointing to the vanity of all earthly things; while Belisarius, as if by his humbleness seeking to propitiate the jealousy of heaven, declined to ascend the triumphal car prepared for his reception, but marched on foot at the head of the soldiers who had helped him to his victory. The procession wound its way from the palace of Belisarius to the great enclosure of the hippodrome, where the illustrious general was received with special honours by Justinian and Theodora. He was declared Consul for the ensuing year, and, on the day of his inauguration, captive Vandals from Africa bore his chair upon their shoulders.

While the war in Africa was yet in progress, Gelimer had solicited aid of the Spanish Visigoths; but his prayers were denied, and Spain shortly afterwards became the scene of a civil war, in which the weaker candidate signed a treaty of alliance with Justinian, and gave up various cities to the Imperial troops. It would appear that these cessions were made simply as a guarantee for the repayment of any assistance which the court of Constantinople might furnish to the Spanish belligerent. But the places were retained for a period of seventy years, ranging from 550 to 620, and the people of the Western peninsula had reason to regret the hasty ambition which had called in a foreign power. Still more disastrous events occurred, at an earlier period, in Italy. The princess Amalafrida, a sister of Theodoric the Ostrogoth, was married to Thrasimond, the reigning king of the African Vandals. The fortresss of Lilybæum, in Sicily, was made over to the Vandals, and Amalafrida was accompanied to her new home by a thousand Gothic nobles, and five thousand soldiers of the same nationality, who assisted the Vandals in their wars with Mauritania. A sentiment of mutual distrust afterwards arose between the two races of barbarians. Large numbers of the Goths were suspected of a conspiracy for overthrowing the Vandalic power, and Amalafrida, having been cast into prison, was soon afterwards put to death. These untoward events created so bitter a resentment among the remainder of the Goths that they hailed the arrival of Belisarius with delight, and were gratified by the conquest and capture of Gelimer. It does not appear that they rendered any material assistance to the Byzantine commander; but their friendliness counted for something, and they not unreasonably hoped that it would be rewarded by the surrender of Lilybæum.

When this expectation was made known to Belisarius, he peremptorily refused to recognise its validity, and threatened that, if any warlike operations were commenced, he would re-annex the whole of Italy to the so-called Roman Empire of Constantinople. The Gothic kingdom of Italy was at that time administered by Amalasontha, the daughter of Theodoric. She had been married to a distant relation named Eutharic, who died not long after his union, leaving a son, Athalaric, who, on the death of his grandfather, became the nominal king, while Amalasontha acted as regent on his behalf. Italy at first prospered under her rule, and the golden days of Theodoric seemed for a time to have returned. But, as Athalaric grew towards manhood, he resented the restraints to which he had previously submitted, and a state of animosity arose between him and his mother. Partisans were not slow to range themselves on both sides, and blood was shed in a contention which was fraught with danger for the State. Athalaric died at the age of sixteen, from the effects of premature intemperance, and his mother, who had now made herself generally disliked by a resort to despotic modes of government, determined to retain possession of the supreme power, in conjunction with her cousin Theodatus. They ascended the throne together; but it was not long ere Theodatus caused the queen to be imprisoned in a small island on one of the Italian lakes, where in 535 she was strangled in a bath.

Encouraged by his success in Africa, Justinian now resolved to follow a similar course in Italy. He proclaimed himself the avenger of Amalasontha, declared war against Theodatus, and despatched Belisarius to Sicily, which submitted to his arms with scarcely the show of opposition. In the spring of 536, Belisarius crossed over to the mainland, and advanced to Capua. Here for the first time he met with an obstinate resistance, and might even have been foiled in his attempt to take the city, had not one of his soldiers discovered that an entrance could be effected through the dry

channel of an aqueduct. In the course of the night, four hundred of the Byzantine troops made their way through this secret passage, and, issuing forth into the garden of a private house, burst unexpectedly on the sentinels, and gave admission to their comrades outside. The inhabitants were spared by Belisarius, who generally exhibited a spirit of forbearance, and the reduction of Capua was soon followed by that of Naples. All this while, Theodatus had shown nothing but pusillanimity and incompetence. The offended Goths deposed him from his position, and he fled in terror along the Flaminian Way, but was overtaken by a nobleman whom he had injured, and who slew him as he cried for mercy. A distinguished commander, named Vitiges, was elected to the vacant throne; but he was compelled to signalise his accession to power by making terms with the victorious enemy. The distant possessions of the Goths were relinquished, and Rome was left with a small garrison to the mercy of the invader. To the ancient race of the Imperial city, the opportunity appeared favourable for at once expelling the barbarians, and crushing the Arianism which the Goths had supported, but which was hateful to the true Italians. They proffered their allegiance to Belisarius, and, on the 10th of December, 536, the great metropolis of the Cæsars passed under the jurisdiction of an Eastern Emperor.

The agreement of the Gothic king with Belisarius had simply the character of a truce, which was to terminate in the following spring. Accordingly, in March, 537, Vitiges crossed the Tiber at the head of 150,000 men, and laid siege to Rome. The army of Belisarius consisted of not more than 5,000 soldiers; but these were veterans, and he could also rely on the assistance of the people themselves. The Byzantine commander lost no time in improving the defences of the city. He repaired the walls, made the aqueducts impassable (so that the accident by which he had benefited at Capua should not be repeated to his disadvantage), drew a chain across the Tiber, and transformed the Mole of Hadrian into a citadel. The last of these works entailed the injury of a grand and venerable monument. The sepulchre of Hadrian and the Antonines was encrusted with Parian marble, and decorated with a multitude of splendid statues. The effigies of gods and heroes were now dragged from their pedestals, and flung on to the heads of the assailants in the ditch below. The attack was prolonged over many months, during which the besiegers lost an enormous number of their warriors; and when at length Belisarius received reinforcements from Constantinople, Vitiges was compelled to retreat. The attenuated ranks of the Goths crossed the Milvian Bridge in 538, but during the passage of that narrow way were attacked with the most disastrous effect. Many were driven into the Tiber, and Belisarius pursued the tumultuous flight with repeated and damaging blows.

Struggling back to the northern parts of Italy, Vitiges shut himself up within the walls of Ravenna, the surrounding marshes of which made approach extremely difficult to a hostile army. The whole of Italy submitted to the Eastern Emperor, but, after some months, the Goths received an unexpected succour from ten thousand Burgundians, who crossed the Alps, and joined the forces sent by Vitiges to crush the revolt of Milan. That important city was taken after a prolonged siege, and, in the spring of 539, Theodebert of Austrasia —one of the kingdoms into which the dominions of Clovis had been divided after his death—entered Italy with an army of 100,000 men. Neither the Imperialists nor the Goths knew on which side he would declare himself, and in the event he attacked both armies simultaneously. Each fled before the terrible assault, and the surrounding country was left in possession of the Frankish hosts. But these were soon exposed to an enemy with whose strength they had not reckoned, and whose attacks it was beyond their power to repel. The land had been desolated by many months of savage warfare; dysentery set in among the warriors of Theodebert, and one-third of their hosts were swept away. Belisarius now interposed with suggestions of a compromise, and the Franks were glad to repass the Alps into the country they had rashly quitted. Meanwhile, Vitiges remained within the fortifications of Ravenna, and persistently refused to enter the field against the enemy, though his troops greatly exceeded those of Belisarius in number. His position was invested by the Byzantine general, who scrupled not to poison the wells of the surrounding country, nor to fire the granaries on which Ravenna depended. The position of the city, however, was so strong that nothing short of starving out the people was likely to succeed; but Belisarius hoped to effect this result by straining the laws of war to the utmost. The Goths, incensed at the timidity of their king, and fearing that they would be reduced to extremities, offered to deliver the city to its assailant, on condition that he would forsake the Eastern Empire, and assume the position of an Italian sovereign. Belisarius temporised with these proposals, and, without making any formal promise of acceptance, led the Goths to suppose that he was ready to adopt their

terms. On an appointed day, the gates were opened to the Eastern commander, who, without striking a blow, entered Ravenna as a conqueror in December, 539. The authority of Justinian was established in the fallen city, and the young and vigorous among the Goths were enlisted in the service of the Emperor.

Notwithstanding this bloodless victory, or perhaps in consequence of his repeated successes, Belisarius was again exposed to the malicious suggestions of secret enemies. Justinian gave sufficient credence to the accusations to recall his general from Italy, under the pretext that the remnant of the Gothic war no longer needed ability such as his, that the Emperor was desirous of rewarding his services, and that he alone was capable of defending the East against the armies of Persia. Belisarius returned to Constantinople in 540, and at once attained the highest popularity, not merely by the brilliance of his achievements, but also by the dignity of his appearance, the suavity of his manners, and the thoughtful benevolence of his actions. The discipline of his troops was so admirable that no one had to complain of the slightest injury, and his private conduct was in all respects marked by the most rigid virtue.

The successes of the Eastern Empire under the military leadership of Belisarius aroused the jealousy of Persia. That country had for some years past been ruled by the famous Chosroes I., otherwise called Nushirvan ("the noble soul"), who succeeded his father Cabades, or Kobad, in 531.* After the "endless peace" of 533, Chosroes gave strict attention to the internal state and military resources of his kingdom, that he might be the better prepared, at some future time, to encounter the rival monarchy of Constantinople. The repeated victories of Belisarius alarmed the Persian king, and, without any excuse but his own apprehensions, he marched into the heart of Syria (one of the Asiatic possessions of the Eastern Empire) in 540. He met with absolutely no resistance from a people little fitted for the rough exigencies of war, and, having received the submission of a number of cities, which paid for their safety in gold or silver, he marched on Antioch, and took it by assault. The buildings of that splendid but unfortunate capital were given to the flames, and Chosroes retired with a large number of prisoners. His success, though not of a very dignified order, induced him to form more extensive plans for enlarging his own power, and reducing that of his rival. He conceived a project for sacking Palestine and seizing Constantinople, and the prospects of the Eastern Empire appeared sufficiently grave to require the despatch of its greatest commander into Asia. The mere presence of Belisarius on the borders of Persia was sufficient to cause the retirement of Chosroes, and by 542 Syria had been delivered from its invaders without the hazard of a single battle. After the recall of Belisarius, however, matters returned to their former state, and, in the war which ensued, fifteen Byzantine generals, successors to the invincible hero, were discomfited by a much smaller body of troops than that which they commanded. All might have been lost in that direction, had not the cities of Dara and Edessa successfully resisted the assaults of the Persians. Some of the Oriental nationalities, moreover, returned to the allegiance they had forsaken, and the two sovereigns entered into an agreement which for a time restored tranquillity. But it was not long before a new war broke out in that region of Mount Caucasus which in ancient times was known as the Kingdom of Colchis, and which more recently had been subdued by the Lazi. These people were converted to Christianity in 522, and consequently sought the alliance of the Emperor Justin. Their treatment was different from what they had expected, and in resentment they offered their allegiance to Chosroes. Very soon, however, they discovered that in taking this step they had committed a disastrous error. The Persians of the restored Empire had always been antagonistic to the Christians, and on several occasions had persecuted them with severity. Fire-worship was forcibly introduced into the territory of the Lazi, and the unfortunate people once more sought protection at Constantinople. Justinian sent an army into Colchis, and the war was marked by a frequent alternation of success and defeat on the side of each belligerent. Hostilities lasted from 549 to 561, when Chosroes renounced his claim to the sovereignty of Colchis, and the Eastern Empire, in return, consented to make an annual payment of 30,000 pieces of gold.

The recall of Belisarius, in 542, had been followed by some painful events. His wife Antonina, and the Empress Theodora, had intrigued against him, and on his return to Constantinople the hero was received with coldness and ingratitude, and with the imputation of grave, though indefinite, charges. Theodora, however, ostentatiously informed him that she had listened to the intercession of Antonina, and had granted him his life, with permission to retain a portion of those

* The Oriental form of the name Chosroes is Khosru. The form generally accepted by English writers comes through a Greek channel.

treasures which might justly have been forfeited to the State. It is said that Belisarius, who had exhibited an ignoble alarm before the receipt of this message, now gave way to an equally disgraceful transport of gratitude to his faithless wife and her friend the Empress. But the story as it stands is very difficult of belief, and it is evident that we do not know all the details, whether in favour of Belisarius or against him. During the Persian war, a rumour gained circulation that Justinian was dead, and Belisarius was accused of employing language unfavourable to the succession of Theodora. Even after the commutation of his sentence, he was fined to the amount of £120,000, and his popularity had now entirely disappeared. Subsequently, however, he was reappointed to the command in Italy, where the fortunes of the Empire had fallen to a low ebb; and he departed from Constantinople in 544, with the office of Master of the Royal Stables.

It was high time that something should be done to redeem the credit of the Byzantine arms in the West. The recent acquisitions of the Empire in Northern Africa had been temporarily lost, and were not redeemed till after many years of uncertain and tumultuous warfare. In the Italian peninsula, the Goths recovered their spirits with the departure of Belisarius, and soon found a leader of equal courage and capacity in Totila, the nephew of their late king, Vitiges. The energy of this new chief bore important fruits. The larger part of Italy submitted to his arms within a short period. He next blockaded Naples, which surrendered when it became manifest that no forces would be sent to its relief. The more southern parts of the peninsula were reduced with equal speed, and Totila then marched on Rome, which still held out, as if distrustful of the future. From his camp at Tibur, or Tivoli, the Gothic king sent a message to the Senate and people of the Imperial city, exhorting them to compare the tyranny of the Greeks with the blessings they had enjoyed under the rule of his countrymen. His representations were powerfully seconded by the recollection of a recent tragedy. During the rule of the Eastern Emperor, Sylverius, the Bishop of Rome, had been removed from his see, on a charge of treasonable correspondence with the enemy, and banished to a desolate island, where he died under strong suspicion of foul play. In other respects, the treatment of the Italians by the representatives of Justinian had been such as to create bitter memories in the hearts of the people; so that, when Totila offered them the alternative of a milder and more considerate rule, many listened with readiness to the words of one who had never been known to deceive. Nevertheless, Rome did not submit to the wishes of the successful chief, and the city was closely besieged by his numerous forces. When Belisarius arrived in Italy, he found himself in command of very inadequate battalions, and his appeals for succour were neglected at Constantinople, apparently with a view to ensuring his defeat. It was not until 546 that Belisarius was furnished with legions sufficiently numerous to take the field; but by that time Totila had obtained a grasp on the whole country, and was pursuing the siege of Rome with every prospect of success. The citizens began to suffer from the extremity of famine, and Bessas, who had command of the troops, used his power in an extortionate and dishonest manner. Belisarius, who had been temporarily absent at Dyrrachium, where he had collected as many troops as he could obtain, recrossed the Adriatic, and, rounding the southern shores of Italy, landed at the port of Ostia, a few miles south-west of Rome. Thence he made an attempt to relieve the city, but was driven back, and found further efforts impossible with the scanty forces at his command. In December, 546, the Goths once more obtained possession of Rome, which was given up to pillage, though the lives of the people were spared. Many of the grandest works of antiquity were destroyed by fire, and Totila, enraged at the long resistance which he had had so much difficulty in overcoming, declared that the Eternal City should be blotted out, and changed into a pasture for cattle. From this heinous design he was dissuaded by Belisarius; but, when he quitted the banks of the Tiber, he took with him the whole body of Senators, and at the same time exiled all the other citizens, with their wives and children; so that, for a period of forty days, the illustrious capital of the Western world was given up to veritable solitude.

Shortly after the departure of Totila, Belisarius sallied out from Ostia at the head of a thousand horsemen, swept aside the guard which had been stationed before the deserted city, and entered Rome in the course of February, 547. Erecting his standard on the Capitol, he gathered round him the greater number of his troops, and recalled the former inhabitants, who were almost starving in the various localities to which they had been sent. Measures were hastily taken for defending the ruined walls, and Belisarius determined to stake his fortunes on the maintenance or loss of the historic capital. By hasty marches, Totila arrived in twenty-five days from Apulia. The Goths attempted three general assaults, but were



ENTRY OF BELISARIUS INTO ROME.

defeated in all. Immense numbers of their best troops were killed, and Totila found himself unable to regain the splendid prize which only a few months before he had held within his grasp. The safety of Rome being now assured, Belisarius was ordered by Justinian to leave behind him a sufficient garrison, and depart with the remainder of his troops into the province of Lucania. Here he was unable to obtain any advantages, owing to the smallness of his force, which the Emperor persistently neglected to augment. In thus compromising the success of his arms in Italy, Justinian appears to have been influenced by the personal feelings of Theodora, whose jealous dislike of Belisarius was incapable of satisfaction. At length, in 548, the great Byzantine commander requested that he might be either provided with reinforcements, or recalled from his post; and he was permitted to return. The parsimony of the Government had compelled him to lay very heavy exactions on the Italian cities, and it is believed that some portion of the sums thus raised was diverted to his personal use. He was soon afterwards appointed to the nominal dignity of General of the East and Count of the Domestics; but, though permitted to enjoy a period of repose, his brilliant services and diversified adventures had not yet reached their termination.

CHAPTER III.

EASTERN AND WESTERN EUROPE DURING THE SIXTH CENTURY.

Second Taking of Rome by Totila—His Successes in Italy and Greece—Narses the Eunuch appointed to the Command of the Byzantine Forces—Defeat and Death of Totila—Slaughter of Roman Senators—Final Discomfiture of the Goths—Invasion of Italy by the Eastern Franks and the Alemanni—Great Victory of Narses—The Exarchate of Ravenna—Reconstruction of the Social State in Italy—Immense Loss of Life during the War—Degradation of Rome—Inroads into the Eastern Empire by Bulgarians and Sclavonians—Terrible Sufferings of the People—Defeat of the Barbarians by Belisarius, near Constantinople—Distrustful Conduct of Justinian towards Belisarius—Disgrace of the Hero, and Legends as to his Concluding Years—Deaths of Belisarius and Justinian—Character of the Latter—Legal Reforms of the Emperor—Confused and Degenerate State of the Old Roman Laws—The Justinian Code, the Pandects, the Institutes, and the Novellæ—Appearance of Comets—Frequent Earthquakes—Half a Century of Pestilence—Introduction of the Silkworm into Greece—Violent Extinction of Paganism—Invasion of Caledonia by the Scoti, or Scots—Spread of Christianity among the Picts—Advance of the English Race in Britain—The Heptarchy—Distribution of the Angles, Saxons, and Jutes in Various Parts of England—Origin of Provincial Distinctions—The Historic and Romantic King Arthur—Union of the English and British Races—The Celts of Cumbria, Strathclyde, Wales, Cornwall, and Bretagne.

RELIEVED by the departure of his great adversary, Belisarius, Totila again laid siege to Rome, and in 549 the city was once more treacherously betrayed into his hands. His fury against the grand metropolis of the West had now given place to a more reasonable feeling. Having sought the hand of one of the French princesses, he was told by her father, in reply, that the King of Italy was unworthy of that title until it should be acknowledged by the Roman people. This taunt made him redouble his efforts to take the city, and, when he had obtained possession, induced him to treat the people and their monuments with respect. The Senate was permitted to exercise its nominal functions, and the conqueror presided at the equestrian games of the circus. But the south of Italy had still to be subdued, and Totila quitted Rome with a large army, which he embarked on board four hundred vessels. Rhegium and Tarentum were speedily conquered, and Sicily was the next object of attack. The island was devastated by the Gothic hordes, who carried away with them immense quantities of gold and silver, together with cattle and other commodities. Sardinia and Corsica submitted without resistance, and Greece was invaded by the adventurous barbarian. For a long while, Justinian indolently viewed these conquests, of which he cannot have approved, but which, nevertheless, he took no measures to repel. At last, moved by the entreaties of Vigilius, the Bishop of Rome, and of the Patrician Cethegus, he determined to attempt the rescue of Italy, and gave the command to his nephew Germanus, who shortly died.

The expedition ultimately fell under the direction of the eunuch Narses—a person of remarkable ability, whose name stands out with vivid distinctness from the annals of the time. He had been brought up among the women of the Imperial household, and his diminutive body excited the

pity or the contempt of those who saw him. Afterwards he became the Chamberlain and private treasurer of Justinian, who perceived and appreciated the mental powers with which he had been gifted by Nature. He was employed in frequent embassies, and served with Belisarius during his first expedition to Italy, but ultimately quarrelled with that commander, and is said to have hampered his operations. When appointed to the command against Totila, he declined to accept it unless he were provided with an adequate force. Justinian consented, and preparations for the coming war were made on a large scale. The army which Narses collected on the eastern side of the Adriatic swelled to immense proportions, and Italy was invaded by a numerous and well-appointed host. Landing in the northern part of the peninsula, the Imperial commander marched rapidly towards the south, and encountered the enemy between Tagina and the sepulchres of the Gauls—a spot to which Totila had advanced from Rome. Both antagonists were desirous of bringing matters to an issue without delay. The expenses of the Byzantine army were ruinous; on the other hand, Totila feared that the efforts of the invaders would speedily be seconded by a popular rising and a clerical manifesto. A great battle was fought in July, 552, when Totila was completely routed, and shortly afterwards slain, as he and his comrades fled from the disastrous field.

One remarkable consequence of this victory was the almost complete extinction of the Roman Senate—that magnificent body of patrician legislators which had long governed the Republic, and which the Emperors generally respected, if only nominally. Totila, as we have seen, banished the Senators to various places; but now that the fierce Goth was dead, the proscribed Fathers endeavoured to return. Some of the barbarian forces, however, intercepted their passage, and large numbers were slaughtered. The Roman nobles still claimed for themselves the title of Senators; but, from the time of Narses, the Senatorial institution itself gives only the faintest and rarest signs of its existence. The massacre of the legislators was, for the present, the last act of the Goths in Southern Italy. Having chosen Teias as their leader, they retired beyond the Po, and opened negotiations with the Franks, whose aid they purchased. A new army was brought together, and Teias led his forces to the relief of his brother Aligern, who was guarding a portion of the royal treasure at Cumæ, in Campania. His hurried march through a great portion of the peninsula, and his adroit avoidance of the enemy, proved that he had capacity as well as courage; but he was defeated and slain, in 553, in the neighbourhood of the Bay of Naples, and Aligern, after sustaining a prolonged siege with much spirit, surrendered to Narses. The power of the Goths in Italy was destroyed, and seven thousand miserable survivors, hateful rather for their heterodoxy than their barbarism, were transported by the orthodox Narses to Constantinople, where they were speedily lost in the large and varied population of that city.

The Austrasians, or Eastern Franks, who occupied the part of France which has since formed the province of Lorraine, together with Belgium and the right bank of the Rhine, were at that time governed by Theodebald, the youthful grandson of Clovis. The feebleness of this ruler prevented his taking any part in enterprises beyond his borders; but the people themselves resolved to assist the Southern Goths, and, under the command of two brothers, Lothaire and Buccelin, who were dukes of the Alemanni, invaded Italy in great force during the autumn of 553. The country was desolated and impoverished by the exactions of the barbarians; but the Imperial troops, after a winter spent in severe training, attacked the Franks and Alemanni on the banks of the Vulturnus, in Campania, and overthrew them with immense loss in the spring of 554. Buccelin perished in the general rout: Lothaire had died some time before, together with most of his followers, in a terrible pestilence which attacked them on the banks of Lake Benacus. In his method of encountering Buccelin, Narses had shown the highest qualities of a general—not merely in the battle itself, but in the previous manœuvres by which he forced his adversary to choose the ground and the time for fighting least favourable to himself. He had revived the best military traditions of Rome; and his soldiers, on entering the great city, bearing with them the arms and treasures of the barbarians, enjoyed a species of triumph which recalled forgotten glories.

The Gothic Kingdom of Italy being now destroyed, a provincial government was established under the Eastern Empire. The capital was still at Ravenna—a city which to the present day contains some of the most interesting historic monuments and relics of any Italian town. The chief representative of the Imperial authority was styled the Exarch, or Viceroy; and Narses, the first of these officials, governed the whole of Italy from 554 to 568. The bounds of the Exarchate were much curtailed after the Longobards had established their kingdom in Italy; but even then the jurisdiction of the Viceroy extended over the Romagna, the Adriatic coast, Venice, and Naples. As a rule, the

Exarchs were chosen from the officers and favourites of the Byzantine Court, and were removable at pleasure; but several retained power to the end of their lives. We shall find as we proceed that they acted an important part in early mediæval history, and that their authority sometimes came into collision with that of the Popes. For a time, they wielded a considerable force in the West, and the administration of Narses was as successful as his generalship. Large numbers of the Goths left the peninsula; others quietly mingled with the Italians; while the Franks renounced all they had conquered. After so long a period of war, however, it became necessary to reconstruct the social state of Italy; and this was effected by what is called a "Pragmatic Sanction"—in other words, a solemn ordinance or decree, issued publicly by the prince or other head of the State, and as such distinguished from the rescript, or declaration of law in answer to a question propounded by a private individual. In the present instance, the Pragmatic Sanction was promulgated by the Emperor at the request of the Bishop of Rome; but, even without such a requisition, it would have been necessary to take some steps for the restoration of the land. The returning prosperity of Italy, which had made such remarkable strides under the rule of Odoacer and of Theodoric, was entirely lost during the eighteen years of sanguinary and unsparing contest between the armies of the Eastern Empire and the forces of barbarism. It is related that, in the fourth campaign of Belisarius, 50,000 labourers died of hunger in the small territory of Picenum alone; and the total loss of Italy, from actual slaughter, from famine, and from disease, was such as the modern world, happily unaccustomed to these extremities, can scarcely comprehend.

In reconstituting his Italian province, Justinian applied his own jurisprudence to the population which had now become his subjects; yet he ratified the acts of Theodoric and his immediate successors, while abolishing all the decrees of Totila. Attempts were made to lift the ancient capital of the West into something of its former majesty as a patron of letters and of the liberal arts; but, although these endeavours may have been perfectly sincere, the result was slight and immaterial. The seat of government being at Ravenna, Rome was degraded to the level of a provincial town, and the genius of the city vanished with its importance. Rome was no longer the arbiter of nations, the commander of armies, or the organiser of laws. She had even less of dignity than under the rule of Theodoric the Goth, when, although not actually the seat of government, her Senators still met in conclave, and received the homage of the unlettered soldier. She had become a mere possession of that Byzantine Empire which, at an earlier date, had been created by herself; and it was not until the Popes rose into importance that the greater part of Europe again looked to Rome as the supreme capital, and in a certain sense the Dictator of the Western world.

While Justinian was thus engaged in securing Italy, his more immediate dominions were menaced by certain tribes of barbarians, who were to that part of Europe what the Germanic nationalities were to Gaul and Britain, to Spain and Italy. The great plains in the south-east of the European continent were peopled by wandering tribes of Bulgarians and Sclavonians. The former were of Hunnish blood, and derived their origin from the remnants of Attila's forces, which, after the death of their leader, retreated eastward to the banks of the Euxine and the Sea of Azof. The Sclavonians were an immense race, whose descendants still occupy the greater portion of Eastern Europe. In the time of Justinian, they were divided into two main branches, of which the western bore the name of Sclaveni, and the eastern that of Antes. In the year 554, an enormous body of Bulgarians crossed the frontiers of the Eastern Empire, and advanced to the very outskirts of Constantinople, spreading terror in every direction, and destroying whole cities in the mere wantonness of savage power. When, having effected their purpose, so far as they can be said to have had any, they recrossed the Danube, it was with 120,000 of Justinian's subjects tied to their horses' heads. A little later, these terrible warriors burst into the Thracian Chersonesus, slew the inhabitants in vast numbers, passed through the Hellespont, and rejoined their countrymen with an enormous booty. Others devastated Greece, and neither the walls nor the armies of Justinian availed to arrest the enormous torrent of barbarian force which swept over the noblest parts of Europe, and annihilated in many places the lingering relics of civilisation. The winter of 559 was signalised by a fresh invasion, to which the operations of Nature herself contributed. The Danube was frozen, and the cavalry of the Bulgarians, followed by countless hordes of Sclavonians, crossed from the northern to the southern shore. The leader of the Bulgarians was a chieftain named Zabergan, and this warrior advanced, without encountering any opposition, through the whole of Macedonia and Thrace, until he found himself before the long walls which guarded the territory of Constantinople. The stability of the fortifications had been recently injured by the

shocks of an earthquake; the largest and choicest portions of the Imperial army were at that moment engaged in Italy, in Africa, or on the frontiers of Persia; and the Eastern capital itself was threatened by a danger which there seemed no means of encountering.

Zabergan and his ferocious bands were encamped at a distance of not more than twenty miles from the metropolis. Little dependence was to be placed on the long walls, and perhaps still less on those who had the duty of defending them. Justinian was seriously alarmed, and, as a measure of precaution, removed the vessels of gold and silver from the churches. In this crisis of uncertainty and terror, the heroic figure of Belisarius appears once more upon the scene. He was now old and feeble; but his character and renown acted like a charm upon the soldiers he was sent to command. The army was hastily organised, and provided with horses taken from the Imperial stables, from private citizens, and from the arena of the hippodrome. Belisarius before long pitched his camp in front of the enemy, and awaited the Bulgarian charge with confidence. The attack commenced with impetuosity, but was speedily disconcerted by the admirable measures of the Eastern general. The front line of the Byzantines withstood the assault with firmness, and the barbarians were suddenly attacked by two ambuscades which had been planted in the neighbouring woods. The foremost of the Bulgarian leaders fell in the encounter, and the main body of fighting men gave way before the discipline and skill that they had too heedlessly provoked. Zabergan succeeded in making his escape; but Belisarius would have pursued his shattered ranks, had he not been recalled to Constantinople by the jealous fears of Justinian. By the citizens of the capital he was received with the enthusiasm due to his long and brilliant services; but by the sovereign he was treated with marked coldness. He probably apprehended that the successful general might in time become the head of the Eastern Empire; and it must be admitted that the conduct of Belisarius had in some respects been such as to excite the suspicions of an arbitrary ruler. He had accumulated an enormous fortune—it is to be feared, by measures which were not always consistent with honesty and justice; and, after his return from Italy, had adopted so regal a style of living, even at Constantinople itself, that, according to Procopius, he maintained a body-guard of seven thousand cavalry. We have seen that his fortune was reduced by heavy confiscations after his sudden recall from the East; but he once more acquired vast riches, and the Emperor regarded with uneasiness the end to which so much wealth and so much popularity might be applied.

The last years of Belisarius were overshadowed by a cloud of misfortune. It would seem that in 563 a conspiracy was formed against the life of Justinian. Two officers of the household of Belisarius declared, under torture, that the aged hero was concerned in the plot, and he was summoned before the Council to answer a charge of contemplated assassination. The details of this incident are most inadequately known; but the Emperor appears to have been satisfied that at least some degree of guilt attached to his once-trusted general. His life, however, was spared, but his riches were forfeited; and from December, 563, to July in the following year, he was detained a prisoner in his own palace. It is stated that his innocence was afterwards established, that he again received his freedom and his honours, and that in 565, about eight months after his release, he passed away from a world which, for him, had been almost equally full of glory and of bitterness. His property was again confiscated by the Emperor, but some portion was allowed for the use of the widow, who devoted her final years to the foundation of a convent. Tradition, which always inclines to what is picturesque and dramatic, has affirmed that Belisarius, after being convicted of treason, had his eyes put out, and was turned adrift upon the world in a condition of such absolute want that, in misery and darkness, he begged his bread about the streets of Constantinople, with the lamentable cry, "Give a penny to Belisarius!" But Gibbon, Clinton, and other writers of eminence, deny the relation, which is not to be found in any author until a much later date. Nevertheless, the narrative has found its advocates, and the late Earl Stanhope, in a life of Belisarius which he published in 1829, gave his reasons for believing what so many others have rejected. He pointed out that the blindness of Belisarius had been mentioned as early as the latter part of the eleventh century in a description of Constantinople by an anonymous topographer. But it has been remarked by a recent historian that this work was written more than five hundred years after the death of Justinian, and that consequently it cannot be accepted as an authority on the point in question.* The passage in the Greek guide-book attributes the conduct of Justinian to simple envy, and not to the detection of any conspiracy against his life or throne. The writer adds that the Emperor ordered the eyes of his general-

* Finlay's History of Greece (1877). Appendix I. to Vol. I.

issimo to be put out, and stationed him in a public place with a bowl of earthenware in his hand, that passers-by might toss him a coin. The same compiler, however, affirms that a gilded statue of Belisarius, apparently executed in the earlier part of Justinian's reign, was then standing in Constantinople; and it is improbable that this would have been suffered to remain, had its original been degraded to the extent alleged.

Justinian survived Belisarius not more than eight months. His death took place on the 14th of November, 565, at the age of eighty-three, and after a reign of thirty-eight years. It is difficult to frame an exact estimate of his character, which has been equally obscured by partisanship and enmity. It is evident, however, that he was a ruler of great acuteness, of extensive knowledge, and of general prudence. His personal virtues were those rather of an ecclesiastic than of a sovereign. Devoted to the Church, he lost no opportunity of advancing its fortunes, or of illustrating its precepts by his own example. He fasted frequently, and with such severe self-denial that he often passed two days and nights without tasting food. This was done from motives of religious devotion; but the small amount of sleep which he allowed himself proceeded entirely from political considerations. The affairs of the Empire engaged his unremitting attention, and the minutest details of government underwent a searching scrutiny. Justinian laid claim to the characters of a poet, a musician, an architect, a philosopher, a lawyer, and a theologian; and it may be that his real abilities were weakened by the restless vanity of his disposition. In yielding up his will to the more vigorous personality of Theodora, he identified himself with many evil actions which his own nature might have avoided, for (excepting as regarded religion) he seems to have possessed the virtues of suavity and self-restraint. In some respects the Empire was prosperous under his sceptre; but the invasions of the Bulgarians, Sclavonians, and other savage hordes, revealed the weakness which was only superficially covered by an appearance of military strength.

One of the most memorable facts in the reign of Justinian was the formation of a code of laws, which embodied all that was valuable in Roman jurisprudence, and which still exercises a living power over the social state of Europe. In the many ages of Roman domination, a vast array of laws, precedents, and dicta had been accumulated, and the simplicity of leading principles was in time buried under a mass of heterogeneous and even contradictory details. After the epoch of Alexander Severus, the law ceased to be studied with the patience and penetration formerly devoted to the task. A succession of violent revolutions and unscrupulous tyrannies, often short-lived, and frequently characterised by nothing higher than barbarian power, had in part obliterated, or at any rate had greatly perplexed, those precise and authoritative conceptions of law and public right, of the duties of the citizen and the prerogatives of the State, which in earlier ages had conferred such dignity on the Roman administration. By the time of Justinian, everything was in confusion. The materials of law remained, but the form of law was broken and decrepit, encumbered with parasitic growths, and degraded from the purity and clearness which can alone give moral value to the decrees of power. Another urgent reason for reform is to be discovered in the fact that the centre of the Empire had shifted from the West to the East, and that the Latin tongue, in which the jurisprudence of Rome found expression, was unknown to the great majority of the Eastern Emperor's subjects. The necessity for a change would have been apparent even to a monarch of less sagacity than Justinian; but it required his vigorous mind, and honest devotion to business, to undertake the remedy.

The task was such as could not possibly have been executed by any one man, least of all by a sovereign whose time was continually occupied by the current affairs of State. Justinian accordingly deputed a large portion of this great work to a conclave of professors, magistrates, and lawyers, of whom the principal was Tribonian, a native of Side, in Pamphylia, who was equally well acquainted with the Greek and Latin tongues, and whose personal experience covered most of the great offices of the commonwealth. During the Nika sedition, this eminent and gifted man was one of the unpopular ministers whose temporary fall was extorted by the mob; but he retained the confidence and esteem of the Emperor, although, according to general belief, he was a Pagan rather than a Christian, and a man of such lax morality that, in order to serve his private ends, he scrupled not to corrupt the fountains of justice. That he was avaricious seems to be generally conceded; but for the task of digesting the laws, or for assisting others in that operation, he was admirably fitted both by intellect and knowledge. Very shortly after ascending the throne, Justinian directed Tribonian and nine other men of learning to revise the ordinances of previous Emperors since the time of Hadrian, as they appeared in the Gregorian, Hermogenian, and Theodosian codes. The



THE "AT-MEIDAN"—THE ANCIENT HIPPODROME—WITH THE COLUMN OF THEODOSIUS, CONSTANTINOPLE.

labours of these jurisconsults occupied fourteen months, extending from 528 to 529, and the result was the celebrated Code of Justinian, divided into twelve books or tables. That which had previously existed in thousands of volumes was thus brought within a practicable compass, and the decisions given by fifty-four Emperors, together with the commentaries on those decisions made by advocates and judges, were reduced to certain general principles, such as ordinary students could master, and the popular intelligence could comprehend.

The body of legal decisions, however, continued to augment with great rapidity under the rule of Justinian, and a new edition of the Code became necessary five years later—that is to say, in 534. Another great legal work had been issued in 533—a work which, under the title of "Institutes," provided the legal students in the schools of the chief Imperial cities with a manual containing a condensed statement of the leading principles exemplified in Roman law. Those principles were still further illustrated by the "Pandects" of



THE CATHEDRAL, IONA.



THE SOUTH AISLE, IONA CATHEDRAL.

Justinian—a digest of judicial rulings, and of the views and treatises of eminent lawyers. The composition of the Pandects occupied three years, and engaged the close attention of Tribonian and seventeen other lawyers. The effect of their labours was that the essence of two thousand dissertations was given in an abridgment of fifty books, and that three million lines, or sentences, were condensed to 150,000. The Institutes and the Pandects were published about the close of 533, and the speculations of legal commentators acquired, by the ratification of the Emperor, the force of actual law. The Code, the Pandects, and the Institutes were now declared to be the only system of civil jurisprudence acknowledged by the State, and the older law-books sank out of notice, as productions which retained nothing more than an antiquarian or literary value. It was made penal to add note or comment to the authorised collection; but the later sentences of the Emperor were published under the name of Novellæ, or Novels. Gibbon relates of Justinian, that "Every year (or, according to Procopius, each day) of his long reign was marked by some legal innovation. Many of his acts were rescinded by himself; many were rejected by his successors; many have been obliterated by time; but the number of sixteen Edicts, and one hundred and sixty-eight Novels, has been admitted into the authentic body of the civil jurisprudence."*

The Eastern Empire, under the sceptre of Justinian, was visited by some natural afflictions which have found their place in history. In September, 531, a comet blazed over the western heavens for a period of nearly three weeks, during which its rays extended far into the north. Another comet appeared in 539, which continued visible above forty days, and of which the size was observed to be continually increasing. Even in our era of scientific knowledge, comets very generally excite a feeling of vague apprehension; but in former ages they awoke in the popular mind a sentiment of the most extreme terror—not because it was feared that the unwonted meteor would strike the earth, and hurl it into ruin, but because such celestial apparitions were supposed to be ominous of famine, pestilence, political convulsions, and desolating wars. The two comets in the early part of Justinian's reign were therefore real misfortunes, because of the effect they produced upon the minds of the superstitious, who were, in truth, the vast majority. The Empire, however, suffered in a more tangible way by the frequency of earthquakes. These terrible convulsions occurred year after year, and on some occasions Constantinople was shaken by subterranean tremors for forty days at a time. The whole extent of the Empire, and perhaps a much larger portion of the earth, was thus disturbed; but the calamity was experienced with peculiar violence at Antioch and Berytus. The earthquake of Antioch, which happened on the 20th of May, 526, is said to have killed 250,000 persons. Berytus was destroyed on the 9th of July, 551. This Phœnician city was famous for its legal academy, which enjoyed equal reputation with those of Rome and Constantinople; and its ruin was felt throughout the realm as a national, or rather an Imperial, misfortune.

But these afflictions, appalling as they were in their swiftness and concentration, were in effect less serious than the long continuance of plague, which, originating in Egypt, desolated the countries of the Eastern Empire for fifty-two years, ranging from 542 to 594. The pestilence first made its appearance in the neighbourhood of Pelusium, between the Serbonian Marsh and the eastern channel of the Nile. Issuing from this highly favourable ground, the malarious influence divided itself into two currents, one of which passed over the East as far as the Indies, while the other, travelling along the northern shore of Africa, and leaping the narrow channel between Mauritania and the southern coast of Spain, spread over the whole western continent of Europe. Constantinople was visited by the Egyptian plague in 543; and from that time forward, during a long succession of miserable years, the disease claimed its annual victims, and struck universal terror into the hearts of men. At times the infection appeared to be dying out; but again and again its violence revived. The malady, though not always fatal, must have been so in a vast number of cases, if, as historians relate, the deaths each day in Constantinople, during one of the visitations, amounted to the enormous total of ten thousand. In the East, whole cities were left vacant, and in several parts of Italy there were not people enough to gather in the harvest and the vintage. The patients frequently suffered from delirium, and in some instances the attack was announced by appalling visions, which induced the person to believe that he was menaced or stricken by a dark and mysterious spectre. The details of this prodigious epidemic have been preserved for us by Procopius, and modern physicians may trace many of the symptoms in his minute account. That the number of deaths was really equal to what has been set forth, appears

* Decline and Fall, chap. 44.

somewhat doubtful; for, in an age when there were no statistics, the natural tendency of fear to exaggerate was uncontrolled by any scientific or mechanical checks. Yet there is every reason to believe that, in former times, humanity suffered from such calamities to an immeasurably greater degree than we experience in the present day.

Among the happier incidents of Justinian's reign must be reckoned the introduction of the silkworm into Greece. Until then it had been known only to China; and so much value was placed on this singular insect, the product of which, exported in large quantities to Europe, was a fruitful source of riches to the Chinese, that the most jealous means were adopted to guard the secret from discovery. The method, however, was at length acquired, and in a way which could hardly have been expected. For some time past, Christian missionaries had penetrated into the East, and a Bishop was already established on the coast of Malabar. Even in Ceylon, a community of Christians promulgated their tenets, and practised the rites of their faith; and Persia, the great seat of fire-worship, counted its professors of the newer doctrine. Two Persian monks, residing in China, observed the process of silk-spinning, and perceived that it was practicable to transport the eggs of the silkworm into other lands. They journeyed all the way to Constantinople, to communicate their project to the Emperor Justinian, who prudently encouraged them to persevere in the design they had formed. Returning to China, they concealed some of the eggs in a hollow cane, and in 530 conveyed them to Europe, where they were hatched by artificial heat. As the progeny increased, mulberry-trees were planted to supply the necessary sustenance to the worms; and in another generation the silk of Greece was admitted to be equal to that of Eastern Asia.

In the reign of Justinian we mark the complete disappearance of Paganism from the Greek and Roman world. If men were ever much influenced by moral excellence, apart from domineering manifestations of power, there might even have been, in the sixth century, a reaction in favour of the older convictions. The later philosophers of Athens, who still clung to the hierarchy of Olympus, however much they may have explained away its grosser features, were remarkable for the purity of their lives, the nobility of their motives, and the benevolence of their actions. On the other hand, the orthodox people of Constantinople were conspicuous for violence, fanaticism, corruption, and profligacy. But Justinian was steeped in ecclesiasticism to the lips. The privileges of the clergy were enlarged by him in every possible way; if he had to decide any dispute between a monk and a layman, he was pretty certain to pronounce on behalf of the former; the heretical, even among Christian communities, were slaughtered without mercy; and the Pagans were subjected to persecution of a cruel and relentless kind. It is affirmed that seventy thousand polytheists were forcibly converted in Asia Minor, Phrygia, Lydia, and Caria; but some resisted the dictation of power, and suffered martyrdom for their conscience. Phocas, a patrician, poisoned himself to avoid being compelled to adopt the recognised theology; and Paganism passed from the Empire of Justinian in a crisis of agony and tears.

The great movements of the world's Imperial centres must not entirely divert our attention from those still more important events which, in the remote parts of the Western world, were laying the foundations of future nationalities. The whole island of Britain was in that age undergoing a transformation of a most interesting kind, so far as its populations were concerned. Scotland, as distinguished from Caledonia, arose about the end of the fifth century and commencement of the sixth. The Caledonians with whom the Romans had to deal may have been in some degree distinct from the more southern Britons; but the difference was probably not very great. In time, however, the land was invaded by the race called Scoti, or Scots —a people who crossed over the narrow sea from Ireland, and, in the first instance, established themselves in what is now the county of Argyle, whence they spread along the western coast from the Frith of Clyde to the modern Ross. The first prince of the British Scots on whose identity any reliance can be placed was Fergus, the son of Erc, who entered Britain about 503. The Irish people, to which he belonged, had previously been converted to Christianity by St. Patrick, a native of some part of Britain, probably of mixed British and Roman descent; and Fergus himself was apparently a Christian. The race with which these Irish Scots ultimately came into conflict was that known to ethnologists as the Picts, with respect to whom very little is ascertained, although they have been the subject of an enormous mass of learned controversy. The Picts were of Celtic blood, though probably belonging to a different branch from that which produced the Scots of Ireland. They appear to have retired before the advance of the latter, and to have concentrated themselves in the more eastern parts of Caledonia.

The Pictish nation was divided into two main branches—viz., the Northern and the Southern

Picts; and of these the latter were the first to receive the faith of Christendom. The Southern Picts were converted by St. Ninian, Bishop of the Roman colony of Candida Casa, early in the fifth century. The Northern Picts did not abandon their Paganism until the latter part of the same century, when they listened to the teachings of St. Columba, a native of Ireland. The principal seat of this devoted missionary was in Iona, one of the Hebridean islands; and the visitor to that remote spot may still behold the remains of a monastery—of more recent date, indeed, than the era of Columba, but still belonging to a distant century, and arising out of the monastic institutions founded there by the Irish saint. Of the political or military doings of the Picts and Scots in those remote times there is nothing of importance to record, for scarcely anything of their history is known with certitude. Speaking generally, however, the Scots were the more vigorous race, and they continued to encroach on the Picts, until, as we shall see further on, they finally overcame them, and put an end to their separate existence. It was not until after the realms of the Picts and Scots had been united, in the course of the tenth century, that the country received the name of Scotland; but, as the Scots had established themselves in Caledonia before the commencement of the sixth century, it will be convenient henceforth to speak of Scotland as distinguished from England, instead of referring to Caledonia as distinguished from Britain.



MAP OF ENGLAND, SHOWING THE ANGLO-SAXON KINGDOMS AND THE DANISH DISTRICTS (THE LATTER SHADED).

The subjugation of Britain by the English race continued to make great progress during the sixth century. The Britons resisted with determination and heroism; but the strangers from the

East proved the stronger, and ultimately succeeded in forming seven independent kingdoms, described as the Heptarchy. These were Kent, Sussex, Wessex, Essex, Northumbria, East Anglia, and Mercia. The dates of their establishment were 457, 491, 519, 527, 547, 571, and 585. Sharon Turner thinks that we ought rather to speak of an Octarchy—an assemblage of eight States—because Northumbria was frequently divided into two monarchies, Bernicia and Deira. But to do this would be to aim at a pedantic exactness, since Northumbria was more often united than divided, and it is doubtful whether at any time so many even as seven of these petty kingdoms coexisted separately. The early divisions of England were in truth extremely fluctuating, and small districts would occasionally acquire an independence which after a while was lost. As to anything in the nature of a federal union, connecting the several monarchies in a distinct political system, we find only the slightest evidence of its existence. From time to time, some one of the kings acquired a military predominance over the others, which was expressed by the word Bretwalda—that is, Wielder, or Emperor, of Britain; but the honour was little more than nominal, and passed from one to another, according as he possessed the largest army.

The names of these kingdoms sufficiently declare their geographical situations, with the exceptions of Wessex and Mercia. Wessex, the kingdom of the West Saxons, and the State which at length obtained a supremacy over all the others, consisted, in its greatest extent, of Surrey, Hants (including the Isle of Wight), Berks, Wilts, Dorset, Somerset, Devon, and part of Cornwall. Mercia (the country of the Marches, or boundaries, so called because it bordered on most of the other kingdoms) comprised the midland counties, and was a sovereignty of considerable size. The several kingdoms of the Heptarchy were distributed amongst the three main divisions of the English race—the Angles, the Saxons, and the Jutes. The Angles took possession of the north-eastern and central parts of the country down to the northern bounds of Essex. The southern regions, including the vicinity of London, fell to the Saxons, while the Jutes established themselves in Kent, the Isle of Wight, and that part of Hampshire which lies upon the coast opposite the island. The conquest of the Jutes of Wight, and of southern Hampshire, by the Saxons of Wessex, followed soon after the arrival of the latter people in those parts. This distinction of Angles, Saxons, and Jutes, with the subsequent infusion of a Scandinavian element from Denmark, is the origin of those varieties of provincial dialect and character which we observe in England to the present day. The Angles, or English proper, obtained the larger part of the land, and the kingdom of Northumbria, which they established, and which included the south-eastern counties of Scotland up to the Frith of Forth, acquired for a considerable time a predominance over the other kingdoms.

Two centuries of fierce and perpetual conflict, dating from 449, elapsed before the English race fully established themselves in the country which now bears their name. During that period, the invaders, as the more energetic people, kept pressing the Britons farther and farther towards the West; but the process was one of extreme difficulty, and the struggle was rendered illustrious, on the part of the Celtic race, by a figure of magnificent proportions, which romance and poetry have surrounded with a mythic halo. King Arthur was apparently born in the last quarter of the fifth century, and began his career of victory in the early part of the sixth. He was prince of the Silures, a people of South Wales, already distinguished by the heroism of Caractacus. It has been said that Arthur was elected Pendragon, or chief ruler of the British; but the fact is uncertain, although it can hardly be doubted that he rallied all the tribes for a combined resistance to the Germanic hordes, and that he exercised a sort of military chieftainship. He is credited with having won twelve victories over the enemy, and it is highly probable that by his courage and generalship he checked the progress of Cerdic the Saxon, and confined him to the south coast. He might possibly have effected more, but for a revolt headed by his nephew Modred, or Medrod, which assumed such serious proportions that Arthur was compelled to march in person against the insurgents. A great battle was fought in Cornwall in 542, with the result that Modred was slain, and that Arthur was conveyed mortally wounded to Glastonbury, where he died. The Arthur of romance is a splendid and powerful monarch, surrounded by an array of brilliant and invincible knights, by whose assistance he conquers various countries, and performs unparalleled feats of arms. Into this fiction is woven some degree of truth, for we hear of his encountering the Saxons, and of his perishing in a battle fought with the rebellious Modred. The Arthurian legend attained an extraordinary popularity throughout the west of Europe during the Middle Ages, and has furnished matter for some of the finest poetry. With the Welsh, Arthur has always been a popular hero, and for many centuries

it was believed that he was not really dead, but had been conveyed into a subterranean or subaqueous land of enchantment, whence, after the healing of his wounds, he would re-appear, to restore the sovereignty of his countrymen in Britain.

It is often asserted that the Germanic invaders annihilated all the Britons, with the exception of those who escaped beyond the seas, or who found refuge in the mountains of Wales and the peninsula of Cornwall. This, however, does not appear to be the fact, and is in itself improbable. The Teutonic conquerors of our island arrived from time to time, during a long course of years, in numbers which, although considerable, were not sufficient to place them in a position of complete superiority to the older inhabitants. The contest of the two races endured, as we have said, for two centuries, and the British power of resistance implied by this fact makes it most unlikely that they were actually trampled out of existence over the greater part of the island. It would seem, moreover, that the Angles, Saxons, and Jutes brought no women with them, except in a few special instances; and in that case they must have intermarried with the Britons. The probability is that the British population was greatly thinned by warfare and emigration, but that the remainder at length submitted to the rule of their foes, and mingled with them in a common nationality. Nevertheless, the Celtic element in the modern English race is certainly stronger on the western than on the eastern side of the land. The movement was from east to west, in obedience to the inset of the Germanic immigration; and the Celtic population, unable to hold its ground, would naturally recede before the external pressure. The two British kingdoms of Cumbria and Strathclyde, situated in the north-western part of England and the south-western part of Scotland, preserved their independence until about the middle of the tenth century, and it was not until comparatively recent times that Cornwall acquired an English character. The principality of Wales retains its British nationality to the present day; yet the English genius has in all respects been the stronger. The English people are in the main Teutonic; but their Teutonism has been largely qualified, and in some respects improved, by the older element. We must not regard the Britons as an alien race, but as being partly our ancestors. A great many of the people, however, quitted their native island in the sixth century, and sought a new home in Armorica, where several of their race had settled long before, during the rebellions of Magnus Maximus and Flavius Julius Constantine. The final inroad of Britons into that part of France was followed by a change of name; and, instead of Armorica, we must henceforth speak of Bretagne, or Brittany—an appellation existing to the present day, and which connects that portion of the Continent with the country to which we ourselves belong.

CHAPTER IV.

THE PROGRESS OF DEVELOPMENT AND DECAY.

The Tartar Tribe of the Avars—Their Alliance with Justinian—Embassy of the Turks to the Court of Justin II.—Rise of the Longobardi, or Lombards—Their Wars with the Gepidæ—The Story of Alboin and Rosamond—The Gepidæ Crushed by the Lombards—Invasion of Northern Italy by the Latter—Arbitrary Rule of Narses at Ravenna—His Disgrace and Death—Success of Alboin, and Foundation of the Lombardic Kingdom—The Skull of Cunimund—Assassination of Alboin by Rosamond—Her Subsequent Death by Poison—Reigns of Justin II. and Tiberius—Succession of Maurice—Autharis, King of the Lombards—The Iron Crown of Lombardy—Division of Italy between the Northern Conquerors and the Exarchs of Ravenna—Rise of the Lombardic Order of Architecture—Political and Social State of Northern Italy—Condition of Rome towards the End of the Sixth Century—Gregory the Great—Conversion of the English to Christianity—War between the Eastern Empire and Persia—Death of Chosroes I., and General Character of his Reign—Disastrous Rule of his Son, Hormous—The Usurper, Varanes—Interposition of the Byzantine Emperor Maurice in the Affairs of Persia—Inroads of the Avars—Their Power Checked by Priscus—Maurice Dethroned by the Centurion Phocas—Murder of the Deposed Emperor and his Family—Barbarous Despotism of the Usurper—Deposition and Death of Phocas—Invasion of the Eastern Empire by Chosroes II.—His Brilliant Successes and Splendid Style of Living—Insolence of his Conduct to Heraclius, Emperor of the East—Preparations of Heraclius for War with Persia—French History in the Latter Part of the Sixth and Commencement of the Seventh Centuries.

THE reign of Justinian's successor, his nephew Justin II., was rendered disastrously conspicuous by an invasion of barbarians whose existence was first made known at Constantinople some few years before. In 558, towards the latter end of Justinian's reign, the Imperial capital was visited by an embassy from a Tartar tribe called the Avars, who had recently arrived at the foot of

Mount Caucasus, where they had been driven by the superior strength of the Turks—a people of whom we now hear for the first time, but whose association with Constantinople, even in this remote degree, must be regarded as ominous. The Avars made proposals of alliance, offering their services in exchange for gifts of money and lands; and Justinian, dreading their wild hordes, yet not caring to take their warriors into his own army, incited them to conquer the independent territories beyond the Tanais and the Borysthenes —in the language of modern geography, the Don and the Dnieper. Thence they spread over a large part of Northern Europe, and Justinian, a little before his death, formed a project for settling them in Pannonia, as a counterpoise to the Lombards, who were beginning to grow formidable. But this design was not carried out; and when Justin II. came to the throne, in 565, he was speedily visited by an embassy from the Turks, who begged of him that he would not support the cause of rebels and fugitives. The seat of these Turks was at the foot of Mount Altai—a term somewhat vaguely applied to a range of highlands in the east of Asia, forming the northern border of Chinese Tartary. It was no light task to send an embassy from so distant a spot to the western extremity of the Euxine; but Disabul, the khan or chieftain of the Turks, spared no pains to crush the Avars who had fled from his power. Justin considered it prudent to listen to the representatives of a martial sovereign who proffered friendship, but might become a dangerous enemy in the event of provocation. A treaty was concluded between the Eastern Emperor and the envoys of Disabul, and the friendship of the two nations was increased by subsequent intercourse.



THE LAST BANQUET OF ALBOIN.

The rise of the Longobards as a powerful community is connected with this period. They were, indeed, known as early as the times of Augustus and Trajan, when they occupied the region between the Elbe and the Oder, and at a later date they moved southwards, until they arrived at the Danube. But their position in history is not very conspicuous before the first half of the sixth century, when they were solicited by Justinian to help him in expelling the Gepidæ from the fortresses of Pannonia and Noricum, which they had seized after Theodoric and his Goths had deserted them for the more tempting

prize of Italy. The Longobards, Langobards, or, as they were ultimately called, Lombards, were a German people, belonging to the Suevic branch of the great northern race, and deriving their name either from their long beards, or from the immense spears (*bardi*) with which they were armed. After executing the commission of Justinian, and driving out the Gepidæ from the strong places south of the Danube, they proceeded, in a spirit of desultory adventure, along the coast of the Adriatic as far as Dyrrachium, conducting themselves everywhere with the insolence natural to a set of barbarians whose self-love had been flattered by the advances of an Emperor. From these irregular enterprises they were called off by the hostility of the Gepidæ, who were not willing to submit without a further struggle. A sanguinary war of thirty years ensued, during which both belligerents frequently appealed to the Eastern Emperor to interpose his authority; but at length the Gepidæ found themselves confronted by antagonists of superior strength, or more prevailing numbers.

In its earlier stages, however, the war proved unfavourable to the Lombards, and the Gepidæ were nerved by the desire of revenging themselves, not only for the injuries they had received in Pannonia and Noricum, but for an indignity they had suffered in the person of their princess, Rosamond, the daughter of Cunimund. During a brief peace between the two nations, the young Lombard prince, Alboin, had visited the court of the Gepidæ, and fallen in love with Rosamond, whose beauty made her an object of ambition. Alboin was already betrothed to the granddaughter of Clovis; but this consideration did not restrain his passion for Rosamond. Meeting with a refusal, he determined, after the death of his father, and his own accession to the throne, to carry off Rosamond by force. This was accomplished, and war, as must have been expected, immediately broke out afresh. The Gepidæ were at that time supported by the military power of Constantinople, and the Lombards were so seriously defeated that Alboin was compelled to relinquish the princess. He then sought the alliance of the Avars, which was granted on conditions showing how sore was the extremity of the Lombards, and how powerful the position now acquired by the Tartar warriors. The latter stipulated that they should have all the lands that might be conquered from the Gepidæ, together with an equal portion of the spoil and captives, and a tenth part of the Lombard cattle; and Alboin consented to pay the required price for the help which he needed. The Gepidæ had by this time disgusted the Eastern Empire by their frequent breaches of faith; and Justin II., on succeeding to the crown, determined that he would render them no more assistance. Unable, by their own forces alone, to contend against the united power of the Lombards and the Avars, they were completely annihilated in 566. Cunimund was slain, and his skull fashioned into a goblet. Rosamond returned to her husband, and the Avars settled in the countries about the Danube which the Gepidæ had recently owned.

Having renounced beforehand all claim to those territories, Alboin was obliged to turn his eyes in a different direction for some new place of settlement. Italy, the coveted paradise of many successive generations, seemed the likeliest field for the display of his arms. He felt himself under no obligation to the Eastern Emperor, and therefore scrupled not to attack a province which was now included in the Byzantine realm. His own forces were far from numerous, for the Lombards were a small community. But, as soon as his design became generally known, large numbers of German and Scythian tribes flocked to his standard, and in 567 the expedition set forth. Alboin was fortunate in the time selected for carrying his design into effect. Until recently, Narses had been in command at Ravenna, and the opposition of that experienced general would not have been easily overcome. But Narses had been lately recalled, and his successor was not gifted with the ability so imperatively required to meet the coming peril. The fall of Narses was due to a variety of causes, of which one of the principal was the severity with which he had treated the Northern Italians, from whom his avarice extorted large sums of money by the most despotic measures. Notwithstanding these oppressive imposts, the Court of Constantinople required that a larger sum should be annually remitted to the Imperial treasury. Narses had in fact intercepted, for his own purposes, funds which were due to the State; but the Italians not unnaturally maintained that, after having paid so much, they should not be required to pay more. The deputies from Rome who appeared before Justin boldly demanded the removal of Narses, and even ventured to declare that, unless their wishes were consulted, they would take the settlement of affairs into their own hands. The prospect of a revolt in Italy was extremely alarming, and it was thought better to sacrifice the old hero than to compromise the safety of an important province. Moreover, the Empress Sophia indulged a feeling of personal antagonism towards the conqueror of the Goths; and the new Exarch, Longinus, on proceeding

to Ravenna, carried with him an insulting message from Sophia, who bid Narses recollect that he should leave to men the exercise of arms, and return to his proper station among the women of the palace, where a distaff should be again placed in his hands. When the words of the Empress were repeated to him, he is stated to have replied, "I will spin her such a thread as she shall not easily unravel." Narses returned not to Constantinople, but retired to Naples, from which city he is said to have despatched an invitation to the Lombards to cross the Alps. So far, however, the story seems doubtful: whatever the resentment of Narses, it is probable that he did not act the part of a traitor. He died at Rome, in 568, at a very great age, and Longinus was left to do the best he could against the confederated Northmen.

Alboin crossed the Julian Alps in the latter part of 567, and entered the immense plain which has ever since received from his countrymen the name of Lombardy. The Italians were struck with terror, and, making no resistance, fled before the face of the destroyer. Much of the country was wasted by the invading hosts, and Alboin assumed the title of king over a domain which he had done his best to ruin. Ticinum, now Pavia, resisted the arms of the Lombards for three years; but this was the only stand made by the degenerate Italians against the inroads of the barbarian. When at length Pavia was taken, it was made the capital of the new kingdom of Italy; but other towns also were honoured by the presence of the conqueror. It was in a palace near Verona that Alboin met his death, under circumstances of a very tragical and striking character. At a great feast which he gave to his warriors, the king, when flushed with wine and with the memory of his own achievements, called for the skull of Cunimund, and drank a crowning measure out of that ghastly relic. He then directed that the drinking-cup, once more filled with wine, should be conveyed to Rosamond, in order that, as he expressed it, she might rejoice with her departed father. Concealing her emotions of wrath and horror, Rosamond replied, "Let the will of my lord be obeyed!" and, touching the wine with her lips, she secretly resolved, in that moment of agony and shame, that the insult should be wiped out by a signal revenge. The queen had already carried on an intrigue with Helmichis, the king's armour-bearer, and to this person she now communicated a project for murdering her husband. Another Lombard was associated in the design, and, on a certain day in 573, Alboin was aroused out of the drunken slumbers into which he had been lulled by his wife, and despatched after a brief struggle. His fate was merited; yet in some respects it was to be deplored. Notwithstanding his personal cruelties, Alboin had governed in a spirit of justice, which procured him the confidence even of those he had vanquished. Northern Italy was renovated by the rule of this martial king and his successors. Small, independent governments began to rise out of the ruins of the extinct Empire, and the Lombards themselves exhibited a degree of sober industry, and a habit of law-abiding order, which contrasted favourably with adjacent regions. They became famous as merchants and financiers, and in the Middle Ages the word "Lombard" was used throughout the west of Europe as synonymous with a goldsmith or banker.

Rosamond conceived that on the death of her husband she would be free to rule in her own name with the assistance of a band of Gepidæ, who not unnaturally took the part of their own countrywoman. The Lombard chiefs had fled immediately after the death of their sovereign; but, having rallied their forces, they returned to Verona, and insisted upon the execution of the queen and the other conspirators. The movement grew so alarming that Rosamond fled in a Greek vessel to the harbour of Ravenna. Here she speedily captivated Longinus, and, in order to marry the Exarch, determined to sacrifice her lover Helmichis. As he came from the bath, she presented him with a poisoned cup, which, having no reason for suspicion, he at once tasted. A deadly effect, which ensued very rapidly, convinced him that he was the victim of treachery, and, threatening the murderess with his dagger, he compelled her to swallow what remained of the poison. Both the guilty lovers thus perished within a few minutes of one another, and a Lombard chief, named Clepho, was elected to the vacant throne. In 574, however, this monarch was stabbed by a domestic, and the regal office was suspended for more than ten years during the minority of his son. A succession of ducal tyrants, numbering as many as thirty, now administered the affairs of Northern Italy; but their acts were as unimportant as their periods of rule were brief.

The reign of Justin II. was distinguished by nothing but misfortune. Not only were valuable provinces lost or seriously impaired, but nearer home the sufferings of the people from tyranny and bad government were extreme. The ill-health of Justin prevented his giving much attention to the government, and in 574 he placed the actual conduct of affairs in the hands of Tiberius, his

captain of the guards. The remaining four years of his life were simply years of nominal sovereignty; and when he died, in 578, Tiberius was left in undivided possession of the supreme power. Sophia had anticipated that Tiberius would take her for his Imperial consort; but the Emperor was already united, though secretly, to Anastasia, who was now proclaimed Empress. Sophia determined on revenge, and accordingly entered into a compact with Justinian, the son of Germanus, who held the command of an army then operating against the Persians. The conspiracy was discovered by Tiberius while absent from the capital during the period of the vintage, when the sovereign was permitted some degree of relaxation from the cares of State. Quickly returning to Constantinople, he crushed the plot by the energy and justice of his measures. His humane and generous nature, however, did not permit of any severe punishments, and, while Justinian was forgiven, in consideration of his brilliant services against the Persians, Sophia was simply reduced to a more moderate allowance than that which she had previously enjoyed. The virtues of Tiberius were conspicuous in an age of general turpitude; but unfortunately his reign was not much prolonged. He died in 582, after having bequeathed the purple to a general named Maurice, whose previous services seemed to render him worthy of the responsibility and the honour.

Maurice did not belie the expectations formed of him. His personal character was excellent, and he obtained some successes in Persia which advanced the reputation of the Byzantine Empire. But the Avars were yet strong on the Danube, and the state of Italy was a reproach to the government of Constantinople. In the north of that peninsula, the Lombards recovered the force which for ten years had been dissipated by the assassination of Clepho, and the state of anarchy that supervened. In 584, Autharis, the son of Clepho, attained his majority, and took the administration of the commonwealth into his own hands with a vigour which augured well for the future. His martial prowess enabled him to repel three Frankish invasions of Lombardy, one of which was led by Childebert, the great grandson of Clovis. The last of these inroads was temporarily successful; but Autharis soon recovered his power, and advanced a claim to the dominion of all Italy. He even penetrated with his armies the extreme south of that country, and his ...nions do not seem to have been disputed, ... people themselves, or by the Eastern ... tharis died in 590, leaving no children, but deputing to his widow, Theodolinda, the choice of a successor, who was also to be her second husband. The person thus selected was Agilulf, duke of Turin, whom Theodolinda converted from Arianism to that which the Italians understood as orthodoxy. The Roman Bishop, Gregory the Great, honoured her for her services in this respect, and is said to have presented her with the famous Iron Crown of the Lombards, supposed to have been forged out of one of the nails of the Cross. The shape of the crown is that of a simple collar, golden on the outer side, and thickly ornamented with flowers of gold, together with sapphires, emeralds, rubies, and other precious stones, in a rough and uncut condition. The iron is only on the inner side, and the whole is still to be seen in the modern kingdom of Italy. This remarkable adornment boasts a long and picturesque history. In the first instance, it was presented by Theodolinda to the church at Monza; long afterwards, Charlemagne was crowned with it; and all the Emperors who were kings of Lombardy were similarly honoured. At Milan, on the 26th of May, 1805, Napoleon I. put the Iron Crown on his head, with the words, "God has given it to me; woe to him who touches it!" In 1859, the celebrated relic was removed by the Austrians from Monza to Mantua; but, after the war of 1866, which resulted in the transfer of Lombardy from Austria to the newly-formed kingdom of Italy, it was presented to Victor Emmanuel at Turin. It would appear that Agilulf himself never wore the circlet presented by the Bishop of Rome to his wife. His own crown (which existed until 1804, when it was stolen and melted down) was an exceedingly beautiful piece of workmanship, ornamented with fifteen figures in gold, representing Christ between two angels and the twelve Apostles.

The Lombardic power was now fully established in the north of Italy, however slightly it may have been acknowledged in the south. The peninsula was, in fact, divided between the King of Lombardy and the Exarch of Ravenna, who was the representative of the Byzantine Emperor. The dominions of the latter included what has since been known as the Patrimony of St. Peter, or the States of the Church, together with the subordinate provinces of Rome, Venice, and Naples, and the islands of Sardinia, Corsica, and Sicily. But this territory was loosely scattered in various directions, and sometimes divided by the hostile possessions of the Lombards. Rome, still recollecting her greatness in the past, resented the tyranny of provincial Exarchs; and in several places a spirit gradually

arose which resulted in the formation of independent principalities. Naples was permitted to elect her own dukes; Amalfi, as a seat of commerce, acquired its freedom; and Venice gradually rose into power as an aristocratical Republic. The Kingdom of the Lombards was stronger and more compact than the dominion of the Exarchs. It extended to the southern borders of France, and for two hundred years occupied a position of considerable importance.

The Basilica or Church of St. John the Baptist, at Monza, near Milan, where the Iron Crown was kept, had been built by Theodolinda herself; and there now appeared in Lombardy a peculiar style of architecture, which combined certain features of the later classical or Romanesque manner with others that are almost Gothic. The palace of Diocletian at Spalatro exhibits the faint beginnings of the Byzantine style, in its first departure out of the pure Roman of an earlier age; and the invasion of Northern Italy by the Lombards was followed by another order, which in time became marked and distinctive.* The development of the new ideas was slow and gradual; but the little chapel at Friuli, erected in the eighth century, shows the true Lombardic character, from which the Gothic arose by the adaptation of the structural arts to the necessities of other times and nations. Thus, the Gothic architecture of the Middle Ages was developed out of the Lombardic, as the Lombardic had been developed out of the Romanesque. The Lombards, on first invading Italy, were a rude and inartistic people. When, therefore, they desired to build churches or palaces, they were compelled to employ Italian architects, who naturally worked according to the methods then prevailing in their country; but, as the conquerors became more civilized, they evolved conceptions of their own out of the older forms by which they were surrounded. The Lombardic style became predominant about the time of Charlemagne, and extended over the whole of the vast Empire which obeyed the sceptre of that monarch; but it did not attain its perfection until the twelfth century. The general shape of the churches was that of the Greek and Roman Basilica—originally a court of justice, but afterwards taken by the early Christians as the model of their places of worship, since it was desired to discriminate the Christian church as much as possible from the Pagan temple. But in a little while the details underwent considerable alteration, and stone vaultings were substituted for wooden roofs. Few early examples of Lombardic architecture (of which the round arch was one of the principal features) exist at the present day; but the Cathedral of Novara, the Baptistery at Asti, and the churches of San Michele at Pavia, and of San Ambrogio at Milan, are interesting and beautiful specimens of an architectural style long prevalent over the greater part of Western Europe.

The Lombards who settled in the north of Italy were, perhaps, not very numerous; but, being martial and united, they were able to keep the native population in check, and have left traces of their blood in the modern people of Lombardy, which gives to them a character different from that of other Italians. The conquering race was thinly scattered over the face of the country, each division of which was locally governed by a duke, who owned a large portion of the land, and was bound to support his sovereign with a military levy whenever war broke out. The native peasantry were compelled to pay their lords a third part of the fruits of the earth, and the possessors of small landed properties gradually sank into the position of mere cultivators of the soil, over whom the Northern foreigners were in all respects predominant. The rights of the municipal corporations were also curtailed, though never entirely abolished, and the nobility and clergy asserted a constantly increasing power, which was not favourable to popular freedom. The conquering race, on the other hand, enjoyed many privileges. They might, if they pleased, elect their sovereign, though it does not appear that they often did so. A national assembly of the Lombards themselves, as distinguished from the people they had subjugated, was held from time to time in the fields about Pavia, and the decrees of the royal council were not valid until they had been ratified by this gathering. The laws of the Lombards were embodied in barbaric Latin about eighty years after the conquest of Northern Italy, and they are generally regarded as the best of those which had arisen out of the Germanic conquests.

The condition of Rome about this period was in many respects lamentable. The ancient greatness of the city had passed away; its modern greatness, as the capital of Western Christendom, had scarcely commenced; and the poverty of the inhabitants harmonised with the melancholy ruins of Imperial dominion. Yet, at the epoch we have now reached, the head of the Western Church was a man of varied ability, intense earnestness, and much force of character. Gregory the Great, commonly reckoned among the Popes of Rome, though, as we have before said, this particular title was

* The Byzantine was the Eastern, the Romanesque the Western, development of the true Roman style.

not assumed by the Roman Bishops until a somewhat later period, belonged to a noble Roman family, and in 573, when about twenty-three years of age, was made Prefect of Rome. The bent of his mind, however, was religious and ascetic, and, throwing up his office, he retired to a monastery. When it was determined to send an embassy to Constantinople for assistance against the Lombards, Gregory was attached to the mission, and, on his



GREGORY THE GREAT. (*From a Medal in the British Museum.*)

return to Rome, in 590, was elected as the successor of Pelagius II. He himself endeavoured to avoid so onerous an office, but, when at length compelled to assume its duties, administered the affairs of the Church with enthusiasm and vigour. It was he who sent St. Augustine into England for the conversion of our Teutonic ancestors, his interest in whom had been excited, before his elevation to the episcopal throne, by the appearance of some English children, exposed for sale as slaves in the market-place of Rome. His simplicity of living, his charity and tolerance, have endeared him to posterity; but, in dealing with the Eastern Empire, his prudence sometimes ran into [illegible], and his intellect was not always superior to the narrow culture of his day. In one respect, however, he assumed a bold position towards the head of the Greek Church, who arrogated to himself the title of Œcumenic, or Universal, Patriarch. This appellation, he told him, had been offered to one of his own predecessors by the Council of Chalcedon, but had always been refused as "an assumption full of pride, and inconsistent with the ancient discipline." The Bishops of Rome had not yet laid claim to that despotic headship which they afterwards asserted, and still maintain. The Roman liturgy was settled by Gregory the Great, who exercised an equal influence in determining the calendar of festivals, the order of processions, the fashion of the sacerdotal garments, and even the character of the ecclesiastical music. It is to him that we owe the Gregorian Chant; and we may say of Gregory that, although not Pope by title, he did much towards settling the ultimate forms of the Papal Church. His primacy lasted from 590 to 604, when he was succeeded by Sabinianus of Volaterra. Under the rule of Gregory, the Arians of Italy and Spain were reconciled to the Catholic Church;

but his greatest achievement was doubtless the conversion of the English people from the form of Paganism that they had hitherto professed.

When the Angles, Jutes, and Saxons arrived in Britain, they brought with them the wild religion of Germany and Scandinavia. Their principal god was Woden, or Odin, the genius of war, and their conduct in all matters harmonised with the presumed character of this martial deity. Their chief occupation was war, and in it they engaged with all the delight of the savage and of the fanatic. They, moreover, persecuted the Christian priests of the Britons with insatiable fury, and often slew them at their altars. Not satisfied with this, they would burn the Christian churches above the very heads of the assembled worshippers. It was against such opposition that the cause of Christ had to establish itself amongst our ancestors. When the people ceased to resist, the rage of fanaticism came to an end; but Britain, which for several ages had been a part of Christendom, now lapsed into a dark, fierce, and barbarian form of heathenism, except where the natives maintained their independence.

The inevitable reflux, however, set in towards the close of the sixth century, when Ethelbert, king of Kent, was married to Bertha, the daughter of the French king, Charibert. A Christian Bishop accompanied the princess from France to Canterbury, the capital of the Kentish kingdom; and the strangers were allowed to celebrate their peculiar worship in a ruined Christian church, founded during the dominion of the Romanised Britons—the Church of St. Martin, which still remains, though doubtless considerably altered in more recent times. It was the fact of Bertha's marriage to a Pagan sovereign, as represented to him by the Gallic Bishop, that directed the attention of Gregory the Great to the distant shores of Britain, and recalled to his memory the fair English boys whom he had seen at Rome when himself a humble deacon, and whom he had punningly declared were "not Angles, but angels." He therefore sent forth the abbot Augustine, accompanied by a band of forty monks, to preach the Gospel in the fields of Kent. The missionaries landed in 597 on the very spot in the Isle of Thanet where Hengist and Horsa had quitted their war-galleys in 449. Ethelbert received Augustine in the open air, on the chalk-downs above Minster, and the Latin discourse of the abbot was translated by interpreters who had been brought from France. The Kentish king, though not convinced by the reasoning, or greatly moved by the exhortations, of his visitor, listened with respectful attention,



THE LANDING OF ST. AUGUSTINE IN KENT.

and promised shelter, maintenance, and protection to the strangers. He took a whole year to consider whether or not he would abandon the religion of his fathers; but in the end he accepted the faith which Augustine had come from Italy to recommend. The conversion of the whole Kentish people followed with that extraordinary rapidity which we frequently observe amongst primitive races, and which seems to imply that they are either without the will, or without the freedom, to think differently from their rulers. It is probable, however, that Christianity had never entirely disappeared from this country, but had been cherished by the subjected Britons, and perhaps adopted by some of their conquerors. The Kentish men were now baptised in large numbers in the river Swale; Essex and East Anglia soon followed in the same path; and a daughter of Ethelbert, accompanied by the missionary Paulinus, went into the kingdom of Northumbria, and made numerous converts in that part of England. The subsequent history of Christianity in Britain belongs to a later period; but the general result was, that, after many reactions, some of which looked desperate, the faith of Christendom was triumphant over the whole island.

From the west we must now return to the east, and in so doing must revert to an earlier period than that which we have reached in tracing the religious conversion of the English people. Peace was never very long maintained between the Byzantine Empire and the powerful monarchy of Persia. Hostilities had ceased a few years before the death of Justinian; but they were renewed under his successor in 572. During the progress of this war, the fortunes of which were fluctuating and long indecisive, Chosroes I. closed his eventful life. His reign had been one of almost constant warfare, for he had to encounter, not merely the jealousy of the Eastern Emperors, but the attacks of the Turks, who burst into his realm, and were with difficulty subdued and driven out. With the Turkish khan, the sovereign of Persia afterwards concluded an alliance, which he strengthened by marrying the daughter of his former enemy. In an easterly direction, the conquests of Chosroes were extended to the Indus, so as to include the whole of Afghanistan; and in his splendid palace at Madain, the former Ctesiphon, he received ambassadors from all the potentates of the East. Oriental writers celebrate in glowing language the justice and other virtues of the great Chosroes; yet it is related of him that, shortly after his accession to the throne, he secured his power by the murder of his two elder brothers. This, however, has been at all times so frequent a custom with Asiatic monarchs that no special reprobation attaches to Chosroes. His wars were not always justifiable; but his home administration appears to have been beneficent. He was also a patron of letters; founded colleges and libraries; and caused the most celebrated Greek and Sanskrit works to be translated into Persian. The celebrated fables of Bidpai, or Pilpay—a work of Hindoo origin—were first introduced to Western Asia (whence they penetrated into Europe) through the medium of a Persian rendering, made during the reign of this magnificent ruler.

The death of Chosroes I., in the spring of 579, was due in some degree to a reverse which his arms had undergone a short time before. He had entered Cappadocia, and at Melitene had encountered the Byzantine army. During the engagement, a Scythian chief penetrated to the Persian camp, pillaged the royal tent, and profaned the sacred fire; and Chosroes found it necessary to make a speedy retreat across the Euphrates, notwithstanding some temporary advantage which he obtained over his opponents in a night-attack upon their camp. Chosroes was now about eighty years of age, and his reign had lasted for nearly half a century. He was unable to bear up against the mortification of his late disgrace, and death ensued in the course of a few months. The sceptre passed to his son Hormouz, or Hormisdas, who entirely failed to maintain the reputation of his father. His government was at once tyrannical and weak, and the result was seen in general discontent. Babylon, Susa, and Carmania broke into open revolt; Arabia, India, and Scythia refused their customary tribute; the Persian khan passed the Oxus at the head of an overwhelming force; and the western frontiers of the Empire were invaded by the Byzantines. The dominion of the Sassanides might have been totally ruined but for the heroism of Varanes, or Bahram, who successively defeated the Turks and the soldiers of the Eastern Emperor. The Persian nobles soon afterwards rose against the incompetent Hormouz, who was dethroned and strangled in 590. In the meanwhile, Varanes had been made king by his soldiers; but Chosroes II., the son of Hormouz, laid claim to the throne, and sought the assistance of a Byzantine army for the recovery of his rights. This was unhesitatingly granted, and at the same time the Magi refused to consecrate Varanes in the office he had seized. The forces of the usurper were defeated in two encounters, and Varanes fled for refuge to the Turks, amongst whom he speedily died. His brief reign wanted the sanction of legality; yet, by his

ous services as a soldier, and his subsequent ties as a lawgiver, he had proved his fitness ıe highest position. Chosroes II. now reigned ıut further contention, but was glad to avail elf of a band of one thousand Byzantine ırs, who acted as a body-guard until all fear isturbance was at an end. The Emperor ice, who had thus restored him to his throne, ofessed to regard as his father; and during the of that sovereign no further hostilities arose een the Empires of Persia and Constantinople. the action of Maurice was not entirely dis- ested. He received as compensation some of ost important towns of Mesopotamia, together a large sum of money.

was certainly to the advantage of the Eastern erors that they should remain at peace with a; for whenever war broke out with that r, the northern borders of the Byzantine ire were harassed by the Avars who had lished themselves on the Danube. From 570 00, these savages were ruled by a chieftain d Baian, and during his time frequent incur- were made into the Byzantine territory, which levastated up to the walls of Constantinople. Avars even extended their power to the atic, and Italy was threatened by their multi- ous and rapacious hordes. After the alliance Persia, however, the Emperor Maurice was led to take vigorous measures against the ır enemy, and vast numbers were either slain ptured. The hero of this war was Priscus, carried his arms to the banks of the Danube the Theiss. Yet, notwithstanding these sses, Maurice became unpopular with the ırs, whom he offended by his endeavours to re a more rigid discipline to their ranks. He leclared unworthy to reign, and the mutineers, ed by a centurion named Phocas, marched to neighourhood of Constantinople itself. The al rose in arms against a monarch whose es were of that severe and unsympathetic which is peculiarly exasperating to a l' tious lace. Finding the city in the hands of the and aflame with incendiary fires in several ers, Maurice entered a boat with his wife and children, and escaped to the Asiatic shore. 3 days later, Phocas appeared at Constantinople chariot drawn by four white horses, and st the acclamations of the people. He had ıed to supreme power, and, having rewarded troops with lavish bribes, he witnessed the s of the hippodrome. A dispute arose between blue and green factions. Phocas gave his ion in favour of the latter, and the blues responded with the menacing exclamation, "Remember that Maurice is still alive!" The deposed Emperor had landed at the Church of St. Autonomus, near Chalcedon, and had thence despatched his eldest son, Theodosius, to implore the assistance of Chosroes II. Before any aid could arrive, however, he fell a victim to the jealous fears of his enemy. The words of the blue faction had roused those fears to the utmost, and soldiers were sent to Chalcedon to execute the will of the usurper. Maurice and his five sons were dragged from the sanctuary of the church, and, after the children had been slain before the eyes of the father, the Emperor was himself executed. This tragical event occurred on the 27th of November, 602, after Maurice had occupied the throne for about twenty years. Theodosius was not allowed to reach the Persian court: he was intercepted at Nicæa, and there beheaded. The widow Constantina, and her three daughters, were for the present spared; but the deposed Empress twice conspired against Phocas, and, after being subjected to torture, was beheaded at Chalcedon with her remaining children. The whole reign of Phocas was distinguished by similar atrocities, and the Empire was exasperated by the tyranny of a furious despot, whose only idea of government consisted in sanguinary excesses, and whose character was degraded by every profligate habit.

Chosroes, on hearing of the death of Maurice and the usurpation of Phocas, determined to avenge the injuries of one whom he regarded as his father. He led a powerful army into the dominions of the Eastern Emperor, besieged and destroyed several important fortresses, crossed the Euphrates into Syria, and, after occupying the cities of Hierapolis, Chalcis, and Aleppo, laid siege to Antioch. Such were the first effects of Phocas's crimes, and they were presently followed by disaffection at home. So manifest was the weakness of the usurper, and so great the detestation which his name inspired, that Heraclius, Exarch of Africa, refused, during two years, to pay any obedience to the orders sent out from Constantinople, or to render tribute to the Imperial treasury. Crispus, the son-in-law of Phocas, who had reason to suspect the friendship of his relative, joined with the Senate in requesting Heraclius to seize on the supreme power; but the Exarch was old, and indisposed to such an enterprise, which he therefore deputed to his son, who bore the same name as himself. The young man sailed for Europe in 610, and his approach was not suspected by the tyrant until his ships had entered the Propontis.

Crispus then openly declared his purpose, and Phocas was seized in the palace, denuded of the symbols of royalty, and carried in chains to the galley of Heraclius. The successful conspirator reproached him with his crimes. "Wilt thou govern better?" retorted the fallen despot. But the time had passed for disputation. Phocas was insulted and tortured, and, his head being at length struck off, his body was consumed by fire. The diadem was then conferred on Heraclius; but he succeeded to an impoverished realm, and to a difficult and dangerous war.

Antioch had by this time yielded to the forces of the Persian king. The capture of Cæsarea and Damascus soon followed. Palestine was conquered, and in 614 Jerusalem was taken by assault. The Christians had to mourn the loss or injury of some stately churches and objects of religious interest, and as many as 90,000 professors of the faith are said to have been destroyed by the Jews and Arabs who accompanied the Persian army. Egypt was subdued in 616, and Chosroes, after entering Alexandria, pushed on towards the west, extirpated the Greek colonies of Cyrene, and returned in triumph through the Libyan desert. Another Persian army penetrated to Chalcedon, which surrendered after a long siege; and the citizens of Constantinople had the grief and mortification of beholding, on the opposite side of the Bosphorus, a Persian encampment which for upwards of ten years maintained itself in that position. The famous island of Rhodes was included in the conquests of the Asiatic king, and his achievements would perhaps have been even greater, had he possessed a navy equal to his land forces. It must have seemed as if the days of Xerxes had returned, and Europe were about to be invaded by the barbaric levies of an Oriental monarch. But Chosroes forbore to press his advance any further to the west, and in a little while found that he had trouble enough in holding what he had already gained. The Asiatic provinces lately forming part of the Eastern Empire, and at all times deeply imbued with the Grecian spirit, stirred uneasily beneath the Persian yoke. The Christians were offended by the principles and practice of the Magian religion; the Magi retorted with an equal hatred; and a savage persecution of the former speedily broke out.

These circumstances must have filled the mind of Chosroes with uneasy forebodings; but as yet he was confronted by no serious opposition, and, relying on the power of his victorious armies, and the weakness of his enemy, he occasionally retired from the cares of state, and whiled away his time in Oriental luxury at his favourite residence of Artemita, or Dastagerd, beyond the Tigris. The splendour of his palace and the magnificence of his living have been described in terms which are suggestive of exaggeration, but which probably contain a considerable measure of truth. It is related that six thousand soldiers successively mounted guard before the palace-gates; that the service of the interior apartments was performed by twelve thousand slaves; that the treasures of the Great King were deposited in a hundred subterranean vaults; that his necessities, or his pride, gave employment to six thousand horses and mules, twenty thousand camels, and nine hundred and sixty elephants; and that he hunted roebucks, wild boars, lions, and tigers, in a "paradise" like those of the ancient Assyrian and Babylonian monarchs. According to the same reports, the walls of the palace were adorned with thirty thousand rich hangings, the roof was supported by forty thousand columns of silver, and from the dome were suspended a thousand orbs of gold, so contrived as to imitate the motions of the planets and the constellations of the zodiac.* As Chosroes surveyed these splendours, and reflected on the enormous military power which was ready at a word to do his bidding, he might well have believed that his strength was invincible, and his will supreme. His only foe was the Byzantine Empire, and that appeared to be hastening to its ruin. The new sovereign, Heraclius, gave as yet no token of the greatness which he afterwards displayed, and the effete character of his subjects rendered it seemingly improbable that any serious attempt would be made to wrest the prize of dominion from the Persian monarch.

The war should undoubtedly have ended with the death of Phocas, whose usurpation was its ostensible cause. But a military sovereign who has tasted largely of success is seldom very desirous of sheathing the sword; and Chosroes II. continued to distress the Eastern Empire long after the wrongs of Maurice had been avenged. Heraclius, the instrument of that vengeance, ought at least to have been received in a spirit of conciliation; but his entreaties for peace, accompanied by offers of a tribute, and urged with a pathetic eagerness unbecoming the dignity of an independent sovereign, were contemptuously disregarded. The Avars also had recovered their power, and, from the vicinity of Constantinople to the borders of Northern Italy, the country was

* Gibbon's Decline and Fall, chap. 46; and the authorities there cited.

desolated by the exactions of nomadic Tartars. At length, in 620, Chosroes consented to make peace, on the understanding that Heraclius was to pay him, as ransom, a thousand talents of gold, a thousand talents of silver, a thousand silk robes, a thousand horses, and a thousand virgins. A certain delay was granted, for it was in truth absolutely necessary in the exhausted condition of the Byzantine Empire. But Heraclius, who now shook off the sloth which had previously degraded his powers, turned the interval to good account by preparing for future hostilities. He even borrowed the wealth of the churches, which he promised to restore with interest; and by 622 he was enabled to commence the first of those three expeditions by which he shattered the power of Chosroes, re-established the credit of his Empire, and won for himself a reputation little inferior to that of the greatest masters of the art of war.

Before tracing the history of these campaigns, it may be as well to refer briefly to the condition of France at the latter end of the sixth and commencement of the seventh centuries. Ancient Gaul had by that time been completely subdued, except in the western parts, by its Germanic invaders, and the Germanic spirit, mixing with the genius of the Celts, was creating a new nationality out of the old materials. Under the descendants of Clovis, France was split into several divisions, of which the chief were Neustria, stretching from the Meuse and the Loire to the sea; Austrasia, lying between the Rhine, the Meuse, and the Moselle, with Metz for its capital; Burgundy in the south-east, and Aquitaine in the south-west. Provence and Gascony, on the borders of Italy and Spain, can hardly be considered as possessing a French character at all, though they were under the dominion of Frankish kings; and Bretagne (the former Armorica), while paying nominal fealty to the French sovereigns, enjoyed a prosperous independence under its native counts, who, ruling over a commercial and industrious people, held their own for many generations against the Teutonic strangers. The several kingdoms were sometimes reunited, and again divided; but the early records of France are at once obscure and uninteresting. A dreary succession of crimes revolts without instructing the student; and the savage rivalries of Fredegonde and Brunhault, the wives of Chilperic and Sigebert, sons of Clothaire, are the most conspicuous events of the period. Of these two princesses, Fredegonde was the more criminal. Brunhault had redeeming qualities, and has perhaps been to some extent maligned by the priests, whom she offended. Her end, however, was tragical. Being opposed by her grandson, she was conquered, tortured for three days (though then above eighty years old), and finally torn to pieces by wild horses, in 613. Dagobert I. and Charibert II., sons of Clothaire II., succeeded to the throne in 628, and, three years later, Dagobert made himself master of the whole kingdom by murdering his brother. Having thus acquired power by an atrocious crime, he used it for the good of his people — a phenomenon none the less remarkable for being frequent in the history of former days. Protected by the firm rule and equal laws of Dagobert, France grew rich and tranquil, and her power was acknowledged by foreign nations as that of a rising monarchy which had succeeded to one of the fairest portions of the Roman Empire. Several wars with foreign races were successfully maintained; but the personal habits of Dagobert were cruel and dissolute, and, having granted an asylum to a large number of Bulgarians, he committed the enormity of slaughtering them all in one night. When he died, in 638, after an undivided reign of only seven years, the affairs of the country again fell into disorder, and a number of youthful or incompetent kings succeeded, who are known as "Les Rois Fainéants," or "The Sluggards." These contemptible persons were little better than puppets in crown and robes, who, whenever they presented themselves in public (which was but seldom), appeared riding in a waggon drawn by oxen; and the actual work of governing was performed by the Mayors of the Palace, of whom there were one for Neustria, one for Austrasia, and one for Burgundy. The true French Monarchy had yet to arise; and, in the meanwhile, other events demand our care.



ROI FAINÉANT (ROYAL SLUGGARD) OF THE MEROVINGIAN RACE.

CHAPTER V.

HERACLIUS AND HIS SUCCESSORS.

The First Expedition of Heraclius—Severe Discipline of the Army—Defeat of the Persians—Second Expedition—Bold Advance of Heraclius into the Enemy's Country—Powerful Alliances and Numerous Successes—Operations in Media—Concentration of Forces by Chosroes—Defeat of the Persian General, Sarbaraza, in Cilicia—The Three Armies of the Persians—Siege of Chalcedon by Sarbaraza—Invasion of Thrace by the Avars and other Barbarians—Siege of Constantinople—Retreat of the Avars and their Allies—Defeat of the Persians in Armenia—Alliance of Heraclius with the Khazars—Defection of Sarbaraza—Third Expedition of the Eastern Emperor—Decisive Engagement on the Site of Nineveh—Rout of the Persians—Sack of Dastagerd—Retirement of Heraclius across the Assyrian Mountains—Chosroes Deposed by his Son Siroes—Conclusion of Peace—Exhaustion of Persia, and Approaching Fall of the Dynasty—Sufferings of the Byzantine Empire—Final Years of Heraclius—His Second Marriage, and Death—Intrigues of the Empress Martina and her Son—Brief Reign and Early Death of Constantine III.—Succession of Constans II.—His Crimes and Assassination—Reign of Constantine IV.—A Theological Sedition—Justinian II. and Leontius—Deposition of the Emperor—His Life in the Chersonesus Taurica, and Subsequent Restoration—A Reign of Bloodshed, terminated by Assassination—End of the Line of Heraclius, followed by a Period of Convulsion—Progress of Christianity in England—Claims of the Bishop of Rome—Resistance of Irish Ecclesiastics to the Assumptions of the Roman See—The Supremacy of Rome acknowledged by the Eastern Emperor Phocas—Rise of the Monastic System in Western Europe.

IMPRESSED with the solemnity of the task he had undertaken, which he regarded as having a religious no less than a political character, Heraclius commenced the first of his expeditions with every demonstration of humility. He set out two days after Easter in the year 622, having first exchanged his purple for the costume of a penitent and a warrior. The Patriarch of Constantinople, the Senate, received a discretionary power to surrender the capital during the absence of the Emperor, should the attacks of the enemy render such a course advisable; and, previous to his departure, Heraclius effected an arrangement with the Chagan, or ruler, of the Avars, by which the latter, in consideration of the payment of two hundred thousand pieces of gold, bound himself to a friendly neutrality. To attack the large force of Persians at Chalcedon, immediately opposite Con-

stantinople, would have been imprudent. Heraclius therefore embarked his army on board a large fleet in the harbour, and, sailing through the Hellespont with a favourable wind, landed in the Gulf of Issus, or Scanderoon, on the borders of Cilicia and Syria. The spot was memorable for the battle fought there in 333 B.C. between Alexander the Great and Darius Codomannus, and was therefore a place of hopeful augury for any European expedition against Persia. The camp of Heraclius was pitched on the very ground where the Macedonian hero had vanquished his Oriental foe,—a situation remarkably propitious in all its natural surroundings, since it defended the invaders on every side, and even masked their movements. These advantages, however, would have been of no avail, had not the Emperor taken care to discipline his forces to the stern task which awaited them. Everything was ordered with exactness. All the operations of war were rehearsed within the safety of the camp; and the troops were accustomed to fatigues and hardships before they were brought into the presence of the enemy. The trials of a soldier's life were borne in equal measure by Heraclius himself; at the same time, he aroused the religious enthusiasm of his people by telling them that they were about to vindicate the Christian faith against a nation of idolaters.



TREBIZOND.

A large Persian army was soon drawn up in the vicinity of the Byzantine camp; but Heraclius manœuvred with such admirable skill that, while appearing to present his front to the enemy, he was in truth outflanking the Persians, and approaching their rear. He then made a pretended movement towards Armenia, and forced on a general action at the time most convenient to himself. The Persians, deceived by some dispositions purposely made with that view, imagined that the camp of their opponents was in disorder, but, on advancing to the attack, were encountered by so

firm and animated a resistance that they were thoroughly defeated. Baffled at all points, the assailants retired from Cilicia, and Heraclius crossed Mount Taurus, marched through the plains of Cappadocia, and, having placed his troops in winter-quarters in various parts of Asia Minor, returned to Constantinople. The first expedition had thus resulted in a great triumph, and Chosroes beheld with astonishment the invasion of his Empire by a sovereign whom he had, until recently, affronted within sight of his very capital. But worse than this had yet to be endured; for Heraclius, having set his hand to the work, resolved to persevere until he had humbled the power of his rival, and delivered his own dominions from a standing menace. The second expedition commenced in 623, when the Emperor sailed from Constantinople to Trebizond (which now became the centre of his operations), and, after uniting the several divisions of his forces, advanced again into Persia. In these movements he was greatly aided by the nations of the Caucasus, and by some beyond that stupendous range, who acted as his allies. It was to assure himself of the support of the Caucasian tribes that he marched, in the first instance, in a north-easterly direction. Afterwards, turning to the south, he proceeded to Charsa, the modern Kars, and then, following the course of the Araxes to the great bend of that river, struck southward to Guazaca or Gandzaca, now known as Tabriz. This city, noted for its wealth, fell into his hands, although Chosroes was close by, with an army of 40,000 men. Continuing his victorious march, Heraclius again outflanked his antagonists, captured and destroyed Theabarma, together with several other cities, and then, once more wheeling to the north-east, took up his winter-quarters in the flat country between the Lower Araxes and the Caspian. The position was well chosen, for the immense plains furnished his numerous cavalry with provender, while the friendly Khazars of the Caucasus were not far distant.

The next campaign (which was a portion of the second expedition) cannot be traced with exactness, for the Byzantine historians appear to have known but little of the movements of Heraclius during the year 624. It would seem, however, that the Eastern Emperor, descending from the Hyrcanian mountains, entered the province of Media, took the city of Casbin, and perhaps also Aspahan, and presented so formidable a front that Chosroes drew in his forces from the Nile and the Bosphorus, and surrounded the camp [illegible]ius with a powerful array. An attack was soon made from three directions; but all the efforts of the Persians were repelled, and, by a succession of victories in the open field, and of strategic movements conceived and carried out with remarkable skill, the invader drove the armies of Chosroes into the fortified towns. He had penetrated farther into the Persian realm than any Roman had done before him, and he retired into winter-quarters at the foot of Mount Caucasus. In the spring of 625, Heraclius marched in seven days across the mountains of Kurdistan, passed the Tigris, and halted beneath the walls of Amida, now Diarbekir. The Persians had by this time quitted Chalcedon; but Chosroes ordered his lieutenant, Sarbaraza, to menace Asia Minor. That officer moved towards Cilicia, hoping to penetrate into Asia Minor, and to cut off the Byzantine troops, stationed in the fortresses, from their communication with the Mediterranean. The diversion might have been attended by serious consequences, had it been suffered to proceed; but Heraclius, passing by the main body of the Persians, rapidly followed Sarbaraza, and overtook him on the banks of the Sarus. He had, in fact, got some way ahead of him, and the Persian general, when about to force the Cilician passes, found himself in presence of the enemy. The stone bridge over the Sarus, which had been occupied, and strengthened with defensive works, was stormed by the Emperor at the head of a few veterans, and the Persians were routed; but Sarbaraza escaped through the Syrian passes, together with the remnants of his army. The ensuing winter was passed by Heraclius in Pontus, and preparations were made for a still more important campaign in the following year. Meanwhile, Chosroes revenged himself by plundering the Christian churches in Persia, and compelling all Christians in his realm to profess themselves Nestorians—a heretical sect, particularly hateful to the Orthodox subjects of the Eastern Emperor.

In the early part of 626, Chosroes took the field with three armies, recruited from every part of his empire, and augmented by slaves and strangers. The first of these armies, which was distinguished by its golden spears, consisted of 50,000 men, and was destined to march against Heraclius himself. The second was so stationed as to prevent the junction of the Emperor with his brother Theodorus; while the object of the third was to besiege Constantinople. The position of that capital was extremely perilous, for the treacherous chagan of the Avars had recently concluded a treaty of alliance and partition with the Persian king. The last of the Persian forces

was commanded by Sarbaraza, who spared no pains to retrieve his disgrace of the previous year. Rapidly traversing the whole peninsula of Asia Minor, Sarbaraza reached the walls of Chalcedon, where he awaited the arrival of the Avars. He had not to tarry long, for, on the 29th of June, the vanguard of those barbarians, amounting to a host of 30,000 men, forced the long wall which defended the territory of Constantinople, and drove a mob of terrified peasants and citizens into the Eastern metropolis. These invaders were soon followed by 80,000 more, gathered from the teeming ranks of the Avars themselves, the Gepidæ, Bulgarians, Sclavonians, and other savage nations; and by the 31st of July the chagan had invested the whole of Constantinople. The walls of that city were assailed no fewer than twelve times; but neither the Senators nor the citizens were disposed to yield. Heraclius had sent them a detachment of 12,000 mailed cavalry, who proved of great service in assisting the defence; and the mechanical powers wielded by the besieged were of course much greater than any possessed by their adversaries. Moreover, the Bosphorus was commanded by the Byzantine vessels, which entirely shattered a Sclavonian fleet off Constantinople; so that the Persians at Chalcedon were unable to give any help to their barbarian allies on the opposite shore. The chagan of the Avars was at length compelled to acknowledge that he had undertaken a hopeless task. His auxiliary forces threatened to desert; his enormous army stood in danger of a famine; and nothing remained but to retreat with as much expedition as the nature of the case allowed.

While the siege was proceeding, Chosroes hoped that the danger to the capital would draw off Heraclius from the centre of the Persian Empire; but the Byzantine monarch would not permit any such considerations to divert him from an object more immediately important. He thought it prudent, however, to retire to the banks of the Phasis, where he maintained himself against the 50,000 veterans commanded by the Persian sovereign. In the meanwhile, Sarbaraza pushed the siege of Chalcedon; but the deliverance of Constantinople raised the spirits of the Eastern Emperor, and his position was soon improved by a victory obtained by his brother Theodorus over the Persian general Said in Armenia. About the same time, Heraclius effected an alliance with Ziebel, the khan of the Khazars, who, having lately removed from the plains of the Volga to the mountains of Georgia, granted the Emperor a succour of 40,000 horse. The Persians understood the gravity of the situation, and hastily retreated from their advanced positions. The allegiance of Sarbaraza to his royal master soon after yielded to the contrivances of Heraclius; and, although he did not positively take the field against his own countrymen, he refrained from any further movements of a nature to embarrass the enemy. This important defection appears to have been brought about in a very singular manner. Alarmed by the junction of the Byzantines with the Khazars, Chosroes, it is related, sent a despatch to Sarbaraza, ordering him to relinquish all further designs upon Constantinople, and join the main army in Persia. The messenger fell into the hands of Heraclius, who altered the despatch so as to induce the Persian commander to believe that he was to hold out as long as possible before Chalcedon. Sarbaraza accordingly continued the attack on that city, and Chosroes, irritated at the neglect of his orders, sent a second messenger to the chief officer of his representative, with directions that the general should be put to death. By a mistake, the missive was delivered to Sarbaraza himself, who added the names of four hundred others, as persons to be executed with himself. He then showed the document to the pretended victims, and they and the army immediately renounced their allegiance to a master who seemed to be acting towards them in a spirit of malignant caprice. The story is so romantic as to appear improbable; but it is certain that Sarbaraza deserted the service of his own sovereign, and acted secretly on behalf of Heraclius.

The second expedition of Heraclius ended with the year 626; a third expedition followed in 627. The power of Chosroes was now greatly shattered, and the hopes which he had formed from his alliance with the Avars had proved entirely baseless. Nevertheless, the Persian monarch could still count upon a vast array of warriors whose fidelity he had no ground for questioning. It is stated that at the commencement of 627 he had half a million of men under arms; but this is doubtless an Oriental extravagance. His resources, however, were very far from mean, and the horses and elephants which accompanied his armies were numerous and effective. But the Byzantines had by this time grown confident with their repeated successes, and they advanced without hesitation from the Araxes to the Tigris, though the Khazars had now returned homewards. The invaders were cautiously followed by the Persian commander Rhazates, who at length received from Chosroes peremptory orders to bring the enemy to battle. The progress of Heraclius had been one

continued triumph. Every force which endeavoured to oppose him was swept aside; every city he besieged speedily succumbed to his arms. On the eastern bank of the Tigris, he reached the great desolate plain once rendered magnificent by the city of Nineveh. He was now in the heart of ancient Assyria, then included in the Persian Empire; and it was certainly high time that his progress should be stopped, if such a feat were any longer possible. The locality was well adapted to a battle on a large scale. Not only had the great city itself disappeared, but its very ruins were hidden beneath the soil. A large open expanse, broken only by mounds which marked the site of ancient edifices, gave ample room for the operations of two hostile forces; and it was here that Rhazates, who had recently got a little ahead of the Emperor, took up his position in order of battle. His object was to prevent the Byzantines from occupying the valley of the Tigris, and marching upon Ctesiphon; he also hoped to inflict upon his enemy so decisive a reverse as to shatter the prospects of the campaign. In that desolate spot, over the graves of a dead Empire, two living Empires contended for supremacy, if not for existence. The battle, which was fought on the 12th of December, lasted from daybreak until night, and ended in the complete discomfiture of the Persians. Rhazates himself was slain by the hand of Heraclius; the greater part of the Persian army was destroyed; and twenty-eight standards fell into the hands of the victors, whose own loss, however, was considerable. On the following day, Heraclius pushed on with great rapidity, and in a few hours his vanguard occupied the bridges of the Greater and Lesser Zab. The conquering hosts poured on without opposition, and, on the 1st of January, 628, gained the royal seat of Dastagerd, the treasures of which, though much reduced by the operations of war, and by subsequent removal to safer localities, were still sufficient to astonish the invaders. A portion was carried away by the army of Heraclius; the rest was destroyed by fire, so that it might not again pass into the hands of the Persian monarch. Chosroes had received a terrible blow, and the Byzantines were rewarded by the recovery of three hundred standards formerly taken from their armies, and by the opportunity of delivering numerous captives. Heraclius then advanced to within a few miles of Ctesiphon, but, on reaching the banks of the Arba, considered it advisable to retreat, owing to the arrival of winter, and the difficulty of passing the stream in his front. He crossed the Assyrian mountains before the usual fall of snow, which that year continued incessantly for thirty-four days; and, arriving at Gandzaca, quartered his soldiers upon the citizens.

The fame of the Eastern Empire was now so firmly established that Heraclius felt himself in a position to make proposals for peace. He accordingly sent repeated messengers to Chosroes, suggesting the desirability of an arrangement which should spare the Persian Empire the horrors of a prolonged struggle. The vanquished sovereign, however, was not willing to receive such advances, although many of his own subjects were tired of the war, and ready to accept any terms not actually disgraceful. The king was old, and visibly approaching his end. He resolved, therefore, to nominate his son Merdaza as his successor; but an elder son, Siroes, whose mother had been the favourite wife of the reigning monarch, determined to assert his rights by one of those acts which so frequently cast a stain on the pages of Oriental history. Siroes entered into a conspiracy with several of the nobles, and it was agreed that they should appear in the camp with the external symbols of royalty, and that, if the attempt failed, the prince should escape to the head-quarters of Heraclius. For this precaution there was in fact no need. The army received Siroes with acclamation, and Chosroes took to flight, about the close of February, 628. He was followed and arrested; eighteen of his sons were massacred before his face, and five days later he expired in the dungeon where he had been confined. Siroes immediately concluded a treaty of peace and alliance with the Eastern Emperor. Heraclius did not care to enlarge his realm, being well aware that the powers of the State were barely sufficient to maintain that which he already possessed. The new ruler of Persia, on the other hand, abandoned the conquests made by his father; and on these terms an arrangement was easily effected. One of the most urgent stipulations of Heraclius was that by which he obtained the restitution of the Holy Cross (supposed to be the actual instrument of the Crucifixion), which Chosroes had seized at the capture of Jerusalem, and which, according to a legend of the Church, had been miraculously discovered in Palestine by the Empress Helena, mother of Constantine the Great. By the festival of the Elevation of the Cross, its re-erection in Jerusalem by Heraclius is still commemorated on the 14th of September. The victorious Emperor now returned to Constantinople, where he was met by the Senate, the clergy, and the people, carrying olive-branches and lamps. He entered the city in a chariot drawn by four elephants, and the acclamations of the citizens gave fervid expression to

the sentiments of pride and gratitude which the successes of the hero had won.

The dominion of the Sassanides did not long survive the terrible war which Heraclius had waged in defence of his just rights, and in opposition to the insolent demands of his enemy. Siroes reigned no longer than eight months, and a series of revolutions then set in, attended by much bloodshed, and exhibiting in many directions the decrepitude and despair of a political state hovering on the very edge of extinction. The conquest of Persia by the Arabian Caliphs, about the middle of the seventh century, marks the commencement of a new era, connected with the rise and development of that religion which had Mohammed for its author. But, although the exhaustion of Persia was extreme and even fatal, it cannot be said that its adversary gained in anything like an equal degree. The expenses of the war had been great, and the treasures of Dastagerd were not sufficient to defray them. A large part of the spoils was distributed among the soldiers; another part was lost in a tempest on the Euxine. When the Emperor returned to Constantinople, he found himself confronted by the difficulty of repaying to the Church the wealth he had borrowed before starting on his first expedition. To meet this pressing necessity, he was compelled to lay heavy taxes on provinces which had already suffered from the exactions and devastation of the enemy. The military position of the Empire was seriously weakened by the loss of 200,000 soldiers who had fallen in the late campaigns, and the whole population was impoverished by the decay of arts and the ruin of agriculture.

The remaining years of Heraclius form but a melancholy conclusion to the heroic glory of his middle period. Most of the Byzantine Emperors were inclined to theological controversy, and Heraclius was no exception to the rule. He was an ardent supporter of the doctrine of the Monothelites, who taught that the human nature in Christ was entirely passive under the will of his divine nature. A council held at Rome in 640 condemned the doctrine, and Heraclius discovered, to his mortification, that his powers as a theologian did not equal his successes as a general. This was not the only ground on which he came into collision with the Church. After the death of his first wife, Eudocia, he desired to contract marriage with his niece, Martina. The Patriarch of Constantinople forbade the union, but Heraclius disregarded his prohibition. By a previous marriage, Martina had a son named Heracleonas; and when Heraclius conferred on his eldest son, Constantine, the title of Augustus, Martina contrived that her own son should be associated with him in the Empire. The Emperor soon after fell into a condition of sloth and mental feebleness, in which he contemplated with fatalistic apathy the alarming strides made by the Saracens in the south-eastern portions of his realm. Syria, Palestine, Mesopotamia, and Egypt, were overrun by these warriors, and the mighty vanquisher of Chosroes was content to see his Empire partitioned by the fanatical children of the desert. Heraclius died of dropsy, in February, 641, after a reign of thirty-one years. By his last testament, he declared his own son, and the son of Martina, equal heirs of the Empire, though under the sovereignty of the Empress herself. Martina, however, was compelled by the Senate to abandon this position, and the throne was then occupied by Constantine III., sometimes called Heraclius II. His reign came to a sudden termination, after lasting not more than a hundred and three days. His health had always been feeble, but it was believed that he died from poison administered by his stepmother. Heracleonas, the son of Martina, now reigned in his stead; but he was speedily deposed and brought to trial, together with his parent. Both being found guilty of the death of Constantine, a cruel punishment was inflicted on them. The tongue of Martina was cut out, the nose of Heracleonas was amputated; and the sufferers were then sent into exile for the remainder of their days.

Constantine III. left behind him at his death a son aged eleven years. This boy, Constans II., succeeded to the throne after the deposition of Martina and Heracleonas, and, upon attaining his majority, began to take measures against a possible revolution. He feared that his younger brother, Theodosius, might be advanced to the throne in place of himself, and he forced him to take holy orders as a defence against worldly ambition. Theodosius became a deacon; but the jealous apprehensions of Constans remained as strong as ever. The unfortunate young man was murdered, and the Emperor found himself menaced by so violent an outbreak of popular indignation that he fled from Constantinople in the winter of 662, passed some months at Athens, and then sailed to Italy. At Rome, he pillaged the churches, and, laden with treasure, departed for Syracuse, the capital of Sicily. His conscience, however, pursued him with terrors which, though visionary, were the righteous judgments on a crime of signal enormity. He fancied that he was constantly followed by the ghost of his brother, who presented to his lips a goblet of blood, with the words, "Drink, brother, drink!"—an exhortation which bec

doubly appalling when Constans recollected that he had received from Theodosius the deacon the sacrament of the blood of Christ. It is doubtful whether Constans would have long survived so awful a retribution; but his death was precipitated in 668 by the treason of a domestic. One day, while he was bathing, an attendant, who had just poured warm water on his head, suddenly struck him with the vase. Stunned by the blow, he fell into the water, where he was speedily suffocated. The motive for the act does not appear; but Constans was generally detested for his crimes and his impiety.



CÆSAREA, IN CAPPADOCIA.

The rightful successor to Constans was the eldest of his three sons, who, having been born after his father's accession to the throne, enjoyed the title of Porphyrogenitus—that is, born in the purple. All three had been summoned by their parent to join him in Sicily; but the fugitive Emperor was informed that they were the children of the State, and could not be suffered to quit Constantinople. When the news arrived at the capital that the hated tyrant had been slain, Constantine, the eldest of his sons, was immediately proclaimed his successor. But he entered on a task of some difficulty, for a rival had already appeared in Sicily, where the troops had elevated an obscure youth to Imperial command. The movement was sufficiently serious to necessitate combined military and naval operations for its suppression. The usurper was defeated and slain, and Constantine IV. avenged his injuries by acts of extreme cruelty. He then returned to Constantinople, where he received the surname of Pogonatus, from the growth of his beard during the Sicilian voyage. His reign was scarcely more happy than that of his father. Family dissensions were not long in breaking out, and his two brothers conspired against him. Both of these princes had received from Constantine the empty title of



TRIUMPH OF HERACLIUS AT CONSTANTINOPLE.

Augustus; but, being dissatisfied with their entire exclusion from power, they instigated the soldiers of Anatolia (Asia Minor) to demand for the Augusti an equal share in the sovereignty. It is a curious illustration of the theological tendencies of the age, which seem to have penetrated all ranks and conditions of society, that the mutineers based their arguments on religious considerations. They urged that they were sincere Christians and orthodox Catholics; that the dogma of the Trinity was dear to them; and that, since there were three equal persons in heaven, it was fitting that there should be three equal persons upon earth. The Catholicity of the Emperor may have been equal to that of the remonstrants; but in this respect it was limited solely to celestial considerations, and the mundane application of the Anatolian troops was regarded as treason. Constantine, however, dissembled his indignation, that he might lure the traitors more fully within his grasp. He invited the leaders of the movement to a friendly conference with the Senate, at which their arguments might be developed with the fulness which their gravity seemed to require. But matters were very quickly brought to a crisis by the suspension of these military theologians upon gibbets in the suburb of Galata. Heraclius and Tiberius were pardoned for their presumption, but, on the offence being repeated, were punished by the loss of their noses, and by degradation from the position they had previously held.

Constantine IV. died in 685, after a reign of seventeen years. He was succeeded by his son Justinian II., a youth of poor abilities and vicious habits. He governed, as such a person may be expected to govern, capriciously and cruelly. Nevertheless, he managed to prolong his power for ten years, but in 695 was deposed in favour of a general named Leontius, who had been immured in a dungeon for more than three years, together with several of the patricians. For some unexplained reason, Justinian suddenly released Leontius from his captivity, and appointed him to the government of Greece. As he was proceeding to the vessel which was to convey him to his province, he observed to his friends that he was a victim adorned for the sacrifice, and that his life would assuredly be taken by the Emperor. His companions replied by suggesting that, if he would place himself at the head of a popular movement, the general detestation of a lawless tyrant would ensure his success. Two hundred thousand patriots, it was alleged, waited only for a leader; and Leontius, suddenly convinced that a revolution was not merely desirable, but easy of accomplishment, entered into a conspiracy for deposing Justinian. A rising took place the same night; the Prefect was slain, the prisons were broken open, and the emissaries of Leontius passed through the streets, exclaiming, "Christians, to St. Sophia!" At the cathedral, an incendiary discourse was delivered by the Patriarch, who chose for his text the words, "This is the day of the Lord." Inflamed and animated by the exhortations of their religious chief, the people rushed from the church to the hippodrome. Leontius assumed the purple, and Justinian was dragged from the palace, to answer the charges of his exasperated subjects. Instant death was demanded as the punishment of his crimes; but Leontius interposed to mitigate the extreme consequences of the Emperor's misdeeds. After being mutilated, the fallen despot was banished to the Chersonesus Taurica, where communication with the civilised world was extremely difficult, and the luxuries of a capital were almost unknown.

In a political state so debased as that of Constantinople, revolutions are seldom productive of the good results they aim at accomplishing. Leontius, advanced to the supreme power, proved no more acceptable than his predecessor, and in 698 was dethroned by a rebel whose real name was Absimarus, but who afterwards took the appellation of Tiberius. Justinian, who had never ceased to entertain hopes of his return, conceived that this new revolution gave him the opportunity of action. He escaped from the Chersonesus to the Tartar tribe of the Khazars, who dwelt between the Borysthenes and the Tanais. From the khan of that nomadic horde, Justinian received his sister in marriage; but the barbarian was soon bribed by Absimarus to betray the cause of his new friend. The fallen Emperor would probably have been assassinated had not his wife discovered and revealed the plot in time. Two emissaries were dispatched by the khan with instructions to slay or seize the Byzantine exile. Justinian strangled both with his own hands; then, having sent back his wife to the faithless ruler of the Khazars, he entered a ship on the Euxine, and sailed towards the west. A violent tempest came on, and one of his companions advised him to propitiate the favour of heaven by a vow of general forgiveness if he should regain his throne. But he replied by impiously adjuring his Creator to overwhelm him in the waves that instant if he spared any one of his enemies. His destination was the Danube, and, having landed on the banks of the river, he threw himself on the hospitality of a Bulgarian tribe, and purchased the aid of a Pagan chieftain

named Terbelis by promises of a reward in money, and a matrimonial alliance with his daughter.

With a large Bulgarian force, the exile laid siege to Constantinople, and in 704 obtained an entrance into his former capital, where he recommenced the reign which had been suspended in 695. It is to the credit of Justinian, of whom but little can be said that is honourable, that he recalled the wife he had married in the Scythian wilderness, and who had saved his life from the treachery of a faithless friend. He also repaid his Bulgarian allies with a liberal sum in gold; but it must be added, on the other hand, that he fully carried out the execrable vow made on his voyage to the Danube. His second reign lasted seven years, which were distinguished by little else than a repetition of remorseless punishments and tortures. Leontius and Absimarus were executed, after the Emperor had sat for above an hour with his foot on their necks, witnessing a chariot-race in the hippodrome. Justinian was particularly enraged against the Chersonites, who, during the latter part of his residence in the peninsula, had shown their dislike of the vices which even exile could not obscure. He declared that the whole people should perish, and he sent out as his executioner a wretch named Stephen, who had justly earned the epithet of the Savage. Several of the Chersonites were slain; others escaped; and, in order that these latter might be exterminated, Justinian sent out a second expedition. The people, however, rose in arms against the despot; the khan of the Khazars openly renounced his alliance; and it was found that Justinian had no supporters capable of upholding his cause against the general execration. The tyrant was deserted by his own guards, and soon afterwards assassinated. His son Tiberius took refuge in a church; but he also was slain; and in 711 the Imperial house of Heraclius reached its close in an orgie of revenge and blood.

The head of the insurrection by which Justinian was finally hurled from power was a person named Bardanes, who now, under the name of Philippicus, succeeded to the throne. His reign came to a sudden and tragical end in 713, when, after a pompous festival, he was seized while slumbering in his chamber, bound, blinded by the destruction of his eyes, and violently hurried from the palace. The conspirators, however, were unable to carry out the nomination of their own candidate, and an obscure secretary named Artemius succeeded to power, with the title of Anastasius II. His merits appear to have been considerable; but he resigned the sceptre in 716, after a vain attempt to quell a naval insurrection instigated by an officer of the revenue, who occupied the throne for a few months as Theodosius III. Another revolution upset the power of this pretender, and a new dynasty commenced with Leo III., surnamed the Isaurian, owing to his being a native of Isauria, in Asia Minor. Anastasius and Theodosius were permitted to enter the Church; but the former ultimately made a treasonable attempt against the Emperor Leo, and paid the forfeit with his life. Theodosius, whose previous ambition might have suggested a different termination to his career, ended his days in peace, leaving behind him a reputation for miraculous gifts which was long cherished by the people of Ephesus.

The most powerful influence in the world, at the period we are now describing, was that of religion. The ecclesiastical idea, in some form or other, was the idea which dominated men's minds to a far greater degree than war or politics, than literature or philosophy, than art or science. We shall shortly have to trace the earlier history of one of the greatest religious movements ever known—the burning, and even fanatical, protest of Mohammed and his followers against the degrading idolatry and polytheism of the East. We shall have also to record another, but ineffectual, struggle against the extravagances of image-worship, made in Constantinople itself by two of the Byzantine Emperors; but for the present we may take up the story of Christianity as it was slowly developed in our own country by missionaries from the Continent and from Ireland. The Northumbrian king Edwin—one of the greatest of the old English monarchs—adopted the Christian faith early in the seventh century, and did much towards the general diffusion of its tenets in that part of the island. But in 633 he was attacked by a powerful combination, and, being defeated at Heathfield, in Yorkshire, perished on the field of battle. The principal of his enemies was Penda, the Pagan king of Mercia, who entered into an alliance with the Welsh king Cadwallon. Christianity had fallen to a very low ebb in England, and the work of Augustine might have been entirely undone, had it not been reinforced by emissaries from Ireland. Oswald, king of Northumbria, had been educated in the famous monastery of Iona, and, on succeeding to the throne in 635, sent for missionaries from that place. One of them, named Aidan, sailed for the coast of Northumberland, where he fixed his episcopal see in the peninsula of Lindisfarne, since known as the Holy Island. The monks were for the most part men of Irish birth; so that Ireland, which in the fifth century had been Christianised by the Romano-

Briton St. Patrick, now repaid its debt by carrying the principles of the faith back to the greater island whence they had been first received.

For several years covering the middle of the seventh century, Christianity, as represented by Northumbria, and Paganism, as championed by the Mercian king Penda, maintained a terrible and destructive contest. Victorious in the first instance, Penda and his Mercians underwent a great defeat near Leeds in 655. From that time forth, the cause of the older faith was manifestly lost, and the chief question that remained was as to the form and direction which English Christianity should take. A schism arose at a very early period. The Irish monks, who had played so important a part in reconverting the English people, acknowledged but little dependence on the see of Rome. They regarded the authority of Columba as superior to that of an Italian Bishop. But among the English Christians were some who determined that the claims of Rome should not be set aside. The principal of these was Wilfred, Bishop of York, and the strife became so serious that Oswi, king of Northumbria, summoned a council at Whitby in 664, that the great questions at issue might be fully discussed. Finally it was decided that no authority could be so high as that of Rome, since Christ had given the keys to Peter, and Peter had founded the Romish Church. After this declaration, the Irish monks, with thirty of their English followers, quitted Lindisfarne, and sailed for Iona. Such was the commencement of that subjection of the English Church to the Church of Rome which lasted until the days of Henry VIII. It is a remarkable fact, considering the complete reversal of the position in latter times, that the opposition to Ultramontanism in the seventh century came from Ireland, and that it was England which supported the excessive claims of Rome. The independence of Ireland, and the subserviency of an English monarch, appeared again five centuries later, when Henry II. undertook the conquest of Ireland, ostensibly that he might force the Irish people to pay Peter's pence, which they had previously refused to do on grounds of principle. The devotion of Ireland to the Papal supremacy is an affair of a much later date.



WHITBY ABBEY.

The arbitrary power of Rome was by no means fully established in the days when Oswi of Northumbria summoned his council at Whitby; but it had already made considerable strides towards that perfection of despotism which has since been acknowledged in so large a portion of the globe. The primacy of Rome over the various provinces of what had once been the Western Empire was in each succeeding age enforced with greater strictness. The Metropolitans, as the provincial Bishops were termed, found their independent powers diminished by a slow and gradual process, until at length their election was not considered valid unless it was confirmed by the Bishops of Rome.

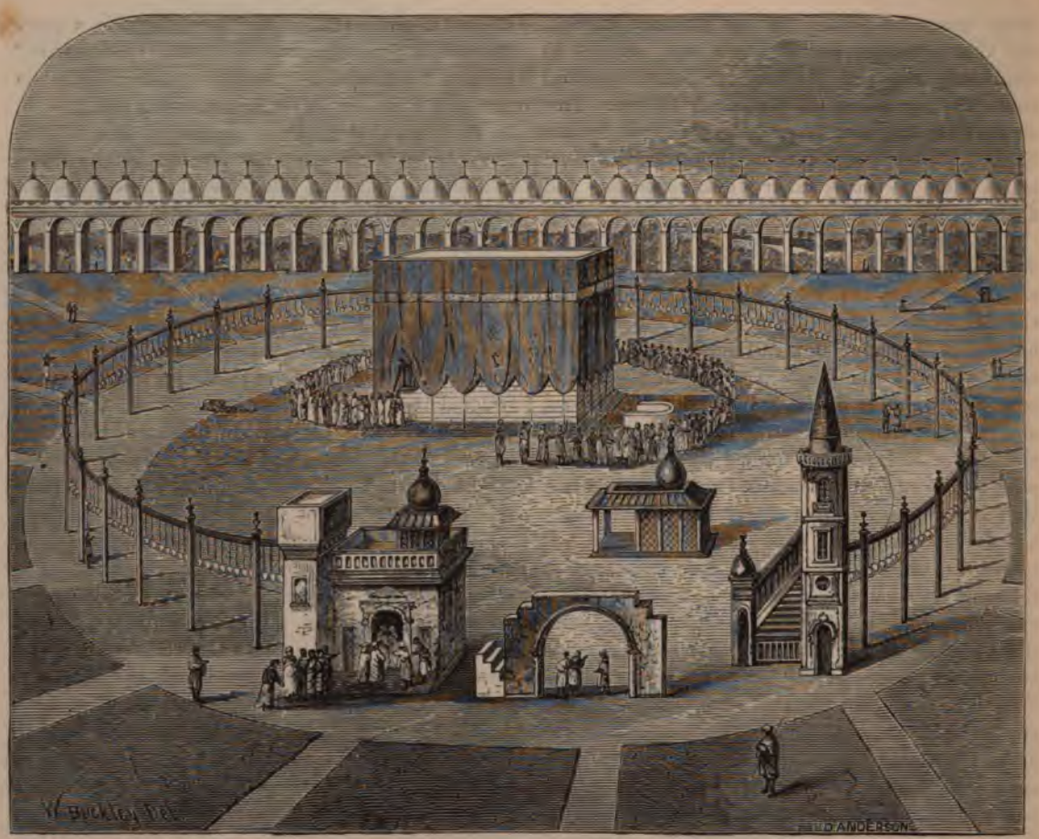
Even Gregory the Great, though he had denounced any claim to universal rule as distinctly anti-Christian, accustomed all the sees of the West to pay particular regard to his own primacy. It was Boniface III., however, who, in 607, persuaded Phocas, the tyrannical Emperor of the East deposed by Heraclius, to confer on him and his successors the special and distinctive title of Pope. That appellation, as a form of reverence, not as a title of office, had previously belonged to all Bishops; but, in the sense now attached to the term, it was never used by the Roman Bishops until the period just indicated. Phocas also permitted Boniface III. to claim supremacy over the whole Christian Church; so that, from the time of this ecclesiastic, the position of the Romish See was materially altered. Even then, some ages had still to elapse before the Roman Bishops claimed imperious jurisdiction, not only over other branches of the Church—not only over the minds and consciences of men—but over kings and magistrates in their official capacity. It must be recollected that, in the time of Phocas,

Rome formed a portion of the Eastern Empire, and that consequently Boniface was obliged to obtain permission of the Emperor before he could assert the powers of an Universal Bishop. This claim, however, was never acknowledged by the Eastern Church; and the haughtiness of its rival led in time to many angry disagreements, and finally to a complete rupture.

The assumptions of Rome were undoubtedly productive of many evil consequences to mankind when they began to tell upon the lives of individuals and the policy of States; but, like other subtle influences, they were slow in their operation. The ecclesiastics of the Western world, in the earlier centuries, were for the most part an estimable set of men, who, inheriting not a little of the ancient civilisation and culture, formed a useful counterpoise to the rugged violence of Goths and Vandals. Repeated invasions, often characterised by rapacity and devastation of the most outrageous kind, had ruined the cities of Italy, Gaul, and Spain, and at the same time had driven large numbers of the peasantry into those very towns, as places offering some slight degree of protection against the barbarian hordes who roamed at will about the open country. Thus, commerce and the arts were impaired in the great cities, while agriculture languished in the fields. Population decreased with alarming rapidity; lands once famous for their corn and wine returned to the condition of the primeval forest, or became involved in marshes, which poisoned the surrounding air, and produced little of any value to the wants of man. Subjected by warriors of alien race, who understood neither the language nor the feelings of Romanised communities, the cultivators of the soil sank to the level of mere serfs, who had no interest in doing more than the barest necessities of the hour imperatively required.

In this state of general disruption and decline, the ecclesiastical brotherhoods cherished the memory of a better state, preserved some tincture of learning and intellect, and devoted their energies, not merely to propagating the dogmas of their faith, but to drawing forth all the capabilities of the land consecrated to their use. The domains of the monks in those early ages were really so many oases in the desert of barbarism. The monastic system was introduced into Western Europe, about 529, by St. Benedict, and the monks of his order laboured with their own hands on their several homesteads. In the East, the system had long existed in its most extravagant and objectionable forms; but St. Benedict taught his followers to beware of idleness as the greatest enemy of the soul, and even permitted them to set aside their religious duties if the work of the harvest made a more immediate demand upon their time. "No person," he said, "is ever more usefully employed than when working with his hands, or following the plough, so as to provide food for the use of man." The monasteries were generally planted in the finest situations; but this alone would have been insufficient, had not the intelligent industry of the ecclesiastics been incessantly brought to bear upon the latent powers of Nature. No doubt, this happy state of things degenerated in after-times. The monks became lazy and sensual, and their overgrown establishments proved a curse to all the countries of Europe. But in the previous ages the ordered toil of the monks was not merely a blessing in itself; it was an example which the barbarian conquerors and their miserable serfs at length began to follow. So important were these labours considered in the seventh century, that when Bishops were summoned to a council or a conference, the time of meeting was fixed at a season which would not interfere with the operations of agriculture. The lands of the monks were places of sanctuary — certainly not an unmixed good, but a privilege which, in the lawless times of Gothic invasion, may sometimes have been useful in protecting the humble from the arrogance of martial power. In time, the monasteries were fenced about with privileges and immunities, granted by kings who reverenced the ecclesiastics, and who recognised in the work of their hands the evidence of a higher intelligence than their own.

In the decay of literature, the learning of Greece and Rome passed almost entirely into the hands of the churchmen, who formed a vast community over the greater part of Europe—a community bound together by frequent intercommunication, and by identity of interests. But, in the course of the seventh century, many of these virtues were lost. The Church became arrogant; the ecclesiastics, individually, fell into a state of ignorance little better than that of the Northern savages who had poured over the Roman Empire in its decline. Pride and debauchery had crept into the fold. The increasing power of the Roman Pontiff sapped the independence and self-respect of the minor ecclesiastics; idolatry gathered force; the unity of Christendom was split up into a multitude of sects, which disputed with one another on a hundred subtleties of doctrine, such as no one could make clear to his opponent, or even to himself; and a large portion of the world was prepared for the advent of a new religion, which issued from the deserts of Arabia, armed with the powers of simplicity and earnestness, of courage and the sword.



THE KAABA, MECCA.

CHAPTER VI.

ARABIA AND MOHAMMED.

Arabia in the Ancient World—Character of the People—Their Contact with other Races—The Romans in Arabia—History of Yemen in the Pre-Mohammedan Ages—Influence of the Jews and Abyssinians—Greek Subdivisions of the Peninsula—The Arabs of the Desert—Arabian Poetry—Sabæism one of the Principal Religions of Arabia—Prevalence of Idolatry—The Kaaba at Mecca—Magism, Judaism, and Christianity in Arabia—Religious Enmity and Want of Toleration—Sceptical Element—The Forerunners of Islamism—Birth, Family, and Early Life of Mohammed—His Mental Agitation on the Subject of Religion—Ascetic Habits and Epileptic Tendencies—The Vision in the Cave on Mount Hara—Announcement by Mohammed of his Divine Mission—Progress of the New Faith—Mohammed and Miracles—Vehement Opposition of the Koreishites—The Prophet's Fortunes at their Lowest—Evil Effects of the Practice of Polygamy—Medina inclined to Receive the New Doctrine—Flight of Mohammed to that City—The Era of the Hejira—Accession of Strength to the Reformer—The Teaching of the Sword Proclaimed—Incidents of the Flight—War with the Koreishites—Success and Failure—Mohammed Besieged in Medina—Severe Treatment of the Jews, and its Explanation—A Ten Years' Truce with the Koreishites—Visit of Mohammed to Mecca, and subsequent Triumphal Entry—The Smiting of Idols—Conversion of all Arabia—The Future of Islam assured.

UNTIL the era of Mohammed, Arabia was a country of which the remainder of the world heard but little. Although of immense extent, it never became one of the seats of empire, owing to a large portion of the territory being desert, to the wild and nomadic life of the people, and to the remote situation of the peninsula, which disconnected the inhabitants from the great movements of mankind. We read of it in the Old Testament as the land of Ishmael—the country of the Edomites, the Amalekites, and the Midianites. But it is chiefly the minor peninsula of Sinai that is there referred to, and the most distinctive part of Arabia—indeed, almost the whole of it—lies east of the Red Sea.

The people are in the main of Semitic race, and therefore related to the Jews; but a Hamitic element is also traceable: indeed, it is probable that an earlier Hamitic was largely displaced by a later Semitic stock. In ancient history we find occasional allusions to the Arabs as wandering tribes spreading over Syria and the neighbouring countries, and exhibiting qualities at once thievish and martial. Many of these clans were little better than associations of brigands, who united predatory with pastoral habits, and were ever ready to fight for their rude independence. The government of the tribes was patriarchal; their mode of living, except in the few towns, was the tent-life of the desert, which permitted the utmost freedom of locomotion, and the opportunity of seeking fresh pasturage as often as it might be required. The Bedouin Arab was for the most part a shepherd and a warrior, as he still is; but he possessed the virtues of temperance, hospitality, and courage. The Arabian of the towns was a merchant, and trafficked largely with the communities to the east and west. The natural productions of the country were extremely rich, and, in particular, Arabia was the source from which the nations of antiquity derived the frankincense, myrrh, and other perfumes, which were absolutely essential to the ceremonies of Pagan worship. Gold and jewels were yielded by its mines; and the Arabians not only traded in these things, but acted as intermediate agents in the commerce of the Phœnicians with the distant people of India.



BEDOUIN ARAB.

That the population of Arabia frequently issued out of their own domain, even in very early ages, and made inroads into other countries, is highly probable; but very little can be affirmed with confidence. An Arabian dynasty is mentioned in the Babylonian (or, more strictly speaking, Chaldæan) annals; the Shepherd Kings of Egypt may perhaps have belonged to the same nationality; the Queen of Sheba is believed to have been a princess of Arabia; and amongst the many speculations as to the land of Ophir, modern scholars incline to favour that wealthy peninsula. The situation of Arabia, defended on all sides by the sea, except to the north, where it is shut in by great deserts, aided the valour of its people in repelling all attempts at subjugation. It is probably to this cause that we must refer the fact of Arabia never having formed a portion of the mighty Empires of the East. Alexander the Great contemplated an attack on the vast, obscure peninsula flanked by the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf; but he did not live to carry out his design. Nor were the Hellenic or Macedonian States arising from the Alexandrine conquests at all successful in their attempts to subdue the Arabs, though the enterprise was repeated several times. The Romans, during the reign of Augustus, penetrated to the capital of the Sabæans, in the west of the country, but the troops suffered so much from want of provisions, and the terrible heat of the climate, that Ælius Gallus, the commander of the expedition, was glad to gain the coast, and cross the Red Sea into Egypt. Arabia Petræa, however, was reduced to a Roman province by Cornelius Palma in the time of Trajan; and the rock-hewn city of Petra rose into importance as a seat of commerce and of wealth.

The principal Arabian kingdom, in days before the Mohammedan era, was that of Yemen, in the extreme south-west. This realm was for several generations ruled by the dynasty of the Himyarides, or Homeritæ, one of whom, named Abu Kurrûb Tobbaa, is said to have received an embassy from Hindostan, to have learned somewhat about China, and to have subsequently conducted an expedition against both countries, whence, after an absence of seven years, he returned with an immense booty. Abu Kurrûb appears to have lived either in the sixth or the fifth century B.C., and the story of his Eastern enterprise is held to be not entirely devoid of truth. About the beginning of the third century, and therefore a little after the time of Alexander the Great, a fearful catastrophe occurred in Yemen. An immense mound had in previous ages been constructed between two hills above the capital, Mareb, or Saba, to prevent the city from being flooded by the torrents which poured down from the upper lands. A reservoir was thus formed, by which the water was conducted by artificial channels to the fields and gardens. Extraordinary fertility was the result; but in time the embankment fell into decay, and at length broke up, so that the whole city was annihilated. The event caused a great scattering of the population, and it is probably from this period that we are to date the settlement of Arab tribes in Syria and Mesopotamia.

After the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus, large numbers of Jews settled in the Arabian peninsula, and converted many of the tribes. At a later date, Christianity found its way into the southern parts, but was so fiercely persecuted by one of the Himyaride princes that the Negus or Prince of Abyssinia conducted an army to their assistance. The Axumites, or Abyssinians—a race partly Ethiopic, partly Jewish, partly negroish—had been converted to Christianity, in the reign of Constantine the Great, by missionaries from Alexandria; indeed, they still retain a certain debased form of that religion. The Arabian king, Dsu-Nowas, who had adopted the Jewish faith, was defeated by the Negus, and in despair threw himself into the sea. Yemen then became an Abyssinian province, and it is recorded that the strangers from Africa brought with them the germs of small-pox, which the subsequent conquests of the Saracens spread far and wide. After ruling for seventy-three years, the Abyssinians were expelled by a Persian army during the reign of Chosroes I., and Yemen was governed by satraps from about 570 until it became subject to the Mohammedan power. The other subdivisions of Arabia Proper are without any history worth recording. The annals of Arabia Petræa belong to the Roman Empire, while the Arabs of the outlying districts merge in the great sovereignties of which they were either the subjects or the vassals. In Yemen we have something like a distinct nationality and an intelligible chronicle. But even here the materials are meagre, and the facts confused with fiction. The true Arabia is that of the Desert; and the Arabia of the Desert is almost voiceless until the time of Mohammed.

The Greek subdivision of the peninsula into Arabia Petræa, Arabia Felix, and Arabia Deserta, is attributed to Ptolemy. The first of these territories included the whole of the north-western parts; the second, the west and south-west coasts; and the third, the interior of the country, of which scarcely anything was known to the ancient world,

and which even now is very far from completely explored. The so-called Stony Arabia received its name, not from its possessing a generally mountainous character, but from the city of Petra; while the expression "Felix," or Happy, was a mistranslation of the native term Yemen, which signifies the land lying to the right of Mecca. Arabia Deserta, however, is a very proper expression, for the middle of the peninsula is undoubtedly a wilderness of sterile sand and stone. The more civilized parts of Arabia form a sort of fringe round this immense waste; but the majority of the Arabian population are even now inhabitants of the desert. It is the preponderance of uncultivated land and unsettled life that has to a great extent deprived Arabia of a history. For thousands of years before the time of Mohammed, and again for many centuries since, the Arab has been content to be shut up in the vast silence and illimitable spaces of his mysterious land, living the same life from generation to generation, caring nothing for the progress of the world, and simply asking, or rather demanding, that he should be left alone in his savage freedom and his ancient ways. To feed his flocks and herds, to rear his matchless horses, to conduct his tribal wars, to chant his wild songs of battle, and love, and revenge, to range the pathless desert under a sky of tyrannous light and almost unbroken calm, to perform the simplest duties of paternity, to sweep down on the lonely traveller or the unprotected caravan, when the chances of an hour may secure the wealth of years, to reverence the name of the Prophet, and to observe the forms of his religion,—these things are all that the Arab cares for or requires.

Though not a literary people in the critical sense of the word, the Arabians possessed a strong vein of poetry, which found its expression in numerous songs. The early poetry of Arabia is precisely such as might be expected to arise out of the conditions which produced it. "It is not," as Deutsch observes, "a transcendental poetry, rich in deep and thoughtful legend and lore, or glittering in the many-coloured prisms of fancy; but a poetry, the chief task of which is to paint life and nature as they really are. It is chiefly and characteristically full of manliness, of vigour, and of a chivalrous spirit, doubly striking when compared with the spirit of abjectness and slavery found in some other Asiatic nations."* The poetry of which the German scholar is here speaking is that which was composed before the time of Mohammed. Of these compositions only a few fragments now remain. The later Arabian poets wrote in a very different style, and were the products of a higher civilization, qualified by the literary culture of the Persians. The chief historic value of the older poetry is in the picture it presents of the fiery and enthusiastic natures amongst whom Mohammedanism arose, and who carried the new faith from its native deserts over half the countries of the world. In early times a great annual fair was held at Okadh, where the poets recited their verses, and entered into friendly contests, similar to those of the Olympic Games in ancient Greece, and of the Eisteddfod in modern Wales.

The religion of the ancient Arabs was various, but fell chiefly under the two headings of the Sabæan and the Magian. The Sabæan faith was attributed to Sabi, the son of Seth, who, as they believed, was buried, together with his father and his brother Enoch, in the Pyramids of Egypt. Whatever the origin of the term, Sabæism was undoubtedly a form of star-worship, and it is probable that it originated with the Chaldæan shepherds, who, as they watched their flocks, observed the motions of the heavenly bodies, and considered them to be the rulers of the terrestrial world. This not unnatural belief may even have been Antediluvian; at any rate, it was extremely ancient, and traces of it are to be found all over Western Asia. The original simplicity of the faith, which possessed many of the finest elements of religion, was in time corrupted by the usual tendency of exalted conceptions to deteriorate by association with a lower class of minds. Sabæism, which began by looking beyond the immediate influence of the planets to the spiritual life that regulated them, ended by becoming one of the numerous forms of idolatry. In its earlier and better period, this primitive religion regarded the heavenly bodies as the homes of angelic beings, acting as agents of the Supreme Creator, who was acknowledged as the invisible source of all power and of all excellence. The moral system combined with the theology of Sabæism appears to have been worthy of its association. But, in the course of ages, the stars were adored as deities themselves. Mountains, stones, and trees were supposed to be animated by souls, and the Arabian religion acquired the character of Fetichism, or low Nature-worship. The unity of the Divine nature was forgotten by the greater number of the people, and the inevitable result ensued in the multiplication of graven images, which were held to be mystically representative of the celestial powers. Amongst the Arabs, each tribe worshipped its particular star or planet; each, therefore, had an idol of its own.

* Literary Remains (1874).

The service of these idols was attended by human sacrifices, and infanticide was frequent, either from motives of religion, or from considerations of policy. It would seem, however, that the first principles of Sabæism were never entirely forgotten by the more intelligent of its professors; for Mohammed always distinguished this religion from Polytheism, and allowed it to exist on payment of tribute. *

It was in Yemen that the followers of Sabæism were most numerous; but the religion was found in other parts of the peninsula as well. According to Sale, the translator of the Koran, the Arabians had seven temples erected to the seven planets, one of which was built in Sanaa, the capital of Yemen, and dedicated to Venus. This was demolished by the Caliph Othman. At Mecca was a temple to the Arabian Saturn; the tribe of Hamyar chiefly worshipped the sun; while other luminaries received the special veneration of particular clans. Of the angels or intelligences which they worshipped, the Koran mentions three having female names. These deities were called goddesses and the daughters of God, and it was supposed that they interceded between the created and the Creator.† One of the female divinities, named Manah, is said to have been worshipped in the form of a large, rude stone. The Koran also mentions five other popular idols, adored in various shapes, human and bestial. There were likewise several household gods, and the tribe of Hanifah is said to have worshipped a lump of dough. The tribe of the Koreish, to which Mohammed belonged, paid particular reverence to certain male and female idols named Asâf and Nayelah, traditionally identified with two persons of the tribe of Jorham, who were converted into stone for outraging the Kaaba, a temple at Mecca containing three hundred and sixty idols.

The Kaaba, though now devoted to a very different form of worship, is the point to which the devout Moslem turns his face in prayer, as his idolatrous ancestors did before him. Mohammedans allege that this structure is the most ancient edifice in the world, having been built by Abraham and his son Ishmael on the site of a tabernacle reared by Adam himself. There can be no question that some species of religious edifice has stood on this spot from very remote times. Diodorus Siculus, writing a little before the Christian era, speaks of the temple as in his day revered by all the Arabians for its superior sanctity, which no doubt included the idea of superior antiquity. It is affirmed that the linen or silken veil, now annually renewed by the Turkish Sultan, was first offered by a king of Yemen seven hundred years before the epoch of Mohammed. "The same rites," says Gibbon, "which are now accomplished by the faithful Mussulman, were invented and practised by the superstition of the idolaters. At an awful distance they cast away their garments: seven times, with hasty steps, they encircled the Kaaba, and kissed the black stone; seven times they



THE BLACK STONE OF THE KAABA.

visited and adored the adjacent mountains; seven times they threw stones into the valley of Mina; and the pilgrimage was achieved, as at the present hour, by a sacrifice of sheep and camels, and the burial of their hair and nails in the consecrated ground."‡ The black stone of the Kaaba, according to Arabic tradition, was originally the guardian angel appointed to watch over Adam in Paradise, who was changed into a stone for having neglected his functions. This stone afterwards came into the hands of Abraham and Ishmael, who inserted it in the external wall of the Kaaba, where we are to believe that it exists to the present day. Originally a single jacinth of brilliant whiteness, it has become, in the course of ages, black with the kisses of innumerable worshippers. At the day of judgment, it will again become an angel, and bear testimony to those who have performed the duty of pilgrimage to the sacred city.

The Magism of Arabia was to be found chiefly in those parts which bordered on Persia. This religion, which consisted of the worship of fire, has been sufficiently described in an earlier part of the present work. It had far less influence on the

* Under the name of Zabians, a number of religious believers existed in Western Asia in the early ages of Mohammedanism, whose ideas have sometimes been confused with those of the ancient Sabæans, but who seem to have been a species of Neo-Platonists, probably arising in Syria. The Sabæans of Arabia were idolatrous star-worshippers of the old type.

† Preliminary Discourse to the Koran (1734).

‡ Decline and Fall, chap. 50.

Arabian people than the Sabæan faith; yet it was one of the elements of belief which Mohammed had to encounter when he preached the doctrines of Islam. The Jews, as we have said, were numerous in Arabia, and many of the natives became their proselytes. It appears to have been characteristic of the Arabians to give hospitable welcome to the professors of any persecuted religion. Thus did Magism enter the peninsula; thus, also, the Jews planted themselves in Arabia, and ultimately grew into powerful communities, possessing large tracts of fertile land, as well as castles and strongholds. The introduction of Christianity is likewise attributable to the same cause. Paul, indeed, in his Epistle to the Galatians (i. 17) speaks of having preached the Gospel in Arabia; but it does not appear that he made many converts. The spread of Christianity in that obscure land was due to the contentions of various sects in the Eastern Empire. In the early part of the third century, those who were the least able to maintain their independence retired into the deserts of Arabia, which were filled with anchorites of the severest type. A Christian monarch of Yemen appears to have reigned at the beginning of the fourth century, and Sale mentions another Arabian king, named Abu Kabûs, who was converted to Christianity, and slain only a few months before the birth of Mohammed. His father (a lieutenant of Chosroes I.) is stated to have professed the same views, and to have built large churches in his capital.

The Christian sects which entered Arabia belonged to the heterodox division of the faith—the division which the so-called Catholics hated and oppressed. Many of the religious fugitives were men of sincere and earnest minds; but they were inveterate disputants on minute and perplexing subtleties of doctrine, and their fantastical ideas were not calculated to give Mohammed a favourable impression of Christianity. Of these sects, there must have been at least sixteen in the Arabian peninsula when the religion of Islam was proclaimed; and their want of mutual charity was painfully conspicuous. Their divergences of doctrine were immense; for, whereas the worship of some almost tended to Polytheism, that of others approached the severe Unitarianism of Mohammed himself. The influence of the Christian sects on the great mass of the Arabian population was apparently but slight. The natives were probably disgusted by the perpetual wrangling of antagonistic believers, and perhaps clung all the more to their idolatry because of the poor example that was shown them. It has been remarked by a recent authority that, in spite of their superstition, the Arabs were never a religious people; that they were in truth sceptical and materialistic; that, in the main, they believed in no future life; and that they were ready to demolish their idols if the responses were not such as they desired.* But there were some who rose above this grovelling state of mind; and a little before the time of Mohammed, it was believed by several that a great prophet would shortly make his appearance, who would restore what was regarded as the religion of Abraham. These men were simple Theists, who confessed their inability to declare how God was to be worshipped. Nevertheless, they were the true forerunners of Islamism; and Mohammed himself was the cousin of one, and the friend of another.

The Prophet of Islam was born at Mecca, either on the 10th of November, 570, or, as some believe, on the 21st of April, 571. Mecca, now the Holy City of the Moslems, is situated towards the western coast of Arabia, in that division of the country called the Hedjaz. Even in the time of Mohammed, it was a city of considerable importance, being a seat of trade and industry, and the centre of that ancient religion which had its point of attraction in the Kaaba. The greatest of the local tribes was that of the Koreish, and it was to this tribe that the father of Mohammed belonged. The Koreishites were the hereditary guardians of the Kaaba, in which capacity their princes enjoyed a species of pontificate. The material prosperity of the city was due to Hashem, the great-grandfather of Mohammed, who, at the commencement of the sixth century, established two annual caravans—one for Syria, the other for Yemen—which brought trade and prosperity to Mecca. His son, Abdul Motalleb, the grandfather of Mohammed, defeated Abrahah, an Abyssinian usurper, and delivered Mecca from the African invaders who had subdued Yemen. Abdallah, the youngest of this warrior's sons, was the father of the future Prophet, whose mother Amina, belonging to the same tribe, was left a widow soon after her marriage. The patrimony of the father was so small that, when divided, it left to the boy Mohammed only five camels, and one Ethiopian slave.

The greatest misfortune of the infant, however, was that the death of his father was very shortly followed by that of his mother. But he was brought up with great care and affection, first by his grandfather, and afterwards by his uncle, Abu Taleb. As the latter succeeded his father in the guardianship of the Kaaba, Mohammed was brought

* Introduction, by Stanley Lane Poole, to Lane's Selections from the Koran (1879).

up in the midst of sacerdotal surroundings; and this fact was doubtless instrumental in giving a religious bias to his mind. Abu Taleb was engaged in mercantile pursuits, and Mohammed, during his boyhood, frequently accompanied his uncle on the track of the caravans. In the first of these journeys, the travellers stopped at the city of Bostra, on the confines of Syria, where there was a convent of Nestorian Christians. One of the monks conversed a good deal with the boy



MOUNT ARAFAT, NEAR MECCA. (*After a Drawing by Capt. Burton.*)

Mohammed, and may perhaps have first planted in his mind that hatred of idolatry which was afterwards to be one of the most distinctive principles of his religion. The Nestorians were strongly opposed to all worship of images, and would scarcely tolerate even the figure of the cross. In some way, Mohammed acquired a considerable, though imperfect, knowledge of Christianity, and it is altogether erroneous to suppose, as was formerly accepted for an indisputable fact, that he entertained an irreverential feeling towards the author of that religion, or to its moral teachings. When in his twenty-fifth year, he was married to a rich widow named Kadijah, who is said to have been fifteen years older than himself, though, as she afterwards bore him eight children, the statement seems unlikely. To this woman he was always fondly attached, and it was not till after her death that he became a polygamist.

Mohammed seems now for the first time to have given an absorbing attention to his own religious state, and to that of his countrymen. His wife's cousin was a man named Waraka, who, from the Jewish, had been converted to the Christian faith, and who was much given to the study of astrology. Waraka was the first person to translate parts of the Old and New Testament into Arabic, and it is not improbable that he was largely concerned in giving a new direction to the mind of Mohammed. The youthful husband of Kadijah conceived a horror and detestation of the idolatrous rites which he beheld in the Kaaba. His intellect and conscience were long in profound agitation on this subject, and we can well believe that a natural disinclination to break with the ancient faith of his family and his people waged fierce and desolating war with the higher instincts of his nature. Mohammed was esentially a devout man; it is probable that even from boyhood he had promptings of a nobler religious life than that to which he had

been educated. But to Orientals in general, and to Arabians in particular, it is always supremely painful to abandon what is established, for the sake of some new condition which has to be tried in the future. Mohammed was oppressed and tortured by the conflict which had arisen between his habits and his aspirations; and he retired into a cavern to correct this tendency that successive prophets had from age to age been sent into the world, that Noah, and Abraham, and Moses, and Jesus, had appeared among men. Abraham was always a particular object of veneration to Mohammed; for Abraham was the father of Ishmael, and Ishmael was the founder of the Arabian race.



MOHAMMED.

(From a Portrait in a Life of the Prophet, by the Sieur de Ryer, Lord of Malezair, published in 1718.)

on Mount Hara, three leagues to the north of Mecca, where, undisturbed by the cares of the world and the distractions of society, he could question his spirit on the great subjects which troubled it. He began to be persuaded that the one true religion had been revealed to Adam at his creation, and had lasted in its original purity during the days of innocence. The chief doctrine of that religion was belief in a single God; but this conception had been degraded in later ages by the corruption of the human mind. The besetting sin was a tendency to idolatrous worship; and it was

It is impossible to speak with any clearness of what passed during this abstraction in the cavern of Mount Hara. The subject has been so deeply overlaid by the religious fables of Mohammedanism, and is altogether so far removed from the possibility of historic investigation, that one can do little more than record the fact that Mohammed retired for a season from the world, and that he issued forth with a new and startling religion, which he immediately began to preach, first with caution, and afterwards with unchecked and passionate fervour. The probability seems to be that he suffered from

epileptic seizures, and that during these attacks he was subject to illusions which he mistook for supernatural revelations. Some of the earliest Moslem biographers, repeating the statements of those who had personal knowledge of the Prophet, relate that he was occasionally affected with violent tremblings, followed by a partial loss of sensibility, and by strong convulsions, during which perspiration would stream from his forehead in the coldest weather; that at such times he would lie with his eyes closed, foaming at the mouth, and bellowing like a camel; that he endured agonies of horror, which made his hair turn white. These fits were by his adherents attributed to divine possession; but he had them before any portion of the Koran was alleged to have been revealed. The recorded symptoms are much in favour of epilepsy. The attacks were preceded by great depression of spirits, during which he imagined himself possessed by devils, and were ushered in by coldness of the extremities, and uncontrollable shivering. The sufferer seemed to hear a ringing as of bells, or a humming as of bees; his eyes became fixed and staring, and the motions of his head were automatic. The most violent seizures ended in a comatose condition, which caused him to fall to the ground; his respiration became stertorous, and it was a considerable time before he recovered consciousness. The bystanders sprinkled water on his face, and he himself believed he would be benefited by being cupped on the head. The fit which immediately preceded his assumption of special powers was probably brought on by mental excitement and ascetic self-denial; and after this paroxysm the attacks became habitual, though less extreme.* Whether even the worst of the fits amounted to actual insanity for the time being, as some have supposed, or whether they were simply the manifestations of a physical disease, there can be no doubt that they had a considerable influence on the after career of Mohammed. They did not, indeed, furnish him with his principles, but they supplied the visionary forms by which those principles were recommended to an excitable and imaginative race.

The account of his divine commission given by believers is, that, as he lay one night in the cavern on Mount Hara, in so desperate a state of mind that he contemplated suicide, he heard a voice calling him; that he removed the mantle from his head, and saw a light of such intolerable splendour that he swooned; but that on regaining his senses he beheld an angel, who displayed to him a silken cloth, covered with written characters. The apparition bade him read. He answered that he was unable to do so; upon which the angel told him to read "in the name of the Lord, who sheds on the soul the ray of knowledge, and teaches men what before they knew not." Mohammed now felt his understanding illumined with celestial light, and read what was written on the cloth, which contained a portion of the Koran. The messenger then hailed him as the Prophet of God, and announced that he himself was the angel Gabriel. The reader will perceive in this relation a great similarity to what had long before been recorded of Zoroaster; and in recent times the same kind of commission was claimed by Joseph Smith, the founder of Mormonism. Mohammed may have been acquainted with the life and teachings of Zoroaster, for the Persians were established in Yemen about the period of the Prophet's birth, and his visionary nature may unconsciously have received an influence from what was related of the Magian. In any case, there is no sufficient reason to believe that he was a wilful impostor at the beginning of his career. Later on, he may have been corrupted by power, or forced by necessity into equivocations which he probably excused to himself on the dangerous principle that the end justifies the means. But in the main he was a sincere man; and when we consider the dark, cruel, and detestable idolatry by which his nation was oppressed, we shall find no difficulty in believing how truly he may have regarded himself as called by God to proclaim a nobler law.

Kadijah was the first disciple of Mohammed; her cousin, Waraka, was the second. Zeid, a youthful Arab of the tribe of Kalb, and a servant of the new religious teacher, avowed his belief at an early period, and was always one of the most devoted followers of the Prophet. Another of his early converts was Ali, the son of Abu Taleb, and he was also much indebted to the rich and influential Abu Beker. The earliest supporters of Mohammed were either his relatives or his intimate friends. The reformer slowly felt his way towards a more general conversion, and was afraid, in the first instance, to impart his mission to the Koreishites in general. At length, however, in the year 610, a few of the principal citizens of Mecca were introduced to a meeting of the first disciples, and confessed their acceptance of the new revelation. Mohammed was about forty years of age when he thus proclaimed the fundamental tenets of his religion; but the number of his proselytes amounted only to the modest sum-total

* Weil's, Sprenger's, and Poole's Lives of Mohammed (1843, 1851, and 1879).

of fourteen. Two years later (612), he openly announced his prophetic office. Execration and ridicule marked the reception which the tribe of Koreish gave to these astounding pretensions. Nevertheless, Mohammed made fresh converts—some among the Jews, others among his Arabian countrymen. His favourite places for preaching were the hills of Safa and Kubeis, about which had gathered many ancient traditions of Hagar and Ishmael. Occasionally he retired to the cavern on Mount Hara, from which he usually returned with fresh revelations of the Koran. It says something for the toleration or the indifference of the idolatrous Arabians that, for a time, their opposition to this fervid denouncer of idolatry was confined to taunts and petty annoyances. Some pointed at him as he passed along the streets, exclaiming, "Behold the grandson of Abdul Motalleb, who pretends to know what is going on in heaven!" His voice, while preaching, was often drowned by discordant noises, and dirt was thrown upon him when praying in the Kaaba. Afterwards, however, the idolaters proceeded to acts of violence, and at the city of El Tayef Mohammed was stoned, and driven out bleeding and exhausted. At Mecca, it was required that he should work miracles in confirmation of his claim to be a divine teacher. He replied that the Koran itself was a miracle. Some Moslem writers, however, assert that he did occasionally perform supernatural acts; but the balance of evidence is in favour of the supposition that he laid claim to no miraculous powers. His marvellous journey to Jerusalem, and through the seven heavens, performed in an instant of time by the aid of a winged animal, called Al Borak, or "The Lightning," was probably a delusion, proceeding from one of his epileptic fits, or, as Mohammed himself said, a dream; unless it is to be understood in an allegorical sense.

Notwithstanding the opposition of the incredulous and the worldly-minded, Mohammed continued to make converts, though slowly. For full ten years the number of proselytes was small, and some of them were even compelled to retire into Abyssinia as a refuge from persecution. Mohammed himself bravely stood his ground, though he found it necessary to make occasional compromises with the established opinions of the people. When at length the Meccans, fearing for the reputation of their city as a place of pilgrimage, began to exhibit an angry spirit towards the new religious teacher and his followers (some of whom were treated with great severity), Mohammed, in a sudden access of distrust and fear, recognised in the idols the character of intermediate beings between God and man. This, however, was a view so entirely opposed to his conscience that he speedily renounced it as a suggestion of Satan, and thus still further exasperated the temper of his opponents. His life was threatened, and Abu Taleb hid him in a fortified castle some way from Mecca. The Koreishites demanded that he should be delivered up to them; but this was refused, and the whole family were excommunicated, as the only available punishment. Three years later, Mohammed was allowed to return, and shortly afterwards his wife Kadijah was removed from him by death. His worldly fortunes were now at their lowest, and it is not difficult to understand that the mercantile transactions in which he still sometimes engaged were neglected for the visions of the desert, and the elaboration of theological dogmas. Nevertheless, it was at this period that the Prophet began to indulge himself in numerous wives—a practice which he maintained to the end of his days. The polygamy which Mohammedanism permitted is one of the most unfortunate elements in its composition. Mohammed himself, it is impossible to deny, was a man of sensuous temperament; but what in him was qualified by a noble, humane, and devout spirit, has frequently degenerated in his followers into gross licentiousness. A low conception of the female nature—a tendency to regard women as nothing more than the agents of men's pleasure—is the invariable result of systematic polygamy. This practice has corrupted the East in association with many forms of religion; and, unfortunately for a large part of the world, Mohammed bribed his countrymen with a fatal concession. It should be recollected, however, that he was not the introducer of polygamy. He merely sanctioned what he found. Yet the fact is none the less to be regretted. Had it not been for the permission to associate with many women, Mohammedanism might have regenerated half Asia. As it is, one of the noblest of religions has proved the instrument of a wide and incurable degradation.

While performing a pilgrimage, Mohammed had visited Medina—a city 250 miles to the north of Mecca—and had there converted several of the inhabitants, who, having some Jews in their midst, were prepared to receive a religion based on that of the first Hebrew patriarch. The circumstance was fortunate for Mohammed, since it provided him with a place of refuge when the day of his trouble arrived. A revolt broke out at Mecca, which placed the life of the Prophet in immediate peril, and he determined to seek protection from the more friendly city of Medina. In September, 622, he accordingly fled thither, and was received

by a procession of converts and believers, among whom were about a hundred families who had already quitted Mecca. This was the celebrated Hejira, or Flight, from which (or rather from the previous 16th of July, the beginning of the Arabic lunar year) the Mohammedans calculate their era. The place of refuge had formerly been called Yatreb; but it has since been known as Medina, or, to speak more fully, Medinat-al-nabi, meaning the City of the Prophet. The citizens had often before invited Mohammed to take up his abode among them, and had promised alliance and protection. They now invested him with the regal and sacerdotal offices, and placed at his disposal an armed force of enthusiastic adherents. It was the turning-point in the career of Mohammed. He was no longer compelled to equivocate with his conscience, or to speak in cautious and guarded tones. He assumed a voice of authority, denounced war against the infidels, proclaimed the imperative duty of smiting with the sword both the idols and the idol-worshippers, and prepared for that career of conquest which cast a meteoric splendour round his closing years. It would have been fortunate could his faith have pursued its way mildly and gradually; for a religion is never the better for making alliance with the arrogance of the sword, and the dictatorial menaces of regal power. But, in judging Mohammed, we must consider the provocation he had endured. It was evident that, unless he assumed a position of armed defiance, his career would be cut short by assassination. Previous to his quitting Mecca, his house had been watched by a band of armed youths, who were commissioned to slay the reformer as soon as they could find an opportunity. With the assistance of Ali, however, Mohammed contrived to escape, but, on the way to Medina, was hotly pursued by his enemies. He and Abu Beker would probably have been hunted down, had they not taken refuge in a cave on Mount Thor, the entrance to which was so narrow that it might readily be passed over. At one time, the pursuers were close at hand, and Abu Beker quailed. "We are but two," he said. "Nay," answered Mohammed, "we are three, for God is with us." It is one of the tender and beautiful legends of Islam that a spider wove its web over the entrance to the cave, and the pursuers passed on, conceiving that no man could recently have entered.

Mohammed had proclaimed war against the infidel; but as yet his military resources were small, and he was obliged to proceed with circumspection. He attacked the caravans of the Koreishites on their way to Syria, and, being successful on several of his expeditions, was enabled to conclude alliances with the Bedouin tribes of the neighbouring desert. The principality of Mecca was now governed by Abu Sofian, one of the bitterest enemies of Mohammed; and this chieftain gathered together an army of above six hundred Meccans, who were charged with the protection of a wealthy caravan, and with the duty of attacking the forces of the Prophet. Mohammed had only three hundred fighting men under his command; but he awaited the enemy in the valley of Beder, situated twenty miles from Medina. Here an important action was fought in the second year of the Hejira, equivalent to 624 of the Christian era. The Moslems were greatly outnumbered; but the fiery enthusiasm of Mohammed sustained their courage. It is said that, after recovering from one of his trance-like seizures, he threw a handful of dust towards the Koreishites, with the exclamation, "May confusion light upon their faces!" He then ordered his followers to charge, telling them, in the forcible imagery of an Oriental tongue, that "the gates of Paradise were under the shade of swords," and that he who died fighting for the true religion would assuredly find instant admission into the regions of the blessed. The Koreishites were defeated, at a cost to the Moslems of only fourteen lives. In the following year, Abu Sofian marched towards Medina with an army of three thousand men, who, after a sanguinary contest, scattered the Mohammedans near Mount Ohud, in 625. The Prophet himself was severely wounded in this encounter; but his adherents soon rallied their forces, and prepared to renew the campaign. The Koreishites, however, did not wait to be attacked, but in 627 laid siege to Medina, which they beleaguered for fifteen days, without success.

The number of the faithful now rapidly increased, and some of the Jewish tribes passed over to the new religion. Others, however, resisted the utmost efforts of proselytism, and many of the converts speedily abandoned their adopted faith. These Hebrews had at first been attracted to the Arabian lawgiver, because his teaching was in several respects decidedly Jewish. But when he told them that Jesus Christ was really the Messiah, and that he himself was the last and greatest of the Prophets, they turned from him in anger. Mohammed was greatly incensed against a people whom, for several reasons, he particularly desired to convert. The castles and towns of the hostile Jews were conquered and pillaged, and it is impossible to doubt that the fugitive from Mecca behaved towards the Israelites with that severity which, by some

ordinary law, they seem invariably to provoke. Jews exasperated Mohammed by a manner , of all things, it is the most difficult for a et to endure with patience. They gibed and ed at his pretensions until he was almost wild fury. At Medina, they entered into a plot to about the capture of the city, and nearly eded in their design. Mohammed at length mined to make an example of them, and he o with a stern hand. Two out of the three sh tribes of Medina were exiled, while, of the , all the men were slain, and the women and ren enslaved. Members of this third tribe had ed into negotiations with the enemy during iege of Medina, and, by all the recognised laws ar, had forfeited their lives. It appears, ver, that Mohammed left the decision of their o the chief of a tribe allied with the Jews, but n, it must be added, who cherished a feeling of eration against them, in consequence of his g received a wound while attacking their s. Six individuals were also privately assas- ed for offences against the Moslems; but it is ertain that the Prophet himself was privy to act. The whole incident is painful and de- ing; but there is little in it beyond the ary horrors of war.

ccess has a tendency to repeat itself, and the r of Mohammed now advanced so rapidly that 28 the Koreishites were glad to conclude a ten ' truce. It was agreed that Mohammed and ollowers should perform the Lesser Pilgrimage, that, to avoid all chance of a collision, the ns should vacate Mecca for three days. er these singular conditions, Mohammed, riding e same camel which had carried him from a on the occasion of his flight, entered the City in March, 629, and, together with his anions, performed the rites of his religion in Kaaba. In the following year, a body of ishites broke the truce by attacking an ally he Moslems; whereupon Mohammed, at the of ten thousand men, advanced to Mecca, which immediately surrendered. It is to the infinite honour of this great man that, with an overpowering military force at his command, not one inhabitant of the city suffered death or injury. The whole population received an amnesty, although for many years they had done their utmost to compass the destruction of the Prophet. He did not, however, forget the principles of his religion. Thenceforward the Kaaba was no longer to be the seat of idolatry. He pointed to the images with his staff, and his warriors struck them down. The household gods of Mecca and the surrounding country were similarly destroyed, and the very boldness of the act seems to have advanced the cause of the new religion, the fortunes of which, in lands beyond the peninsula, must be related further on. All Arabia speedily adhered to the faith. The rapidity of the conversion would be truly astounding, were it not that history presents numerous instances of similar changes effected in a tumult of emotion, or a stupor of submission. The fervour, the courage, the persistence and self-reliance of the Prophet, had borne their natural fruit. Idolatry had been shattered in the collision with a stronger force, and the people found that there was no supernatural power ready to defend the images which countless generations had regarded as sacred. The effect was similar to that which had ensued in the Roman Empire when Constantine broke the statues of the Pagan gods. Scepticism as to the old religion led to belief in the new. The Moslem faith was in many respects admirably suited to the Arabian people; and it had now the unanswerable merit of success. Even Abu Sofian became a convert; others, who could not approve, ceased at any rate to oppose. From the moment of Mohammed's triumphal entrance into Mecca—from the moment that the reformer smote the idols, and spared the people—the future of Islam was secure; and a new power arose out of the sands and mountains of Arabia, which, during the ages of its increasing strength, seemed almost as if it would subdue the world.



ARRIVAL OF MOHAMMED AT MEDINA.



DAMASCUS.

CHAPTER VII.

MOHAMMED THE PRINCE AND PONTIFF.

Rise of the Military Spirit among the Moslems—Missions of Mohammed to Chosroes II. of Persia, to various Petty Princes, and to Heraclius—Rupture with the Eastern Empire—The Battle of Muta—Moslem Expedition into Syria, and Submission of Frontier Tribes—Severe Measures against the Unbelievers—Spread of the New Religion—Final Pilgrimage of Mohammed to Mecca—The Last Revelation—Two Rival Prophets—Fatal Illness of Mohammed—His Death, Personal Appearance, Habits, and Character—The Question of Polygamy, and of Mohammed's Relations with Women—Mingling of Sincerity and Artifice in the Mind of the Prophet—Fragmentary Production of the Koran—Collection and Arrangement of the Several Parts during the Caliphate of Abu Beker—Obscurity of the Order adopted—Revision of the Koran under the Caliph Othman—Authenticity of the Koran: Views of some Modern Believers—Meaning of Mohammedan Terms—Rival Sects of the Shiites and Sunnites—Burial of Mohammed—The Mosque of Medina—The Worship of the Kaaba—Effect of Mohammedanism on the World—Faults of the System—Movement against Image-Worship in the Eastern Empire—Resistance at Rome, and Failure of the Movement—Re-establishment of the Roman Republic, and Increase of the Pontifical Authority—Byzantine Monarchs down to Irene.

In his numerous expeditions against the Arabian and Jewish tribes who resisted his doctrine, Mohammed acquired a considerable knowledge of the art of war, though of course on a scale of no great magnitude. His followers were generally successful in these enterprises, and the military spirit was awakened in their breasts. Mohammed himself began to look beyond the bounds of Arabia to neighbouring lands, which he hoped to subdue, either by example, or by the power of the sword. It was natural that in the first instance he should address himself to the Persian king, whose dominions bordered on the Arabian peninsula, and whose power was established even in Yemen. He

therefore despatched a letter to Chosroes II., commencing with the words,—"In the name of the most merciful God! Mohammed, the son of Abdallah, and Apostle of God, to Khosru, King of Persia." Chosroes was enraged at the presumption of a petty Arabian chief writing his name before that of a Persian sovereign, and exhorting him to abandon his religion for the novel ideas of a stranger. In the face of the Moslem envoy, he tore the letter to pieces. "Even so," said Mohammed, when the fact was reported to him, "will God rend his empire, and reject his supplications." Gibbon adds that he "ventured to foretell" the return of victory to the banners of Heraclius; but the historian is evidently under a misapprehension as to the time at which the mission took place. He refers it to the period when Chosroes, after having reduced the Eastern Emperor to the lowest point of humiliation, was keeping triumphant state in his splendid palace of Dastagerd. But at that date Mohammed was an obscure and struggling religious teacher, counting only a very few adherents, and scarcely able to defend his life against the plots of his enemies. The flight from Mecca, which was really the beginning of the Prophet's success, did not occur until the autumn of 622; and it was in the spring of that year that Heraclius set out on the first of those campaigns which proved the ruin of Chosroes. Fanatical as he was, Mohammed was not deficient in prudence and caution; and it is incredible that he should have arrogantly addressed the powerful monarchy of Persia at a time when he had too much reason to dread the Koreishites. The date of the mission to Chosroes cannot be precisely determined; but it seems likely to have been in 627, when Mohammed had subdued several of the Arabian and Jewish tribes, and Chosroes had been humbled by many defeats, though his military strength was considerable until the great battle on the site of Nineveh, near the middle of December. Without any marvellous gift of prophecy, the Moslem leader may have perceived that the Persian Empire was tottering to its fall, and that the final victory would be with the Byzantine.

After dismissing the ambassador of Mohammed, Chosroes, it is related, wrote to his lieutenant in Yemen, saying he had been told there was a madman in Arabia, of the tribe of Koreish, who pretended to be a prophet, and that the viceroy was to restore him to his senses, or, if such a result were impossible, to send his head to Persia. Mohammed, however, was by that time too powerful to fear such threats, and he continued to despatch missions to various potentates, recommending them to adopt the true faith, and denouncing the judgments of heaven if they refused. The ruler of Egypt, who, though nominally the representative of Persia, had acquired almost complete independence in the decay of that Empire, replied in evasive sentences, but accompanied his answer with a profusion of presents, including two Coptic girls, one of whom, named Mariyah, or Mary, proved a source of trouble to the wives of the Prophet. Some of the princes in the vicinity of Arabia signified their acceptance of the new faith; others returned defiant messages; but, on the whole, Mohammed had no cause to be dissatisfied with the progress he was making. He even addressed the Emperor Heraclius on his return from the Persian war in 628; signing his letter in characters of silver, and requiring of him to renounce Christianity for Islamism. Heraclius probably regarded the unknown Arabian as a harmless enthusiast, whose pretensions he had no reason either to fear or to resent. He treated the envoy with respect, and dismissed him with handsome presents. It was the fate of this heroic Emperor to be either menaced or solicited on the ground of religion. Shortly after his accession to the throne, Chosroes had told him that he should never have peace until he had renounced his crucified God, and embraced the faith of the Magi. Now, he was admonished by the author of a new belief, whose principles he doubtless cared not to examine.

The pilgrimage to Mecca, as the reader is aware, took place in 629, and it was almost immediately followed by a collision with the Eastern Empire, which was the greatest trial the Moslems had yet had to endure. The occasion of this quarrel was such as Mohammed could not have passed over in silence, even had the danger of a war with Heraclius been still more serious than it was. The Arabian Prophet had sent an envoy to the Governor of Bostra, and he was slain by a Christian Emir ruling in the district of Belka, three days' journey to the east of Jerusalem. This territory, lying on the borders of the Syrian desert, was included in the Eastern Empire, though doubtless but loosely governed from Constantinople. In attacking the Emir, Mohammed must have known that he would bring the victorious legions of Heraclius to the support of his enemy; yet he did not shrink from the encounter. He gave the command to his freedman Zeid, one of the earliest of his disciples, and ordered him to march rapidly, so as to surprise the town of Muta, where the crime had been committed. The inhabitants were to be summoned to embrace the faith, and in that case were to be treated leniently;

in the event of refusal, the men, with some few exceptions, were to be slain, and the women and children to be spared. The hope of surprising Muta was disappointed. On the way thither, the Moslems were met by a superior force of Syrians and Greeks, forming one of the Imperial armies. The battle lasted two days, and ended in the retreat of the Imperialists; but Zeid had been slain, and the Mohammedans had narrowly escaped a reverse. They prudently returned to Medina.

After the submission of Mecca, and the full establishment of the new power over all Arabia, Mohammed, considering that Heraclius would soon make preparations to avenge his defeat, resolved to anticipate the hostile action of that sovereign by declaring war against the Empire. Several of his followers murmured at so perilous an enterprise. They alleged that their resources were not equal to the task; that it was the season of harvest; that the heat of the weather was insupportable. "Hell is much hotter," was the scornful reply of Mohammed; but he released all those who were unwilling to serve. The greater number remained; and when the Arabian commander took the field in 631, he found himself at the head of 20,000 foot, 10,000 horse, and 12,000 camels. Nevertheless, he did not advance farther than the grove and fountain of Tabuc, about midway between Medina and Damascus. A council of war, held at that spot, determined to abandon the enterprise; but Khaled, one of the recent converts, who had succeeded to the command at the battle of Muta after the death of Zeid, and whose valour had won for him the appellation of "the Sword of God," struck so much terror into the neighbouring tribes that they gave in their submission. The relinquishment of the enterprise was in truth necessitated by the general posture of affairs. In front was a powerful army of Byzantines, while the forces of Mohammed were being constantly thinned by desertions, and were so ill-provided with food and other necessaries as to be in no fit condition to withstand the well-appointed troops of the Empire. The malcontents in the Prophet's army had undoubtedly taken a reasonable view of affairs; but, on his return, Mohammed severely reproved them, and sentenced the most guilty to an excommunication of fifty days.

Mohammed continued to dwell at Medina, even after his mission had been fully accepted at Mecca. The latter was the Holy City, the place of pilgrimage; but the former was the city of his affections, because it had given him hospitable welcome when an outlaw and a fugitive. Shortly after his return from the abortive Syrian expedition, he despatched his son-in-law, Ali, to Mecca, that he might promulgate before the pilgrims an important chapter of the Koran, which he said he had just received. The object of this revelation was to absolve Mohammed from all truce or league with unbelievers, should they in any respect have been false to their engagements, or given aid to his enemies. Four months of toleration were allowed to such persons, during which time they might go to and fro securely; but, subsequently to that date, war would be made on them in every way, at every time, and in every place. Their only alternative would be to embrace Mohammedanism, or pay tribute. If contumacious, they were to be killed or taken prisoners, and even stratagems might be employed against them. The faithful were to hold no communion even with their nearest relatives, should they persist in idolatry; and at the close of the current year, no unbeliever was to be permitted within the walls of Mecca. These stern edicts are said to have been provoked by the treacherous conduct of certain Jews and idolatrous Arabs; but it is to be feared that a growing tendency to the dictatorial use of power, engendered by success, had something to do with the uncompromising nature of the new revelation. The result was seen in a large accession of converts, and a marked increase of tribute; and in 631 a number of envoys from distant tribes made their appearance at Medina. Among those who sought the favour of the Prophet was the Governor of Amon, the ancient capital of the Ammonites—an official who acted as one of the lieutenants of Heraclius in Syria; but this submission was very naturally resented by the Emperor, who punished the convert with imprisonment. Several of the chief Moslem leaders were now employed on distant expeditions for the destruction of idols, and the enlightenment of foreign tribes. The once-independent kingdom of Yemen, which had recently submitted to the rule of Mohammed, began to show symptoms of insubordination, and Ali was sent there, at the head of three hundred horsemen, to restore the rule of the Prophet. The disaffection was put down by the sword, and Ali was soon able to announce that Islam was triumphant in Arabia Felix.

Mohammed was now getting elderly, and the evening of his days was saddened by the death of his only son, Ibrahim, a child fifteen months old, the mother of whom was his favourite Egyptian slave, Mariyah. The constitution of the Prophet was breaking up, and he suffered excruciating pains from poison administered to him in a dish of roast meat by a Jewess of Khaibar, when that

city (the capital of the Hebrew colonies in Arabia) was taken by the Mohammedans, four or five years before. He perceived that death was not far distant, and resolved upon a final pilgrimage to Mecca. Accompanied by an immense train of devotees, and by his nine surviving wives, who were carried in litters, he departed from Medina. The long and toilsome way was beguiled by frequent prayers and religious exclamations. This particular pilgrimage was to be the model for all succeeding observances of the like nature; and, although now extremely weak, Mohammed went through all the ceremonies with conscientious minuteness. When the rites had been fully completed, he addressed the pilgrims in a farewell speech, which strikingly reiterated the chief tenets of his religion, and exhorted the Moslems to the practice of justice and humanity. According to the belief of all true Mohammedans, the final verse of the Koran was then miraculously imparted to the Prophet by the voice of the Deity himself. It was expressed in the words:—"Evil to those, this day, who have denied your religion. Fear them not; fear me. This day I have perfected your religion, and accomplished in you my grace. It is my will that Islamism be your faith." After this there were no further revelations. Mohammed returned to Medina, and rapidly became more feeble in body. He was in some degree troubled by the rise of two false prophets in different parts of Arabia, one of whom was named Al Aswad, the other Moseilma. Both made considerable progress, and the former, in particular, acquired a brief predominance in Arabia Felix. The latter ruled over the city and province of Yemama, situated in the central part of the peninsula. Moseilma even proposed to Mohammed that they should divide the world between them; but the Prophet replied in a brief epistle, in which he addressed his rival as "Moseilma the Liar." Al Aswad was slain by two persons despatched for that purpose. Moseilma was not attacked until the year after the death of Mohammed; but he was then defeated and slain.

Undeterred by these distractions, the Arabian lawgiver organised another army for the renewed invasion of Syria. This force was placed under the command of Ossama, the son of Zeid, a youth not more than twenty years of age, and therefore, it would seem, wholly disqualified for such an office. The army marched forth after an address from Mohammed himself, and encamped a few miles from Medina; but on that very night the Prophet had an alarming access of his malady, ars to have assumed the form of bilious m speedily set in, and, about mid-night, the patient started up, saying that he was summoned by the dead in the public cemetery to come and pray for them. Followed by his attendant slave, he reached the ground outside the walls of the city, where he mourned that he was not himself as one of the departed, but was still tossed and wearied with the storms of life. After praying for the dead, he told his slave that the choice had been given him either to remain in this world to the end of time, in the full enjoyment of its felicity, or to return sooner to the presence of God; and that he had chosen the latter. His illness lasted fourteen days, in the course of which, when relieved of the paroxysms, he several times appeared in the mosque, and performed the functions of his religion. This he continued to do until the third day before his death; but, although he enfranchised his slaves, and directed the order of his funeral, he forbore from nominating a successor to his regal and pontifical powers. When, however, he entered the mosque, on his final visit, he ordered Abu Beker to read the service in his stead; and this seems to have been construed as an obscure intimation of his wish that the primacy of Islam should descend on him. During the last days of his life, he believed himself to be frequently visited by the angel Gabriel, and told his followers that the Genius of Death was not allowed to take his soul until he had received permission from himself. At length, having signified his willingness to depart, he fainted with the violence of his pain, but, recovering after a while, expressed in some broken sentences his confidence in a happy immortality, and expired on a carpet spread upon the floor, attended to the last by his favourite wife, Ayesha.

The death of the great Arabian took place on the 8th of June, 632, nearly ten years after the Hejira. When it became known that the Prophet was no more, Omar, a leader of the disciples, and subsequently one of the greatest of the Caliphs, rushed into the streets, and fiercely told the people that they lied; that it was impossible Mohammed could be dead. The reproof of Abu Beker was conceived in the noblest spirit. "He that hath worshipped Mohammed," he said, "let him know that Mohammed *is* dead; but he that hath worshipped God, let him know that the Lord liveth, and doth *not* die." The extraordinary powers claimed, and to some extent exercised, by Mohammed, and which were especially calculated to impress an Oriental race, not unnaturally encouraged the belief that such a person was raised above the common laws of mortality. But Mohammed himself had always declared that he was a mere man, inheriting all man's infirmities and liabilities,

although charged with a supernatural mission from his Creator. When asked by Ayesha whether none entered Paradise save by the mercy of God, he replied emphatically, "None, none, none! Neither shall I enter Paradise unless God cover me with his mercy."

In personal appearance, Mohammed was of the middle stature, broad and sinewy, with large hands and feet, a well-shaped head, and a neck which rose like a pillar from the width of his chest. His face was oval, his nose aquiline, his hair dark and long, his beard ample; the eyes were black, and the eyebrows arched. From this account it would appear that his general aspect was strongly marked by the characteristics of the Semitic race. His flexible mouth is held to have been indicative of eloquence, and certainly he was gifted with the power of persuasive speech in no ordinary degree. His usual manner was calm and grave, but in moments of enthusiasm his face brightened with an indescribable radiance. The veins in his forehead were apt to swell when he was angry; but, though his temper was naturally quick, he had brought it so much under control that he but seldom exhibited irritability or resentment. Nevertheless, he is accused of some cruel actions while under the influence of fanatical excitement. When he smiled, his expression was characterised by the most winning sweetness. He loved children, and was loved by them; and his reverential tenderness to animals has been nobly imitated by his followers. A musical and powerful voice gave effect to his addresses; and he relied on these natural advantages for impressing others, rather than on external pomp. His clothing was plain and simple, while his attention to personal cleanliness was punctilious in the highest degree. He had a becoming sense of the dignity of labour, and often mended his own clothes and shoes, lit the fire, swept the floor, and milked the goats. So little was he of a sensualist in the matter of eating and drinking that barley-bread, dates, and water sufficed for his ordinary food, though he had a certain child-like fondness for milk and honey. Perfumes were particularly delightful to him, as they are to all natures that are delicate and sensitive. When in the presence of a beautiful woman, he would continually smooth his brow and adjust his hair, as if desirous to produce a favourable impression. That the nature of Mohammed was exquisitely strung, and therefore keenly alive both to painful and to pleasurable impressions, is evident from many facts. Though not a voluptuary in the base sense of the word, he was very far from being an ascetic; yet his pleasures were of a primitive and patriarchal character, rather than such as proceed from the feverish and artificial life of cities. He could enjoy the sunlight of existence; but he felt its darkness too. The agony and the mystery of suffering were familiar to him, and sometimes he shrank from them. He said that the revelations of God's angel seemed to be written in his heart; which is doubtless to be taken in more than a metaphorical sense, and as indicating some fierce and torturing spasm, by means of which the Divine will (or what he took for such) was stamped into his being. He dreaded illness and pain, and, when afflicted to any great extent, would sob like a woman in hysterics. The man was evidently made of that stuff out of which poets and prophets are fashioned. He was crowned at once with the brightness and the burning fire of life.

As regards his association with women, it is impossible to deny that the conduct of Mohammed was blamable, though perhaps in a less degree than his enemies have affirmed. It was one of his weaknesses to be unduly susceptible on this point, and his fame must needs suffer in proportion. The desire to perpetuate his race in the male line may have been one of the motives for his numerous alliances; the hope of propitiating unfriendly tribes may have been another. But neither of these reasons, nor both together, will wholly explain his conduct. He was in truth gifted with strong passions, and a keen sense of personal beauty; but it must be recollected that polygamy was the custom of his nation, as of most Asiatic countries, and that consequently he violated no moral law already in force. His worst action of this nature was his marriage to Zeyneb, the wife of Zeid, whom, in order to gratify himself, he persuaded to divorce his spouse. He must have been well aware that a request from him was equivalent to a command; and it seems pure selfishness to have taken the woman away from her husband, in order that he might include her in his own establishment. What makes the transaction still more objectionable, is the fact that Mohammed supported his conduct by a special revelation. But this brings us to the general question, how far Mohammed mingled imposture with a sincere belief in his own mission.

That he was not a mere impostor, as used at one time to be affirmed by inconsiderate or injudicious Christian writers, may, in our present more advanced knowledge and larger spirit, be taken for granted. No mere impostor could ever have produced so wide and permanent an effect upon the world—an effect which has certainly been good in many particulars, whatever its admixture of evil.

No mere impostor would have suffered and struggled as Mohammed unquestionably did. Yet it may be that, as his power extended—as he became subject to the ordinary necessities of a ruler placed under circumstances of very great difficulty—as the white heat of the original enthusiasm died away, and the temptations of power multiplied with the opportunities of success—Mohammed felt impelled to the adoption of artifices which in his earlier years would never have occurred to his mind. He was always sincere in the main purpose of his life; but he may have been insincere in some of the means by which that purpose should be brought about. This mixed state of mind, between passionate devotion to a lofty ideal, and a somewhat weak compliance with the hard conditions of the world, is one extremely well known to the observer of human nature and the student of history. It is the second stage in nearly all inspirations, and marks at once the climax of success and the beginning of failure. It is in fact the inevitable human element, qualifying and debasing the divine; but it neither disproves the divine, nor discredits the first impulse which after a while has obeyed the common law of imperfection. Mohammed shared the frailty that belongs to our flesh. However painful it may be to reveal the flaws in a noble nature, it is impossible to deny that he occasionally brought forward so-called revelations that were mainly designed for his own convenience and self-indulgence. But there is no good reason to doubt that he was profoundly impressed with the reality of his mission and the grandeur of his message. He was no hypocrite; but he may sometimes have been a temporiser.



PILGRIMS JOURNEYING TO MECCA.

The chief depository of Mohammedan doctrine is the Koran. It unfortunately happens that the Koran was written at scattered times, under the influence of various emotions and exigencies, and with no view to the production of a simple and organic whole. The consequences are, a good deal of repetition, a good deal of contradiction, and no little obscurity. When Mohammed died, the Koran existed only in fragments, which had been loosely

distributed accidentally among the believers. The several revelations were never collected during the life of the Prophet, and it is difficult to imagine a book having less of a literary character in its production. The different sentences, or chapters, had been written down, as they came into the mind of the law-giver, on palm-leaves, on the skins of animals, on the shoulder-blades of sheep, on stones, or on anything else that offered itself at the moment. Some were never inscribed at all, but existed in the memories of those who heard them delivered. One might have supposed that Mohammed would have employed his leisure in bringing together these disjointed messages, and combining them in a permanent and consistent form. But either he never had leisure for such a task, or he felt that his influence lay rather in passionate outbursts than in systematic tuition. At any rate, he did nothing in this respect, and his death found Islam without anything in the nature of an authoritative exposition. The want was soon felt; and when, about a year after the decease of Mohammed, the death of several of his followers on the battle-field induced a fear that the whole revelation might be lost, Abu Beker gave orders to the Prophet's secretary, Zeid ibn Thabit, to collect the fragments in one book. It is admitted that Zeid did his work in the spirit of a faithful believer, and that he neither added to the record, nor subtracted from it. His task, however, was extremely difficult, and it seems probable that, for want of sufficient chronological guidance, he confused the right order and sequence of the chapters. The obscurity of the Koran, as it now appears, may in part be owing to this cause. In recent days, German and English scholars have proposed a new arrangement of the matters contained in the Mohammedan Bible; and those who have studied the subject affirm that something like a definite meaning and intention can be thus extracted from the previous



JIDDAH.

chaos. The followers of Islam are not at all likely to adopt any radical transformation of their revered book; but it is worthy of note that some degree of revision took place at a very early date. Not many years after the collection made by Zeid, a fresh comparison of the original texts was ordered by the Caliph Othman. Various readings had by that time arisen, and angry disputes were growing up amongst the faithful. This new edition of the Koran was prepared by Zeid ibn Thabit, aided by



SPECIMEN PAGE OF A PRINTED EDITION OF THE KORAN.

three men of the Koreish; and it was accepted by all the parties into which the Moslem world was by that time divided. Copies were sent to the chief cities of the Mohammedan Empire, and the older copies and original fragments were collected and destroyed. The date of Othman's edition is about 660 A.D.; and this is still recognised as the authorised version.

It is explained by Orientalists that the word Koran means "the crying, reciting, or reading," and that the term is as applicable to any chapter or section of the book as to the entire book itself. The Koran consists of 114 chapters, called Soorahs by the Mohammedans, and is divided into 6,616

In the opinion of all pious Moslems, the Koran is really the work of God, and existed in heaven, in the form of a magnificent volume, before its contents were from time to time communicated to Mohammed by the angel Gabriel. When the revealed passages had been taken down in writing by the Prophet's scribe, they were distributed to his followers, several of whom made copies, while the greater number learned them by heart. The originals were afterwards thrown carelessly into a chest, so that the order of revelation was very speedily lost. The Koran is held in such profound reverence by Moslems that none but lax believers will handle it without previous ablution. In reading, it is always to be held above the girdle. The book of Mohammed is not merely the expositor of faith, but the basis of education, and children are expected to commit the whole of it to memory. In recent times, however, the Koran, like other religious works, has been subjected to the critical spirit. Even in Mohammedan countries, there are those who, while still regarding it as essentially a divine production, conceive that it is mingled with questionable matter, of purely human authorship. The more philosophic and literary Moslems have given up the verbal inspiration of their book, and desire to get rid of some parts which seem inconsistent with morals, and with a rational progress. These reformers contend that several of the minor directions of Mohammed, though possibly well adapted to his own time, are out of harmony with existing conditions, and should therefore be repealed. They quote a traditional saying of the Prophet, to the effect that when he ordered anything with respect to religion, they were to receive it, but that when he directed them about the affairs of this world, they were to regard him as nothing else than a man. Still more remarkable is another sentence attributed to him, in which he said to his people:—"Ye are in an age in which, if ye abandon one-tenth of what is ordered, ye will be ruined. After this, a time will come when he who shall observe one-tenth of what is now ordered will be redeemed." It need scarcely be added that the priests, who in successive ages have done a good deal towards corrupting the spirit of Mohammedanism, are opposed to any innovation; and the great majority of the people go with the official exponents of their faith.

The religion of Mohammed is by its professors called Islam, meaning Resignation, or entire submission, to the will and precepts of God. The name Mohammed means the Praised, or, according to Deutsch and Sprenger, the predicted Messiah. Moslem, or Mussulman, signifies a follower of Islamism. The civil and criminal laws

of the Mohammedan States are founded both on the Koran and the Sunnah, or Traditions. These laws, no less than the general basis of theological dogma, have united the whole body of Mohammedan nations into one vast society, all the members of which have much in common. Yet it must not be forgotten that there are great divisions in the Mohammedan world, the chief of which are those of the Shiites and the Sunnites. At the present day, the Persians are Shiites, while the Turks are Sunnites; but the Shiites are themselves divided into a vast number of minor sects. The Sunnites and the Shiites—the Catholics and the Protestants of Mohammedanism—hate one another with the utmost bitterness, and their mutual persecutions have been numerous and savage, though the questions which divide them are not really important. In the main, the religious and moral opinions of the two bodies are very much the same; and it is therefore strictly true to say that Mohammedanism has created an extraordinary similarity of nature and manners amongst all the races which it has affected.

The body of Mohammed was prepared for burial by his relatives and disciples, who affirmed that a marvellous fragrance ascended from the remains of the Prophet. "It seemed," said Ali, "as if he were at the same time dead and living." The corpse was wrapped in three coverings, two of which were white, while the third consisted of the striped cloth of Yemen; and, after being profusely perfumed, it was exposed to the public view. For three days it remained unburied, and the question then arose whether the interment should take place in Mecca or in Medina. The former was the city of the Prophet's birth; the latter was his place of refuge, and the centre from which he governed his possessions. A third party maintained that the body should be carried to Jerusalem, as the place where all the foregoing prophets had been entombed. But the matter was at length decided by Abu Beker, who gave it as Mohammed's own view that a prophet should be buried in the place where he died. A grave was accordingly dug in the house of Ayesha, beneath the spot where Mohammed had breathed his last. The house is contiguous to a humble mosque, built of clay, and thatched with palm-leaves, the roof supported by the trunks of trees. The ground has since been included in a spacious temple, and many of the pilgrims to Mecca visit Medina also, that they may offer up their prayers at the tomb of Mohammed. A tradition existed in the middle ages that the coffin remained suspended in the air without any support; and Christian writers endeavoured to account for this imaginary fact by supposing that the coffin was of iron, placed exactly midway between two magnets. Medina, though naturally regarded as a place of great sanctity, is second in importance to Mecca, which, though in connection with a different faith, still retains its ancient reputation as the pre-eminently Holy City. The Kaaba of the old idolaters is the sacred temple of the Mohammedans—the very centre and heart of their religious system. To perform the pilgrimage to Mecca is the great ambition of every devout Moslem, and the black stone is kissed at the present day with as much reverence as was shown in times before the birth of the Prophet. It was a matter of policy with Mohammed thus to link the newer with the older religion; and he acted from the same principle in selecting Friday for the weekly Sabbath, since that had been the day on which the earlier Arabs worshipped Venus, one of the most honoured of their deities.

The effect of Mohammedanism on a very large portion of the world has been immense—one might almost say marvellous. Within a short time of its promulgation, it subdued many of the greatest countries of Asia and Africa, penetrated into Europe, and menaced the whole earth. The wave subsequently receded, and is not likely to acquire a fresh access of force. But the faith of Islam is still a living power, which probably counts as many as a hundred million followers. Among the barbarous populations of Africa, it makes greater progress than Christianity; in India, it has won enormous numbers from the profession of Brahminism and Buddhism. Though these results may have been partly helped by the inferior elements of the creed, the probability is that they are much more due to the noble doctrines which Mohammed enforced, and which have never been entirely forgotten even by the least reputable of his followers. Piety and benevolence have spoken to a vast proportion of the human race, and not spoken in vain, through the teachings of the Arabian lawgiver. But there is also a darker side to the picture, which will appear as we proceed. The two great faults of Mohammedanism are its tendency to fanatical excess, and its incompatibility with the highest forms of civilisation. It is perfectly true that there was a time when civilisation flourished more under the Saracens than with any other people in the world. Still, this culture, splendid as it was, cannot be compared with that of ancient Greece, or of the modern Christian world. There is a certain rigidity about Mohammedanism, which ill-adapts it to the free, supple, and ever-varying movements of the highest intellect. The opposi-

tion to idolatry has ended in almost crushing art; while the fierce dogmatism of the Moslem has cramped literature, and extinguished philosophy. Many sentences may be extracted from the Koran inculcating toleration; but others of a very different nature are at hand, and, on the whole, these have had the greater influence. The subject is one with respect to which we have little right to throw stones; but the truth of history compels a recognition of the fact that the Mohammedans have often smitten where they might have spared.

In nothing has the example of Mohammedanism been so powerful as in its protest against that fantastic idolatry which, in the seventh century, had corrupted the religion of Christendom. Its influence in this respect was rapid and far-spread, and we may conclude our survey of Islam in its earlier stages by glancing at a movement against image-worship which arose at Constantinople in the eighth century, and was probably due to the progress of Islamism in the chief countries of Asia. We have already mentioned the accession of Leo III. to the Byzantine throne in the year 717. This monarch was of humble birth, and, as a young man, had served among the guards of Justinian II. The rage for image-worship existed much less in the Asiatic province of his birth than at Constantinople and its immediate vicinity. Many Christians within the bounds of the Eastern Empire were beginning to fear that, in the extravagant honour paid to pictures and statues, a perilous recoil had been made towards one of the most distinctive features of Paganism. The echo of the Arabian Prophet's voice was heard in countries which had certainly no desire to accept the new religion; and Leo, who had had considerable intercourse with Jews and Arabians, conceived a burning hatred of idolatry, such as would have done honour to a modern Puritan. On coming to the throne, he forbade the very existence of religious pictures; all images were swept out of the churches; the walls were covered with plaster; and the people of the Eastern Empire found themselves in presence of a revolution which to many must have seemed the height of impiety. Hence arose the sect of the Iconoclasts, or Image-breakers, which maintained a violent contention with the image-worshippers for a period of a hundred and twenty years. Leo III. wished to pronounce the condemnation of images as an article of religion, and proposed to accomplish this purpose by the authority of a General Council; but he died in 741, before any such assembly could be convoked. The character of this monarch, whose sign extended over twenty-four years, stands very high in the annals of the Byzantine sovereignty. Even his enemies acknowledge that his views were enforced with moderation, and nothing to the discredit of his moral character is recorded by contemporary writers. He was succeeded by his son, Constantine V., a man of inferior virtue, but of equal vehemence on the subject of idolatry. His reign, however, was prosperous, and his arms were crowned with success in many directions. The Orthodox party in the Church have been compelled to admit these facts through the pens of their historians; but they were not inclined to forgive the fervour of his Iconoclasm. The Council desired by his father was summoned by him in 754. It was composed of 338 Bishops from various parts of Europe and Anatolia, whose deliberations resulted in a decree against image-worship, as a corruption of Christianity and a renewal of Paganism. All such evidences of idolatry were to be broken or erased, and individuals who should refuse or neglect to deliver up their private objects of devotion were declared guilty of disobedience to the Church and to the Emperor. To carry out these edicts, however, was no easy matter. The adherents of the proscribed practices took up arms in defence of their pictures and their images. Frequent riots occurred; Imperial officers were massacred; and it was only by a strong exhibition of military force that tranquillity could be restored. For a brief space, indeed, Constantine was deposed by a relation, who, profiting by the absence of the Emperor while conducting an expedition against the Saracens, seized the purple, and proclaimed himself the champion of Orthodoxy. At the head of a large body of Isaurians, Constantine soon recovered his power; and the remainder of his reign, which ended in 775, was chiefly distinguished by a furious contest with the clergy. The bitterness on both sides was intense, and the Emperor doubtless acted with the uncompromising violence of a despot; but, whatever the personal faults of Constantine V., his policy was attended by some good results. The monkish brotherhoods, which in the Eastern Empire had exhibited the vices of fanaticism, ignorance, and idleness, were abolished; and it is said that a solemn abjuration of idolatry was imposed upon the clergy, if not upon the people at large.

Constantine V. was succeeded by his son Leo IV., whose reign lasted only five years, and was marked by little else than a modified continuance of the disputes between the State and the Church. Leo was a man of feeble constitution and small intellectual power; and during his brief reign he

was persuaded to confer Imperial dignity on his infant son, who afterwards succeeded to the throne as Constantine VI. The wife of Leo IV. was an Athenian lady named Irene, whose crimes have secured for her an unenviable fame. When Leo died, in 780, his son Constantine was only ten years old, and the actual sovereignty passed into the hands of his mother, who had in fact shared largely in the exercise of regal power during the lifetime of her imbecile husband. Irene was thoroughly orthodox in her religious views, and she determined to restore the worship of images which Leo III. and Constantine V. had so sternly repressed. The second Council of Nicæa, or Nice, was held in 787, in presence of the youthful Emperor Constantine. The moving spirit in the convocation of this Council was doubtless Irene herself; but Constantine VI. was not at all disinclined to the work which it was summoned to perform. By the unanimous voice of the Council, it was decreed that the worship of images was agreeable to Scripture and reason, to the teaching of the Fathers, and to the authority of the great Councils. The contest, however, was not at an end, but continued to rage for thirty-eight years longer. The final victory was with the image-worshippers—a result largely due to the fact that Rome and the Western world declared themselves on that side.

When Leo III. began his assault on the practice of image-worship, a number of strangers from Italy and the West were at Constantinople, and they carried with them to Rome a vivid account of what they had witnessed. The reigning Pope, Gregory II., was horrified at what he regarded in the light of sacrilege. The Italian people, and those of the neighbouring countries, were equally dismayed and shocked; and the Pontiff lost no time in taking measures against the Eastern Emperor, whose subject he was. Leo had threatened Gregory with degradation and exile if he refused to join the Iconoclastic movement. Gregory replied by preparing for immediate war. Pastoral letters, addressed to the Italians in 728, summoned them to the defence of Orthodoxy, and Gregory wrote to the Emperor in a tone of haughty defiance. Leo, as we have seen, persisted in the enforcement of his views; but the opposition of Gregory II., and of his successor, Gregory III., who ascended the Papal chair in 731, was productive of the most serious difficulties to the Byzantine sovereign. The Roman Pontiffs were accused—and perhaps not without justice—of instigating revolts which threatened, not merely the power, but the very existence, of Leo. On the other hand, the Catholics charged the Emperor and his adherents with treacherous, and even murderous, plots. Troops were sent by Leo into Italy, and some support was found amongst the population. Rome and Ravenna were attacked, but without success. The Papal forces were everywhere triumphant, and the Exarch of Ravenna was reduced to little more than a shadow of his former power. The movement was national, as well as theological; but religion was the mainspring. Gregory II. convened a synod of ninety-three Bishops, and, with their approval, excommunicated all who, by word or deed, should favour the opinion of the Iconoclasts. But this edict, however operative in the West, was far from composing the controversy in the East; and very important results ensued from the quarrel. The resistance of Gregory II. to the assumptions of the Emperor Leo had a political effect of an interesting character. The authority of the Byzantine Emperors was shattered in the struggle; and, in the year 728, the Roman Republic extinguished by Augustus Cæsar was for a little while revived. It became necessary to establish a government of some kind, and nothing was more natural than to revert to the old forms. The Senate, therefore, once more assembled, and an administration based on the ancient models was created to meet the exigencies of the moment. But the Romans of the eighth Christian century were a totally different people from the Romans who had created and upheld the Republic of the Pagan ages; and the supreme power soon passed into the hands of the Pontiffs, who, whether for good or for evil, represented all that was most vigorous in the Roman people of those days.

Irene obtained a great reputation amongst the Orthodox by her restoration of image-worship; but the remainder of her life was a tempest of misery and crimes. As he grew towards manhood, her son Constantine VI. resented the state of tutelage in which he was being kept by his parent, and the court was divided into two rival factions, one of which supported the Empress, while the other endeavoured to promote the fortunes of her son. Constantine at length obtained the upper hand, and Irene was banished from Constantinople. She speedily entered into a plot for her restoration, and Constantine was seized on the Asiatic side of the Bosphorus, and carried to the porphyry chamber of the Imperial palace, where the heirs to the throne were born. There his eyes were destroyed by the direction of his mother, and Irene conducted the government in her own name from 797, when this atrocious crime was committed, to 802, when her treasurer Nicephorus was invested with the purple.

The Empress was now banished to Lesbos, where, until the end of her days, she earned her bread by the use of her distaff. During her five years of power, she had reigned with ostentatious magnificence; but, even in the minds of those who applauded her religious views, the credit of her orthodoxy was overshadowed by the blackness of her deeds.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE EARLY ARABIAN CALIPHS.

Posterity of Mohammed—Claims of Ali to the Succession—Abu Beker the First Caliph—Vigorous Measures for the Suppression of Rebellion—Defeat and Death of Moseilma, the False Prophet—Instructions of Abu Beker to his Generals and Soldiers—Religious Conviction the Secret of Mohammedan Success—Conquest of Syria—Surrender of Jerusalem to the New Caliph, Omar—Conquest of Egypt and Persia—End of the Sassanian Dynasty in the Latter Country—Commencement of the Saracenic Empire—Incidents of the Campaign in Egypt—The Alleged Destruction of the Alexandrian Library—Assassination of Omar—His Severe and Simple Character—Succession of Othman—Rebellion against his Authority—Assassination of the Caliph, and Succession of Ali—Division of the Mohammedan World into the Partisans of Ali and the Adherents of the previous Caliphs—Insurrectionary Movement, fostered by Ayesha—Victory of Ali near Bassora—Formidable Rebellion of Moawiyah—Civil War in the Saracenic Dominions—Discomfiture and Assassination of Ali—Moawiyah First Caliph of the Dynasty of the Ommiades—Reign of Yezid—The Descendants of Ali—Progress of Mohammedan Conquest under the Ommiades—Invasion of Aquitaine and Burgundy by the Saracens—Defeat of their Forces, between Tours and Poitiers, by Charles Martel—Withdrawal of the Moslems from North-Western Europe.

MOHAMMED, as the reader is aware, had numerous wives—according to some accounts, as many as seventeen; yet he left no son behind him, to perpetuate the dominion he had formed. He had children only by Kadijah and his Egyptian favourite, Mariyah, or Mary. The offspring of Kadijah were four sons and four daughters; but the former died in their infancy, and the same fate overtook the only son of Mariyah. Of the four daughters of Kadijah, three died before their father; the other, Fatima, was married to Ali, the son of Abu Taleb, and therefore the cousin of Mohammed. It might reasonably have appeared that, on the death of the Prophet without male issue, his power would devolve on his kinsman and son-in-law, who was also the head of the family of Hashem, the hereditary Prince of Mecca, the guardian of the Kaaba, and a person of great and varied ability, of heroic valour, and of enthusiastic piety. But the fugitives from Mecca and the auxiliaries of Medina disagreed as to the election of a successor, and the choice ultimately fell on Abu Beker—a man whose age precluded the likelihood of any very extended reign. Abu Beker was himself related to the Prophet, being the father of his favourite wife, Ayesha; and it appeared to most of the faithful that the sword of the new religion could be in no better hands. At one time it was proposed to elect two sovereign Pontiffs, and Omar was nominated by Abu Beker; but he modestly declared himself incapable of such a trust, and indeed it was evident that the fortunes of Islam would be ruined by a divided authority.

Although Abu Beker thus succeeded to the supreme position without any serious resistance, there were some malcontents who made their voices heard. The Hashemites refused the oath of allegiance, and their chief shut himself up in his house for some months, as a token of displeasure. Ali was indignant at the disregard of his own claims; but his enmity (which at the worst assumed no form of actual opposition) was at length appeased by the conciliatory bearing of Abu Beker, who even offered to abdicate in his favour. The great question of the spiritual and military headship was now settled, and the father-in-law of Mohammed must be reckoned as the first of the Caliphs. The Arabic word by which this office is denoted, and which has gathered about it such splendid associations, means, literally, a successor; so that the Caliphs were those who succeeded to the functions of the Prophet himself. The necessity of a settlement must have been apparent to all; for, immediately after the death of Mohammed, some of the tribes, which had accepted the new religion only on compulsion, asserted their independence, and returned to the Paganism of their ancestors. The Koreishites themselves showed symptoms of falling off, and Abu Beker could depend on no other cities than Mecca, Medina, and El Tayef. Vigorous measures were at once adopted, and several of the waverers

pay tribute." This cleaving of skulls is the dangerous prerogative of men who interpret their own sincerity as a warrant for violently suppressing the views and habits of others. But Abu Beker acknowledged that some really good and religious people were to be found in monasteries; and these were to be treated with due consideration.

It cannot be denied that the intense fanaticism of the Moslems—their passionate and even fierce conviction that the conduct of a great reform had been entrusted to them by Providence—was one of the principal causes of that marvellous success which for years attended on their arms. Nothing else could have furnished them with the fiery impulse which carried their forces triumphantly from the deserts of Arabia to the palaces of Damascus and of Persia, to the ancient cities of Egypt, to the Mediterranean shores of Africa, to the valleys of Sicily, and the enchanting lands of Spain. The Mohammedan warrior counted fatigue, thirst, hunger, wounds, and death, as nothing in comparison with the duty and the privilege of spreading the faith in a single God, and in the holy mission of the Prophet. He had also, it must be confessed, a grosser inducement to fight with desperate valour. Paradise, he had been told, on what was to him the highest authority, lay under the shade of swords; and he who died on the field of battle, contending for the true religion, was thought to be at once admitted to a heaven of sensual delights, where he enjoyed the unrestrained society of black-eyed houris, far surpassing all women in beauty. Some of the Moslem theologians have given a metaphorical and spiritual interpretation to these promises; but, whatever may have been in the mind of Mohammed, it is certain that the mass of humble believers understood the words literally. The soldiers of Islam marched to battle with the anticipation of a joyful reward; and when they charged the enemy, it was with eyes that reflected the light of victory from its yet unrisen sun.

The invasion of Syria was attended by the most brilliant success. The chief command was given to Abu Obeidah; but the most active spirit in the campaign was the fiery and impetuous Khaled, who enjoyed the special confidence of the army. Bostra, Damascus, Emesa, and Baalbek, were taken in 633 and the two following years, and the forces of Heraclius made their final stand on the banks of the Hieromax, where they suffered an irremediable defeat. The Emperor himself was present in Syria at the time; but in 635 he returned to Constantinople, taking the Holy Cross with him. While these events were proceeding, Abu Beker died, and was succeeded, in 634, by Omar. In 637, Jerusalem capitulated to the Moslems, after a siege of four months. It was agreed that the Patriarch Sophronius should deliver up the city to the Caliph himself, instead of to his representative; and Omar, leaving Ali behind him as his viceroy, set out for Jerusalem on the red camel which he usually rode, accompanied by only a few companions, and displaying none of the outward signs of royalty. On his arrival, the gates were at once thrown open, and the successor of Mohammed entered the city in friendly conversation with the representative of Christianity—a memorable incident in the history of the modern world. Aleppo was reduced in 638, though not until after a prolonged and exhausting siege. Antioch submitted next, and by 639 Syria was completely in the power of the Mohammedans, who, for the most part, treated the people with great consideration, allowed them the exercise of their religion, and soon acquired their friendship. Egypt was attacked about the same time, and Alexandria fell before the assaults of Amrou. The subjugation of Syria and Egypt within so short a period might in itself have appeared sufficient triumph; but Persia also was invaded, and the armies of the Prophet penetrated to the banks of the Oxus. Neither the Byzantine nor the Persian Empire was able to withstand this amazing outburst of physical and moral force. Heraclius was near the end of his life, and, as we have seen, contemplated with fatal apathy the alarming progress of the Arabians. He even absolved his Syrian subjects from their allegiance before finally quitting the East, and from that time forth he took no interest in their fortunes. In Persia, the Sassanian dynasty was torn to pieces by internal dissension, and so weakened by the long wars of Persia with the Byzantine Empire as to be incapable of effective resistance. Nevertheless, the Moslems had to fight hard for their success; and the native valour of the desert was disciplined by repeated encounters with armies much more highly organised than those which poured out of the heart of Arabia.

The complete subjugation of Persia did not take place until 651, when Yezdegerd, the grandson of Chosroes II., and the last of the Sassanians, was betrayed by a servant, and slain on the banks of a river by his Turkish allies. From this period, if not from an earlier year, we may date the commencement of that Arabian Empire which afterwards acquired so vast an extent, and which is generally known by the term Saracenic. The etymology of the word "Saracen" is extremely

doubtful, and has given rise to numerous conjectures; but it is not improbably from the same root as "Arabia"—namely, *Zahra*, a desert. It is usual to speak of the conquering tribes as Saracens, rather than as Arabians; and as Saracens we shall hear of them in many parts of the globe. The followers of the Prophet now began to indulge in dreams of grandeur. Having firmly established themselves in Persia, they founded Bassora, on the western bank of the great stream formed by the union of the Euphrates and the Tigris. In Egypt they commenced what is now the city of Cairo (meaning the town of victory), the position of which, on the eastern bank of the Nile, offered an easy communication with the Red Sea, and with Arabia itself. The splendour and importance of this city, however, belong to a later period, when the Fatimite Caliphs reigned in Egypt. But the land of the Pharaohs was so rich a prize that Amrou, the lieutenant of Omar, spared no pains to obtain it. He found important allies in the Coptic Christians, who belonged to the sect of the Jacobites, so called from Jacobus, a Bishop of Edessa in the sixth century. The Jacobites maintained the single nature of Christ, and affirmed that he was combined of God and man in so perfect a union as to form but one being. These views had given great offence to the Orthodox party at Constantinople, and the Coptic Christians were severely persecuted by the Eastern Emperors. They accordingly welcomed the Saracens as friends; and in truth their religious views made some approach towards the Monotheism of the Mohammedans.

During the siege of Memphis, the Jacobites entered into communication with the invaders, and a secret treaty was concluded, by which the Copts agreed to pay a stipulated tribute, and swore allegiance to the Caliph. In honourable fulfilment of their engagements, they rendered important services to the Saracenic armies during their progress through the country. Roads and bridges were repaired by these humble but efficient allies. Intelligence as to the movements of the enemy was repeatedly conveyed to Amrou; provisions were liberally supplied; and the Greeks, whose numbers were but small, found themselves overwhelmed by a national movement which they had no power to resist. In the open field, all opposition ceased; in the smaller towns, the garrisons were surprised, or starved into submission; and the representatives of the Eastern Emperor, whether lay or clerical, sought safety in flight. The city of Alexandria, however, was capable of offering a determined resistance, and Amrou was detained fourteen months before the walls of the Ptolemaic capital. The Saracens lost 23,000 men in the prosecution of this siege; but in 641 Alexandria capitulated to the Moslem army. During the minority of Constans II., the grandson of Heraclius, two attempts were made to retake Alexandria; but, though supported by a powerful fleet and army, they ended in failure, and the city long remained in possession of the Saracens.

The alleged destruction of the Alexandrian Library belongs to this period, but is open to some doubt. Amrou, it would seem, was a man of greater cultivation and taste than the majority of the Arabs at that time. He found pleasure in conversing with a learned grammarian and philosopher of Alexandria, named John Philoponus, and would frequently question him on matters of literature and science. Encouraged by these attentions, John petitioned the Saracenic general for the books in the Alexandrian Library; observing that, although Amrou had made an account of all things considered valuable, and placed his official seal on them, he had taken no notice of the books, which, therefore, it was to be presumed, were not regarded as of any worth. Amrou replied that he could on no account grant such a request without first asking leave of the Caliph; and the response of Omar is stated to have been contained in the words, "What is written in these books is either in harmony with the Book of God (*i.e.*, the Koran), or it is not. If it be, then the Koran is sufficient without them; if otherwise, it is fit they should be destroyed." It is added that, in conformity with this ingenious syllogism, Amrou distributed the books amongst the four thousand baths of the city, to be used as fuel, and that the number was so extraordinary that the volumes lasted fully six months before they were entirely destroyed.* Gibbon expresses disbelief in this story, as being founded simply on the authority of the Oriental writer Abulfaragius, whilst Eutychius and Al Makin are silent on the subject. Since the time of Gibbon, however, several new Mohammedan authorities have been discovered, whose testimony supports the original narrative; and modern scholars are for the most part in favour of the statement. The story has undoubtedly the recommendation of verisimilitude. An ignorant and fanatical leader, such as Omar, would be very likely to act in the manner imputed, and the silence of two authors does not count for much in opposition to the positive assertions of many others. The library, which was one of the grandest in the world, unquestionably disappeared

* Ockley's History of the Saracens.

at some time. Although there had been previous conflagrations, they were only partial, and we have no reason to doubt that a large collection of books existed at Alexandria under the Byzantine Emperors. Its destruction, at whatever time the fact took place, has probably deprived the world of many works which now exist only in name; though it is not unlikely that others have vanished owing to the indifference of the mediæval monks, who often erased the writings on ancient parchments, that they might cover them with their own legends or religious meditations.

Omar died by the hand of an assassin in 644, after reigning rather more than ten years. The murderer was a Persian named Firuz, one of the fire-worshippers, who considered himself aggrieved by having to pay a daily tribute of two pieces of silver. He complained to the Caliph on the subject, but was told that he could well afford the impost out of what he earned. Transported with rage, Firuz rushed upon Omar while the latter was saying his morning prayers in the mosque, and stabbed him thrice with a dagger. The bystanders endeavoured to seize the assassin; but he made so desperate a defence that thirteen of their number were wounded, and seven ultimately died. After a prolonged struggle, Firuz stabbed himself, and Omar expired three days later. The second of the Caliphs was a man of austere and simple character, rigidly exact in his observance of all religious duties, extremely self-denying, and very impartial in the administration of justice. His zeal for the faith was so excessive that he expelled the Jews and Christians from Arabia, and he was the first to employ the date of the Hegira. To him also was originally given the complimentary title of Commander of the Faithful, which was borne by succeeding Caliphs. His personal habits were so unpretending that, on his journeys, which were always made on the back of a camel, he carried his barley-bread and salt hanging from his saddle-bow, and slept at night in the open air. When Saïd Ebn Wakass, having conquered the capital of Persia, built for the Caliph a magnificent palace, Omar ordered it to be burned. His clothes were of worsted, and he had but one suit; yet this rugged son of the desert was said to inspire more awe with his walking-staff than other men with their swords. One of the noblest things recorded of him is that he made a law declaring that no woman who had ever borne a child should be sold into slavery. There have been communities of the modern Christian world which might, in this respect, have taken example by Omar.

The succession to the Caliphate was left by Omar to the discretion of six commissioners. Ali was one of the number, and his five colleagues offered the appointment to him, but with restrictions which he declined to accept. Othman, the secretary of Mohammed, then succeeded to the government; but his pride and self-seeking speedily gave offence to the tribes. His reign, nevertheless, lasted twelve years, which were for the most part years of dissension and internal peril. An expedition into the northern countries of Africa was commenced in 647 by Abdallah, the foster-brother of Othman, who, in a campaign of fifteen months' duration, obtained some victories of importance. But the Saracenic power in this region was not established until several years later; and the national force was dissipated, during the reign of Othman, by the bad government of the Caliph, and the opposition of the people. From Egypt, from Syria, and from Persia, large numbers of the malcontents assembled in the neighbourhood of Medina, with threatening demands for justice. Their claims were secretly supported by Ayesha, the widow of the Prophet; and it is said that a mandate, forged in the handwriting of the Caliph, and directing the assassination of his Egyptian lieutenant, was placed within reach of the Egyptian deputies. Excited to the utmost pitch of rage, the insurgents besieged Othman in his palace. For a while he was protected by the two sons of Ali, Hassan and Hossein; but every day increased the fury of the popular indignation, and, the gates of the palace having been forced, a tumultuous crowd of armed men, headed by the brother of Ayesha, rushed into the inner apartments. The Caliph, who had every reason to anticipate his fate, was discovered quietly reading the Koran, and was slain, together with his attendants, who vainly endeavoured to defend their master. The murderers then offered the Caliphate to Ali; but the son-in-law of Mohammed refused to accept it, unless the appointment were confirmed by the popular voice. When, however, he appeared in the mosque at Medina, the chiefs of the tribes saluted him as their sovereign; and thus, in 656, twenty-four years after the death of Mohammed, Ali succeeded to a position which might have seemed to be his from the first, by a sort of natural right. It would doubtless have been better for the future of the new religion had Ali followed Mohammed without the interposition of three other Caliphs. The claims of Ali were by many considered paramount, and their non-recognition for nearly a quarter of a century created a division amongst the Mohammedans, which exists with extraordinary bitterness to the present day. The

Shiites, or supporters of Ali, repudiate the Caliphs Abu Beker, Omar, and Othman as usurpers, while the Sunnites recognise those sovereigns as rightful and legitimate successors of the Prophet. The two sects are likewise at issue on some questions of doctrine and ceremonial, as we have already observed; but the controversy as to the succession is that which has imparted the greatest bitterness to their feud, and perpetuated for centuries the mutual animosity of the Shiite Persians and the Sunnite Turks. The latter believe that the order of succession was determined by the greater sanctity of the earlier Caliphs. Thus, Abu Beker was superior to Omar, Omar to Othman, and Othman to Ali—a process of declension which promised but little for the future. The Persians, on the other hand, have exalted Ali to nearly the same level as Mohammed himself. They call him the Vicar of God, and pay the utmost respect to the actions of his life, and to the recorded sentences, or proverbs, in which he gave expression to the sacred wisdom with which his mind is supposed to have been endued.

Ali succeeded to the regal and pontifical power after an anarchy of five days; but his whole reign was agitated by the turbulent spirit out of which it had arisen. His authority was repudiated by two powerful Arabian chiefs, Telha and Zobeir, who fled from Medina to Mecca, from Mecca to Bassora, and at the last-named city raised the standard of revolt. Ali marched against them, and defeated their forces in a hotly-contested action. On this occasion, Ayesha, who had accompanied the rebel chiefs to Bassora, distinguished herself by the courage and energy with which she rode about the field of battle, exhorting the warriors of Zobeir and Telha to resist to the last extremity. She sat in a species of litter, carried on the back of a camel; and Moslem historians relate that seventy men, who successively held the bridle, were either killed or wounded, while the litter itself was so transfixed with innumerable javelins as to resemble the sides of a porcupine. Ayesha had conspired against Othman; but it was not that power should descend on Ali, who had long before given her deadly offence by some reflections on her character, and one of whose wives was the daughter of Kadijah. When the battle was decided in favour of the reigning Caliph, Ayesha was treated with respectful consideration, as the widow of the Prophet, and for many years his favourite wife. But the danger, suppressed in one locality, existed still more formidably in another. Moawiyah, the son of Abu Sofian, had assumed the title of Caliph, and was supported by all the forces of Syria. Many other of the great military leaders declared against Ali, and the old Arab custom of the blood-feud was invoked against him. It was urged that the murder of Othman demanded vengeance, and the gory shirt of the late Caliph was suspended over the pulpit at Damascus, as an incentive to rebellion. On the other hand, Ali received the submission of Egypt, Arabia, Persia, and Khorassan; but a state of civil war was now fully established, and 60,000 Saracens arrayed themselves against the Commander of the Faithful.

In less than four months, ninety battles or skirmishes desolated the western plains of the Euphrates. The dead were counted by thousands on both sides; but the balance of advantage was with the standards of Ali. Moawiyah, however, was supported by Amrou, the conqueror of Egypt, and a stratagem of his device did much towards deciding the war. As the two armies were about to engage, Amrou suggested to Moawiyah that the Koran should be borne on the lances of their soldiers. The warriors of Ali shrank from attacking a force thus protected by the sacred words of religion. A truce was concluded, and Ali retreated to Cufah, discouraged in spirit, and no longer relying on the fidelity of his troops. Moawiyah, paying little respect to the agreement he had concluded, seduced the adherents of his rival from their allegiance. The flame of disaffection spread, and in a little while the followers of Ali were but few in number. The disorder of the Empire became so serious that three deserters from the army of the lawful Caliph agreed to take the lives of Ali, of Moawiyah, and of Amrou, in the hope of re-establishing peace by the removal of those who troubled it. The plot failed, excepting as to Ali. Amrou escaped altogether, owing to a mistake on the part of the assassins. Moawiyah was simply wounded; but the Commander of the Faithful was slain in the Mosque of Cufah, in 661. The sepulchre of Ali was long concealed from the rage of his enemies; but in a subsequent age a temple to his memory, and afterwards a city, were erected near the ruins of the earlier town. The neighbouring ground is considered holy, and religious Persians regard a pilgrimage to this spot as of equal merit with a visit to Mecca.

By the adherents of his sect, Ali is credited with every virtue, and certainly he was a favourite with Mohammed; but the Sunnites take a less flattering view of his character. He was often at issue with his fellow-believers, and Moawiyah appears to have thought he was concerned in the assassination of Othman. On such a point it is impossible to speak dogmatically; but it is at any

rate clear that the reign of Ali, which extended over five years, was fruitful in disaster to the Saracenic race. Unfortunately, his death did not restore the prosperity which recent events had interrupted. His eldest son, Hassan, was saluted Caliph by the people of Cufah, but was unable to contend with Moawiyah, who retained possession of Syria, Egypt, and Arabia. Relinquishing his powers, he retired to Medina, where he lived the life of a recluse. Moawiyah, the founder of the dynasty of the Ommiades (so called from the great house of Ommiyah, to which Moawiyah belonged), succeeded to the sovereignty in 661, the year in which Ali was assassinated; indeed, he may be regarded as Caliph from the moment of Ali's death. Hassan was afterwards poisoned by his wife, for whom Yezid, the son of the new ruler, had conceived a passion; and a possible opponent was thus removed from the scene. The monarchy of the Saracens had hitherto been elective; it now became hereditary. On the death of Moawiyah, in 679, he was succeeded by his son Yezid. An attempt was made in 680 to confer the regal power on Hossein, the surviving son of Ali; but, being betrayed by his followers, the unfortunate prince was slain in conflict. Yezid was advised to extirpate the whole race; but, though dissolute and immoral, he was not cruel, and he dismissed the children of Ali to Medina. Hossein is honoured by the Persians as a martyr, and, on the anniversary of his death, the Shiites still give expression to their grief and fury. Reputed descendants of Ali and Fatima are numerous in all parts of the Mohammedan world, and receive the appellations of Sheikhs, Shereefs, or Emirs. Their social condition varies from that of princes to that of beggars; but all are held in equal reverence. As descendants of the Prophet, they are distinguished by a green turban. The privilege of being judged only by their own chiefs is maintained from age to age, and in the Turkish Empire they receive a stipend from the treasury. Among these recipients of special honour, it is not unlikely that there are several impostors; but the undoubted posterity of Hassan are still found in the cities of Mecca and Medina, where they retain the custody of the mosques, and exercise a species of regal power.



EUDES, DUKE OF AQUITAINE, FLEEING FROM BORDEAUX, FIRED BY THE SARACENS.

The dynasty of the Ommiades enjoyed the Caliphate from 661 to 750, when Merwan II. was

defeated and slain on the banks of the Nile, in a popular rising headed by the Abassides, who then succeeded to power. During the eighty-nine years when the Ommiades directed the fortunes of Islam, the sway of the Saracens was extended along the northern shore of Africa to the Atlantic, was carried across the Straits of Gibraltar into Spain (the greater portion of which was subjected to the Moslem rule and faith), and on two occasions came into collision with the Greeks before the walls of Constantinople itself. These events, together with the splendid reign of Haroun-al-Raschid, the famous hero of the "Arabian Nights," will be related further on; but—as a preliminary to events which now demand our attention—it is necessary to refer briefly to that great defeat by which the power of the Moslems was checked and shattered in the north-west of Europe.

After the conquest of Spain, the Saracens determined to attempt the subjugation of the neighbouring lands. In 718 and the next few years, the whole country between the mouths of the Rhone and the Garonne was subdued by the apparently invincible soldiers of the Arabian Prophet. Thence they advanced into Aquitaine, the Duke of which province (who had previously distinguished himself against the invaders, but had been compelled to evacuate Bordeaux, which was fired by the Saracens) sustained a terrible defeat. The kingdom of Burgundy was next overrun, and it seemed as if no portion of Western Europe would be rescued from the grasp of these martial enthusiasts, whose tactics united the wild raids of the desert with the massive and complicated movements of regular warfare; whose presence was ubiquitous, and who burst on the miserable peasantry in a cloud of dust of their own raising, and vanished as mysteriously in the ever-moving gloom. Half the fields of Gaul were shadowed with dusky faces. The glitter of strange arms, the fashion of strange habiliments, the accents of an unknown tongue, and the ceremonies of a detested faith, were seen and heard from the slopes of the Pyrenees to the banks of the Loire; and the heart of Christendom was made familiar with the utterances of the Moslem creed.



DEFEAT OF ABDALRAHMAN AT POITIERS.

At that time, the leader of the Franks was the heroic Charles Martel, an illegitimate son of the elder Pepin. This powerful ruler (for such he really was) had acquired a knowledge of

war in the suppression of numerous insurrectionary movements amongst the Germanic and Gallic communities subject to the Frankish sceptre. Finding that the Saracens had penetrated into the heart of Gaul, he collected a numerous force, and marched to encounter them between Tours and Poitiers. The Saracenic commander was Abdalrahman, a general of great experience and spirit. On this occasion, however, he appears to have been surprised by the stealthy advance of Charles Martel, whose men were covered by a range of hills until they burst upon the foe. The great battle between the East and the West—between the Mohammedan and the Christian chivalry—was fought in 732, and was of so desperate a nature that it extended over seven days. On the last of those days, Abdalrahman was slain; the Saracens retreated to their camps in the evening, and in the frenzy of their discomfiture turned their swords against one another. A hasty retreat followed; the Pyrenees were tumultuously recrossed; Narbonne was evacuated by the Arab hosts; and Europe was saved from subjugation by the military virtues of Charles Martel, of Eudes, Duke of Aquitaine, and of their brave companions. The appellation of Martel, or the Hammer, which had already been added to the name of Charles, because of the sudden and crushing blows with which he was wont to fall upon his enemies, was still further justified by this victory. He had, in truth, achieved a success of the most momentous nature; and the history of the world might have been entirely different, had his valour or his capacity failed him in the hour of trial.

CHAPTER IX.

CHARLES THE GREAT, OR CHARLEMAGNE.

The Frank Kingdom—Austrasia and Neustria—The Mayors of the Palace—The House of Pepin—Victory of Testry—Reunion of Austrasia and Neustria—Charles Martel—The Victory over the Arabs at Poitiers—Position of the Pope—The Work of St. Boniface—Dethronement of the Merovingians—Pepin the Short gains the Throne—The Pope in Francia—Grant of the Patriciate—Accession of Charles the Great—Discord between Charles and Carloman—The Revolt in Aquitaine—Marriage of Charles with a Lombard Princess, and consequent Difficulties with the Pope—Death of Carloman—Charles rules alone—Wars of Charles—Conquest of the Lombard Kingdom—Causes of its Fall—Conquest and Conversion of the Saxons—The Gain to Europe—Condition of the Saxons—Resistance of Witikind—Transportation of Saxons—Means taken for their Conversion—Conquest of Bavaria—Spanish Campaign—Attack upon the Avars—War with the Sclaves—Wide Extent of Charlemagne's Empire and Influence.

Clovis, St. Boniface, and Charlemagne, were the founders of the Mediæval Empire; and the work of the last of these three cannot be understood without a clear idea of what was done by the first two. It might, indeed, at first seem that the kingdom of the Franks in Gaul was of exactly the same character as the other barbarian states which arose on the ruins of the Roman Empire; as that, for example, of the Ostrogoths or Lombards in Italy, or of the Visigoths in Spain. But the difference lies in this, that the other barbarian kingdoms were destroyed, while the Frank kingdom remained. The mediæval republics of Florence and Venice, and the mediæval kingdom of Naples, were no more outgrowths of the kingdom of Theodoric than is the modern kingdom of Italy; but the Empire of the Ottos, of Barbarossa, and of the Henry VII. whom Dante celebrated, was a natural development of the Frank power which Clovis founded. Under him and his immediate successors, the Franks de-

he Roman Patrician who ruled Gaul north of the Loire; destroyed the last vestiges of Roman administration in those parts; drove the Visigoths over the Pyrenees, out of the country which was afterwards known as Aquitaine; destroyed the kingdom of the Burgundians between the Cevennes and the Alps; and forced the Alemanni on the Upper Rhine to acknowledge their dependence. This power they retained in spite of internal dissensions, while the other barbarian kingdoms were falling around them; so that the saying of a later German chronicler, "When Rome fell, Francia arose to take the crown," is not so great an exaggeration as might appear. It need scarcely be said that by "Francia" he meant the Frank race and kingdom: "France" is a later creation. But among the successors of Clovis there is hardly a trace of either political or military ability; and the weakness of the central authority, together with the custom of dividing the dominions between brothers, gave free play to those tendencies towards separation which already existed. The Franks themselves occupied

both banks of the Middle and Lower Rhine, and the north of Gaul; along the Rhine, however, they were surrounded by other German peoples of kindred race, while to the west they had settled as conquerors in the midst of an alien population of Romanised Celts, and were disposed to adopt the language and manners of those among whom they lived. Thus a distinction arose between Western and Eastern Francia—between *Francia Romana* and *Francia Teutonica;* or, as they were more usually called, Neustria, with Paris, Soissons, and Tournay for its capitals, and Austrasia, with Rheims, and afterwards Metz, for the principal city. But, at the time when all vigour appeared to be leaving the Merovingian kings, successors of Clovis, and the Frank power seemed likely to split up, a race of warlike and skilful rulers arose to bind it together again, and to prepare the way for a more lasting monarchy.

Among the court dignitaries, by the side of the Treasurer, the Seneschal, and the Chancellor, appears very early the *Major Domûs*, or Mayor of the Palace, an officer whose duty it was to superintend the royal household. Alike in Neustria and Austrasia, the Mayors of the Palace used their position to acquire for themselves, practically, the power of the sovereign himself; till the titular kings, who by their political nullity have given a term to the phrase-book of Europe—the *Rois Fainéants*—became mere puppets in their hands. Instead of a contest between the kings of Eastern and Western Francia, the struggle was now between the Mayors of East and West. The victory of the Western Mayors would have meant the victory of Romanised Celts and half-Romanised Germans, far too weak to found a strong kingdom, over pure Germans, who might be able under good leadership to create a lasting state. Fortunately, it was the Eastern Mayors who were successful. A series of rulers appeared in Austrasia who were unique in the history of the world. For personal force and energy, they find a parallel in the Norman and Plantagenet Kings of England; but the special characteristic of the Mayors and Kings of the House of Pepin is, that each is greater than his predecessor, and the work of each seems to be the natural and necessary preparation for that of his successor. Of these, the first was Pepin of Landen, who died in 639 or 640. His son Grimoald, who followed him in the Mayoralty, felt himself so strong that he attempted to pluck the fruit before it was ripe, and to set his son upon the throne. But the reverence which was inspired by the Merovingian kingly house was as yet too great, and both paid for their rashness with their lives.

The only other family in Austrasia which could rival the race of Pepin was that headed by Arnulf, who, after long holding high office at court, became Bishop of Metz (the capital of Austrasia) at the same time that Pepin of Landen was Mayor. By the marriage of his son with the daughter of Pepin, the two great families were united; and the child of this marriage, Pepin of Heristal, became Mayor in 680. By the decisive victory of Testry, near St. Quentin, in 687, the might of the Neustrian Mayor was broken; Neustria and Austrasia were united; and, in token of his authority over the whole nation, Pepin assumed the title of Duke and Prince of the Franks (*Dux et Princeps Francorum*). Thus, the predominance of the German element among the Franks over the Latin was secured for the next two centuries, and Pepin may therefore justly be deemed the second founder of the Frank kingdom. His son, Charles Martel (714–740), forced the Thuringians, Swabians, and Bavarians, who had in the early days of the monarchy recognised the supremacy of the Frank king, again to acknowledge their subjection; revived the terror of the Frank name among the Saxons and Frisians who had attacked the border-lands; and brought back into obedience the Dukes of Burgundy and Aquitaine, who had become almost independent. But he did far more than this. Hitherto, the Frankish kingdom had been but one among many Teutonic states, though the greatest of them. But now Europe was threatened by a new danger, from which, as we have seen, she was delivered by the Austrasian hero. By the great victory of 732 over the Arabs, near Tours and Poitiers (sometimes called after the one town, sometimes after the other), Charles Martel saved Christendom. Henceforth his power, as leader of the mightiest nation of the West, had a new dignity and consecration in the eyes of the world: he stood before men as the champion of Christianity, though his leanings towards Teutonic Paganism were not inconsiderable. But the great representative of Christianity in the Western world was the Pope: it was therefore inevitable that these two powers should approach one another.

The Popes had long been looking for some supporter from which they could gain assistance. In the latter part of the sixth century, the north of Italy, and a considerable part of the south, had been occupied by the Lombards; the central district was governed by the Exarch of Ravenna, as viceroy of the Byzantine Emperor. Upon the Exarch, Rome and the Pope were dependent; his consent was asked upon elections to the Papacy, and the

year of the Emperor's reign appeared upon coins and in documents. But practically the Pope was ruler of Rome and the surrounding territory; and it was but seldom that he could get either men or money from Constantinople to help him against the Lombard attacks. To a clear-sighted observer, moreover, it was plain that the Lombards could not hope even to found a durable and united kingdom of Italy, still less to meet the Franks, with any chance of success in the struggle for supremacy which was sure to come sooner or later. If he could only hope that the Franks would defend him, alike against the Eastern Empire and the Lombards, the Pope was ready to renounce his allegiance to the sovereign at Constantinople, especially as the action of the Isaurian Emperor in the Iconoclastic controversy gave him an excellent opportunity to assert his spiritual independence. The Lombards, under Luitprand, the ablest of their kings, were threatening Rome. Gregory III. sent to the victor of Poitiers the key of St. Peter's sepulchre, promising to renounce obedience to the Emperor, and to give Charles the rule (*consulatus*) over Rome, in return for aid. But Charles was loth to attack the Lombards, since they had been his allies against the Arabs, and now protected his southern dominions from Mohammedan invasion; and before he could come into any closer relation with the Pope, he died in 740. Why his son and grandson adopted a different policy, will be seen when the work of St. Boniface has been examined.

The Bishops of Gaul had made no serious attempt to convert the Germans across the Rhine. During the sixth and seventh centuries — the worst of the dark ages — they had sunk almost to the moral level of the secular magnates around them. The Kings and Mayors were chiefly anxious either to appoint warlike Bishops, who would lead their contingents in person, or to sequester the estates of the Church for the benefit of favourite warriors. The first zealous attempts for the conversion of the heathen Germans were made by Celtic missionaries from Ireland and Iona—chief among them, St. Columba, St. Gall, and St. Kilian—during the seventh and eighth centuries. But their action was isolated; they were without the active support either of the Pope or of the Frank princes; and in Ireland itself the ecclesiastical system was of a lower order of development than that of Rome, in the sense that it was less strongly organised, and less fitted for steady and continuous work. All that the Irish missionaries could do was to preach, to baptise, and to found asteries at wide distances, as centres of further missionary work. Their influence by itself could not have been lasting, but it prepared the way for Boniface. Boniface (or Winifrid, born, about 682, at Crediton, in Devonshire) was but the greatest of a band of ardent Englishmen who plunged into the heart of Germany for the propogation of their faith, and afterwards filled important places in the newly-organised Church. The conversion of England had been the work of Pope Gregory the Great; it had been brought about very largely by missionaries from Rome; and it was to Rome that the English clergy, still heated with the struggle against heathendom, looked for instruction and guidance. There was no balancing of advantages in the thoughts of Boniface and his fellows. Owing to the circumstances of their own history, they could scarcely separate, even in thought, the ideas of the conversion of the heathen, and of union with Rome. Their work on the east of the Rhine would necessarily react on the Gallican Church, whose Bishops were practically independent secular princes, regardless of metropolitan authority, or united conciliar action. The work of Boniface was threefold: he and his followers converted the Hessians and Thuringians, and confirmed the Bavarians and Swabians in their faith; in conjunction with Pope and Mayor, he organised the converted lands east of the Rhine in bishoprics and archbishoprics; and he reformed the Gallic Church, and brought it into closer union with Rome. Up to this time, the Frankish realm had been rather a loose confederation of tribes, acknowledging one head, than an unified state: the ecclesiastical organisation, which, but for Boniface, would not have been created—at any rate, not till much later—now offered some bond of union, and served to bring all the various parts together under the common headship of the one Primate at Mainz. All this had been done with the energetic support of the Pope, and had resulted in a large increase of his authority. The one great Church of Western Europe was that which had been reformed and organised by Boniface with the aid of the Pope; the one great Christian power was that of the Frank Mayors. A closer union was natural; and it was in the very year in which Boniface met his death at the hands of the Frisians, in 754, that this union was manifested to the world by a personal meeting between the two potentates.

In 740, Charles Martel had been succeeded by his sons, Carloman in Austrasia, and Pepin the Short in Neustria. There was again a danger lest the unity of the Frank power, which had been restored by Pepin d'Heristal, should be destroyed.

But in 747 Carloman entered the monastery of Monte Cassino, near Rome; and thenceforth Pepin ruled alone. It was time to take what had so long been within the reach, as it might appear, of Pepin's ancestors—the royal title. They had been restrained, partly by the recollection of Grimoald's failure, partly by the fear that, in the civil war which might follow a change of dynasty, the subject dukes to the east of the Rhine, and in Aquitaine, would make themselves independent. But the Mayor was now so strong that he could dare to take the step. From the Merovingian princes themselves, no opposition was to be expected: a contemporary, Eginhard, or Einhard,* the biographer of Charles the Great, thus describes their helpless condition:—"Nothing was left to the king, except the kingly name. With long hair and flowing beard, he sat on the throne to receive envoys from all quarters, but it was only to give them the answers which he was bidden to give. His kingly title was an empty shadow, and the allowance for his support depended on the pleasure of the Mayor of the Palace. The king possessed nothing of his own but one poor farm, with a house on it, and a scanty number of attendants, to pay him necessary service and respect. He went abroad in a waggon drawn by oxen, and guided by a herdsman in country fashion: thus was he brought to the palace or to the annual assemblies of the people for the affairs of the realm; thus he went home again. But the government of the kingdom, and all business, foreign or domestic, were in the hands of the Mayors of the Palace."

Pepin certainly had the support of the great body of the magnates and of the people. Still, some scruple was felt about putting on one side a family which had ruled, in fact or in name, for three centuries, and which had long been too powerless to offend any one. "By the counsel and consent of all the Franks," therefore, an embassy was sent to Pope Zacharias, to ask his opinion "concerning the kings there were in Francia at that time without kingly power, whether it was well or no. Zacharias shortly replied to Pepin that it was better that he who had the power should be called king, rather than he who remained without royal power; and to the end that order might not be disturbed, he bade, by apostolic authority, that Pepin should become king." At the end of 751, accordingly, Pepin was proclaimed King of the Franks, and received from Boniface, now Archbishop of Mainz, the novel consecration of anointing: the Merovingian princes were quietly sent into a monastery, and nothing is thenceforth heard of them. Partly as Patriarch of the West, partly as the representative of the Roman tradition, the Pope was gradually coming to be regarded as a kind of international arbiter, as an adviser in all great questions of public right. But, of course, the fact of greatest importance was the power of the Mayor of the Palace itself; and it would be absurd to describe the action of the Pope, as many mediæval writers have done, as an illustration of his assumed right to dethrone monarchs, and to give their crowns to others. Still, it is impossible not to see that the Popes acquired, as a matter of fact, a very important addition to their prerogatives, their position, and their influence, by this politic response of Zacharias to the question submitted to him by Pepin. It was by his "apostolic authority" that he "bade" Pepin to adopt the title of king. The decision was undoubtedly in accordance with the general wish; but the form in which it was conveyed might be plausibly used in later ages—as in truth it was—to establish the superiority of the Church over the State. Nothing, probably, was farther from the intention of Pepin and his Franks than to concede such a position to the Pontiff, nor is it really conceded, or actually established; yet the transaction was unfortunate, as facilitating encroachments which were afterwards fraught with evil consequences to the liberty and independence of nations.

Three years later, the successor of Zacharias, Stephen II., appeared north of the Alps—the first time that a Pope had been seen out of Italy—to beg aid from Pepin against the Lombards, who were threatening Rome. In gratitude for the help which was promised, the Pope solemnly anointed Pepin and his sons, Charles and Carloman, and conferred on them the title of Patricians, in 754. In subsequent letters to Pepin and his sons, the Pope always addresses them as Patricians, and it is clear that no mere compliment is intended. Constantine had revived this title long after its original meaning had been forgotten, as conferring not an office, but the highest rank after those of Emperor and Consul. In later times it had been given to important provincial governors, or to barbarian princes, to bind them to Rome: among the latter, to Clovis himself. The Exarch of Ravenna was one of the governors on whom the title was invariably bestowed; so that the Roman Pontiff and people would naturally come, in time, to regard it as the name of

* There is an English translation of Eginhard by Glaister (London, 1877). The standard edition of the Merovingian and Carolingian chronicles and charters is in the early volumes of the celebrated and immense *Monumenta Historiæ Germaniæ*, ed. Pertz.

an office, implying the paramount duty of protecting the Roman Church. Stephen had in vain begged for aid at Constantinople; he now turned exactly to define what they meant by the title; for the authority of the Byzantine Emperor was yet recognised at Rome. Still, the grant of the



ENTRY OF CHARLES MARTEL INTO PARIS, AFTER DEFEATING THE SARACENS.

to the one Western Power which might help him, and, as the representative of the Roman name and tradition, offered Pepin the title of Patrician with its duties. Probably neither Pope nor King wished Patriciate must be regarded as a decisive step towards the restoration of the Empire of the West. Pepin, taking with him the Pope, crossed the Alps with a large army, and in two campaigns

thus stretching in a semicircle round those of his brother. Carloman, besides Burgundy and Swabia, was to possess the greater part of Neustria, and a small part of Austrasia. Both, therefore, would reign over German and Celtic subjects, and neither could completely identify himself with the peculiar feelings of the other.

Pepin had been mistaken if he expected that there would be hearty co-operation between the two brothers for the maintenance of the Frank power. Scarcely had they entered upon the government than circumstances arose which displayed the want of union. A revolt broke out in Aquitaine, under the leadership of a certain Hunald. Many years before, Duke Hunald had resigned his power to his son Waifar, and had retired into a monastery: Waifar had been overthrown and killed, and it is not unlikely that the leader of the present revolt was the aged Duke Hunald himself, leaving the cloister to head one last struggle for the independence of the country. Charles hastened to meet the insurgents, and by his vigorous action easily put down the rising with a small force, in 769. Carloman had delayed to move, and did not come up with his troops until the revolt had been suppressed. But there was a danger which was far more important than any mere sulking and inaction on the part of Carloman—the danger lest the two brothers should be actively opposed to one another in their foreign policy. It must be remembered that the alliance between the Franks and the Pope was comparatively new. Charles Martel had been, as before noticed, the close ally of the Lombard king, and throughout the reign of Pepin the Short there had been a strong pro-Lombard party at the Frank court. This party was ready to take advantage of the alienation of feeling which certainly existed between Charles and Carloman. During 769, Charles showed a strong inclination to renew the Lombard alliance, while Carloman remained on the most friendly terms with the Pope. Tassilo, the almost independent Duke of Bavaria, was a cousin of Charles, and son-in-law and close ally of the Lombard king, Desiderius. He was therefore a very convenient intermediary between Franks and Lombards, and it was through him that the Frank Queen-Mother, Bertha, not only arranged an alliance between Charles and Desiderius, but also the marriage of Charles to the Lombard princess, Desiderata. But Carloman, whose territories were enclosed by those of Charles, Tassilo, and Desiderius, might be annoyed at this alliance; and the Pope would certainly be angry at the abandonment

In 770, therefore, Queen Bertha directed all her energies to bringing about a reconciliation between the two brothers. She succeeded. Carloman declared himself content with Charles's action, gaining in return a declaration that Charles would guard the rights of St. Peter. Desiderata was brought to the court of Charles, and the marriage was completed in spite of the strongest remonstrances of the Pope, who was by no means content with the few towns which Desiderius gave up to him at Charles's request. "What madness it is," he wrote, "for the noble Frank nation, which excels all other nations, and for your brilliant royal race, to pollute themselves by alliance with the faithless and abominable Lombards, who have never been reckoned among the nations, and from whom, it is known, the lepers are sprung." He reminded the Frankish kings that through a woman Paradise had been lost: for their action towards the Church, they would have to render account before the Prince of Apostles himself. Finding his remonstrances in vain, the Pope determined upon an entire change of policy. The chief obstacle to peace with Desiderius was the bitter hostility which the latter felt to the two chief councillors of the Pope, who had throughout urged him to prosecute his claims against the king. Pope Stephen determined to abandon them: Desiderius came to Rome; the unlucky ministers fell into his hands, and were put to death; and, for the first time for many years, the Pope and the Lombard king were on good terms.

But this was by no means what the Frank kings desired. They had wished to create a balance in Italy between Pope and Lombards, without at all intending to give up their decisive influence in Italian affairs. Perhaps Charles had from the first been persuaded into the Frank alliance by his mother Bertha, and Desiderata may not have proved a congenial wife. Whatever may have been his motives, he repudiated her in 771, and sent her back to Italy. Henceforth, Desiderius was his bitterest foe. On the other hand, Carloman was intensely angry with his late ally, the Pope. Thus there was a sudden and complete change of sides; and war seemed imminent between the two brothers, when Carloman fortunately died. Charles was at once recognised as king by the magnates of his brother's dominions: the widow of Carloman, persuaded by the enemies of Charles that it would be unsafe to trust herself in his hands, fled with her two young sons to Desiderius, who declared them the true heirs to the dominions of their father, and urged the Pope, though in vain, to acknowledge their right. Thus, in 771, the Frank power was once more united. The

activity of Charles during the remaining forty-three years of his life may be divided into three parts—his wars and conquests, the restoration of the Western Empire, and his work of legislation and organisation; and, as these three divisions not only, roughly speaking, followed one another in time, but form a natural sequence, it will be well to consider them in that order. From this date, we shall refer to Charles by the name with which all are familiar, and which has the merit of being distinctive—the illustrious name of Charlemagne, or Charles the Great.

The first of the King's conquests was the Lombard realm. Upon the death of Pope Stephen, in 772, there had been a struggle between the Lombard and Frank parties: the latter were victorious, and won the papal chair for Adrian I. (772–795). Desiderius demanded that he should anoint the sons of Carloman; but Adrian determined to rely upon the Frank alliance, and refused. Thereupon, Desiderius took possession of the domains of the Church, and threatened Rome. The Pope turned to Charlemagne for help; Desiderius refused to give up his conquests, and war was clearly inevitable if the Papacy was not again to fall under Lombard influence. The conquest (773–4) was effected with marvellous rapidity. Like his father before him, Charlemagne entered Italy over Mont Cenis; and Desiderius, not venturing upon resistance in the field, shut himself up in his chief stronghold, Pavia. The town was provisioned for a long siege; but Charlemagne remained with his army around the town throughout the winter; and, as no attack was made upon the Franks by the Lombards of the South, the fall of Pavia was only a question of time. Leaving his army, Charlemagne visited Rome during the solemnities of Easter, and there the alliance which had been made twenty years before at St. Denis was renewed. The authority of Charlemagne over Rome as Patrician was recognised, and the Frank King confirmed the "Donation of Pepin." Difficulties arose from time to time between the two allies as to minor points; but on all important questions the great leaders of Western Christendom were throughout their lives entirely at one; and when, three-and-twenty years later, Charlemagne heard the news of Adrian's death, he is said to have wept bitterly.

In June, 774, Pavia surrendered, and the Lombard kingdom came to an end. Desiderius was sent into a monastery: his son in vain begged aid from the Eastern Emperor. Charlemagne assumed the title of King of the Lombards, but he made no violent change in the institutions of the country. It was not until two years later, when the Lombard dukes attempted, in alliance with the towns, to regain their independence, that Charlemagne began to introduce the Frank constitution, of which the most important feature was the government of the country by Frank counts under the supervision of Missi, or royal representatives, sent on journeys through the land from the Court. Upon his third journey to Italy, in 781, Charlemagne caused the Pope to anoint his second son, Pepin, King of Italy. In Aquitaine, in like manner, his third son, Ludwig, or Louis, ruled as king. In both countries we may see the same policy—a desire to pacify the conquered districts by an appearance of independence, while practically keeping them in the closest union with the central Frank power. But what was safe enough for Charlemagne, with his strong force of will and administrative ability, might prove dangerous with a weaker king. The duchy of Beneventum, the most southern of the Lombard principalities, was not conquered until the fourth visit of Charlemagne, in 787; but, in spite of its temporary subjection, it soon regained a stormy independence.

The sudden fall of the Lombard kingdom, which had for two centuries filled so important a place in the world, is not difficult to explain. The Lombards had succeeded neither in creating a strong united monarchy, nor in winning the affection of the subject people among whom they had settled. From the first, they had, as Arians, been the enemies of the Catholic Pope; and when they attempted to conquer the Exarchate, which cut their dominions into halves, they found themselves resisted by the Pontiffs, not merely from motives of ambition, but also as representatives of that Italian nationality which was rapidly coming into existence. When the Exarchate, and Rome with it, was left to its fate by the Emperor at Constantinople, the Pope turned to the one great Catholic Power of the West for aid; and as soon as the Frank sovereign took the trouble to make a persistent effort, the Lombard was obliged to succumb. As in England after the battle of Hastings, there was not sufficient unity among the conquered to enable them to maintain a stubborn resistance, while their chances of success were infinitely less than those of the sons of Harold, or the Northumbrian earls, because the conqueror had the eager support of an oppressed population.

At the accession of Charlemagne, the Frank kingdom had but two dangerous enemies: the one a comparatively civilised German kingdom, that of the Lombards; the other a wild German people, unorganised and still heathen, who had scarcely advanced beyond the condition described by Tacitus centuries before—viz., the Saxons. Their conquest

was necessary for the security of the Empire: the wars which resulted are by far the most important in the life of Charlemagne, and his success was one of the decisive events of European history. Charles the Great is not to be described as a mere self-seeking conqueror. His wars were not arbitrary whims, but were forced upon him by circumstances. He did not destroy old political organisations, to create new ones which were not to last beyond his lifetime; but, in the case of the Saxons, he for the first time made political organisation possible to them. Nor was it an attack upon a quiet and inoffensive people. From the fourth century, the Saxons had been driving back the Franks, and, although their progress had been stopped by Charles Martel, predatory war had continued on the frontier. Since the Hessians and Thuringians had become Christian members of the Frank Empire, the Saxons felt their religion and their independence alike threatened, and again and again had pressed into the converted country, burning churches and monasteries as they went. In the next century, it was the Saxons with whom the idea of the Empire lived most strongly, and who defended the Western world against the Sclaves and Hungarians. But had they remained in their unprogressive independence, Europe would probably have been plunged into barbarism in the ninth century, and the work of the last two centuries would have gone for nothing.

The territory of the Saxons at this time stretched from the Eider to the junction of the Fulda and Werra, from the Rhine to the Elbe and Saale. Immediately south of the Elbe, they were divided into three great groups—the Westphalians (Westfalen), to the east of the Rhine, then the Angrians (Engern), then the Eastphalians (Ostfalen), while between the Elbe and the Eider was the smaller group of the Nordliudi. But there is no proof of the assertion, that each of the three great divisions formed a political body under one prince. It would appear rather that each district was under elected chiefs or princes, from among whom, in the case of war, a leader was chosen: in the wars against the Franks, there appear to have been many of these leaders. But, as the whole nation was never in arms at one time, no great duke or leader arose to unite the people under him in an organised state. This want of union lessened the power of resistance, and yet at the same time made the task of Charlemagne more arduous; for, had the Saxons been accustomed to united action, their subjection might

[illegible] immediately followed a decisive battle, while,

[illegible]gs were, Charlemagne had painfully to conquer one clan after another, and it was not until the later years of the war that pitched battles were fought.

Charlemagne commenced the work of conquest as soon as the death of his brother left him sole ruler of the Franks. It was again and again interrupted by other undertakings; but it will be here more convenient to group all the Saxon campaigns together. For the first few years, the character of the war was not different from that under Pepin, save that attack followed attack more rapidly. In 772, 775, and 776, Charlemagne confined himself to summer campaigns, which resulted in the temporary subjection of the lands he reached, and in the giving of hostages, who were instructed in the Christian religion. In the very first year of the war, the great heathen sanctuary of the Saxons, the Irmin-Sul, near Eresburg, was destroyed. Missionaries, especially from the monastery of Fulda, which had been founded by St. Boniface, entered the conquered districts, but with little success. The Frank conquests were partial and transitory, and the Saxons, not without reason, looked upon monasteries and churches as strongholds of the enemy. In 777, Charlemagne held the annual assembly of the Frank Empire upon Saxon soil, at Paderborn, where the chiefs of the surrounding clans appeared, and promised obedience. But the most able and vigorous of the Saxon leaders, Duke Witikind, took refuge with his father-in-law, the King of the Danes, and watched for an opportunity for a fresh struggle. This opportunity was given by Charlemagne's absence upon a Spanish campaign in the following year. The Saxons rose, and ravaged the country up to the walls of Cologne and Coblentz; but they were met upon their return, and defeated, by a force of Eastern Franks and Swabians, which had been hastily levied. Charlemagne himself led his army to and fro through the Saxon lands in 779 and 780: from all sides, the Saxons came in to announce their submission; no attempt was made during the conqueror's absence in Italy, in the latter part of 780 and 781, to disturb the peace; and it might have seemed that the conquest was complete. So confident was Charlemagne of this, that, as soon as he could leave Italy, he determined to organise the future government of the province. At a general assembly in 782, the Saxon customs were registered, and, so far as they were not opposed to Christianity or the Frank rule, confirmed; the land was divided into districts for purposes of administration; and such Saxon nobles as could be trusted to serve their Frank sovereign were set over them as counts.

But, if the Saxons were to share in the advantages of a higher civilisation by their incorporation with the Frank kingdom, they were also to bear new burdens. It was this which brought about a new and more successful rising in the very year that Charlemagne was introducing his organisation. The Sclavonic Sorbs (at this time settled along the Upper Elbe) attacked Thuringia. The Saxons were called upon for military service, together with the Eastern Franks. Under the leadership of Witikind, however, they everywhere took up arms on their own account. The missionaries were murdered, or forced to flee; and when the Frank army which had been raised to meet the Sorbs was sent against them, it was defeated near Minden. In the autumn, however, Charlemagne himself arrived with an overwhelming force; the country again submitted, and, to terrify the rebels, more than four thousand prisoners were put to death at Verden on the Aller. This conduct is the less excusable because, as is usually the case with such severities, it did not secure its object. The Saxons united, as they had never united before, for one last effort; they were joined by their northern neighbours, the Frisians, and fought with the energy of despair. Two great battles in 783 were indecisive, though, in the second of these, on the Hase near Osnabrück, Charlemagne was victorious. The country did not submit until every corner of it had been ravaged by the Frank armies, and the King himself, in 784–5, had wintered in Eresburg, its most hallowed spot. Witikind came to terms, and was baptised at Attigny, between Rheims and Sedan. The submission of their leader decided the fate of all the western Saxon lands. For seven or eight years the country had peace, and this interval Charlemagne employed for its organisation. The Saxons were not to be a subject people, in the sense that they were to be deprived of the rights belonging to other members of the state. They were left their personal freedom, except so far as religion was concerned. To fall back into Paganism was regarded as high treason; but they were put on a perfect equality with the other tribes,—Franks, Thuringians, and Swabians.

Yet there were two regulations to which they were forced to submit, but which continually caused discontent,—the obligation to military service, sometimes in the most distant parts of the Frank kingdom, and the obligation of paying tithes to the Church. The Northern Saxons on the coast, between the Weser, the Eider, and the Elbe, had suffered less from the war, and were therefore the more ready to revolt; they were, moreover, indignant at Charlemagne's alliance with their bitterest enemies, the Sclavonic Obotrites, who had attacked them on their eastern border; and they were encouraged to rise by their kinsmen and neighbours, the Danes. In 797 they threw off the yoke, and the Franks had to engage in several annual campaigns before the country was quiet. In 804 the last risings took place, and from that time the Saxons were obedient members of the Empire. The means by which this obedience was secured were, however, extremely severe, and require some notice. From the time of the first rising, in 782, and still more after the revolt of 794, Charlemagne had transported considerable bodies of Saxons into other parts of the kingdom; but, after the last insurrection had been suppressed, as many as ten thousand Saxons, men, women, and children, were removed from the Lower Elbe, and scattered over all the other provinces. Such transportations were frequent in the history of the Frank kingdom; but they had never been on so great a scale, nor were they such hardships to the transplanted people so long as they remained more or less nomadic. During the last two centuries, the Saxons had become a settled agricultural race, and they now had to abandon their cultivated lands for untouched forests. All over Western and Central Germany—along the Rhine, in Franconia, Hesse, Thuringia, Swabia, and Bavaria—villages are to be found whose names testify to their Saxon origin. Several of these are called Saasen—*i.e.*, Sachsen, "Saxons;" and there are innumerable Sachsenbergs, Sachsendorfs, Sachsenhausens, Sachsenheims, and Sachsensteins—*i.e.*, the "hills," "villages," "houses," "homes," and "stones," of the Saxons—as well as several which end in "Sachsen." At the same time, great numbers of Franks were made to settle in the unoccupied lands. Yet, in spite of this, the population retained its old Saxon character, and it was only in the southern border districts that there was any considerable intermixture. It seems very probable that those villages in Westphalia the names of which end in "hausen" were peopled by Franks, while those with the shortened termination "sen" remained Saxon; and even to the present day there is a distinct difference in the architecture of these villages, owing to the diversity of their origin.

The picture of conquered Saxony would be incomplete without some reference to the measures taken for Christianising the country. During all the later years of the war, the conquered tribes had been compulsorily baptised. A most interesting ordinance, drawn up for the Saxons, is still extant

which may probably be ascribed to the year 782. It begins by declaring that the Christian churches in Saxony shall enjoy not less, but rather much higher, honour than the heathen sanctuaries. They shall have the right of asylum, and any attempt to break into them by force, or to steal their sacred vessels, shall be punished with death. It is not surprising to find that the renewal of human sacrifices is to be treated with equal severity. The same punishment is declared against any one who avoids baptism, and even against any one who eats flesh upon the great fasts, unless necessity—to which a priest shall testify—has driven him to it. The other provisions are like those in contemporary laws elsewhere. The penalty of death is threatened to all who ally themselves with the king's enemies, who are disloyal to the king, or who murder their lords; yet, if any one has committed such an offence, and flees to a priest, confesses, and is absolved, he shall escape with his life—a clause which must have made the execution of these bloody laws very rare, and have added immensely to the power of the Christian clergy, though this can hardly be regarded as anything else than the substitution of one despotism for another. Gradually the land was divided into dioceses, until finally there were eight.

Bavaria had long formed a member of the Frank kingdom. To their early conversion, to the fact that much of the land they occupied had been included within the Roman Empire, and to their neighbourhood with Italy, the Bavarians owed their comparatively rapid progress in civilisation. Numerous monasteries taught a better husbandry to the people, and their bishops were in close communication with Rome. The Bavarian dukes had always been less dependent than their fellows upon the sovereign, owing to their distance from the centre of the Frankish realm, and to the hereditary character of the ducal power. Pepin the Short had thought to bind his young nephew and ward, Tassilo, more closely to himself, by causing him to swear an oath "such as a vassal swears to his lord;" *i.e.*, the oath which a man took on commending himself to the protection of a more powerful person, to gain or retain a piece of land, and by which he entered into the relation of vassalage. This act is therefore of the greatest importance in the history of the development of feudalism. "It is," says Waitz,



CHARLEMAGNE CAUSING THE SAXONS TO BE BAPTISED IN THE WESER.

the great historian of the feudal system, "the first time that usages and maxims, originally associated with different relations, were applied to the relation of a duke to the chief of the state." After, however, recognising the authority of the Frank King for some years, and sending his contingent to the wars, Tassilo refused to perform criminately regulating both civil and spiritual affairs.

In 781, Charlemagne demanded that the oath of vassalage should be renewed; and ambassadors from the Pope accompanied those of the King to urge the Duke to yield. Tassilo consented, came to Worms, took the oath, and gave hostages. But as



THE DEATH OF ROLAND AT RONCESVALLES.

his due service in the conquest of Aquitaine. Pepin either did not find it convenient to attack Bavaria, or did not care to coerce his nephew; at any rate, Tassilo was left undisturbed in practical independence. The date of the Frank King's reign was usually omitted in Bavarian documents, and Tassilo is called "princeps," or prince, a word of higher import than "dux," or duke. Moreover, there were in Bavaria, as nowhere else in the Frank dominions, assemblies of secular and ecclesiastical magnates, sitting together, and indis-

soon as he had returned to his own land, the determination to maintain his independence reappeared, and he allied himself with his brother-in-law, Duke Arichis of Beneventum, who had also married a daughter of Desiderius. When Charlemagne had conquered Beneventum, in 787, he summoned Tassilo to appear at Worms. The Duke refused, whereupon Charlemagne caused his armies to advance upon Bavaria from three sides. The Bavarian ecclesiastics were in close dependence upon Rome; and now that the Pope recognised the

righteousness of the Frank demands, and threatened excommunication, a party arose within Bavaria in favour of the King. Thus menaced with the complete loss of his dominions, Tassilo again yielded, and, presenting himself before the King, solemnly gave up his duchy, to receive it back from the royal hands. The whole Bavarian people, moreover, had to take an oath of fidelity to Charlemagne.

Next year, when Tassilo, with the other vassals, appeared in the National Assembly at Ingelheim, he was imprisoned, and charged with having conspired to revolt, and with inviting the Avars, his neighbours in the East, to his assistance. Tried before the magnates, he was condemned to death, and sent, together with his sons, to end his days in a monastery. Charlemagne then for the first time entered Bavaria himself, and, as in Saxony and Aquitaine, divided the country into administrative districts, under counts closely dependent upon himself. This was in 788. In 792 there was a trivial revolt in Ratisbon, and, perhaps on account of this, Tassilo was brought from the cloister in 794, to renounce all his rights. So great had been his independence that the conquest appeared to contemporaries as a real increase of the Frank kingdom. But it was also necessary to provide for the safety of the border lands; and to this cause are to be attributed his wars against the Arabs in the South-West, against the Danes in the North, and against the Sclaves and Avars in the East.

Since the middle of the century, a Caliphate of the Ommiades had been established in Spain, independent of the Abbaside Caliphs of Baghdad. But some of the Arab chiefs remained firm in their allegiance to the rulers of Baghdad, and it was from these that Charlemagne received an embassy, begging him to intervene. The Frank army crossed the Pyrenees in 798, not only to drive back the unbelievers, but also to bring about the subjection of the turbulent Basques on both sides of the Pyrenees. The towns in the north of Spain accepted Charlemagne as their lord; but he was not inclined to remain, or to carry the war further, and soon withdrew. His campaign has a special interest from the fact that a comparatively unimportant defeat which his army received from an unexpected attack of the Basques in the pass of Roncesvalles, north of Pampeluna, in which the Margrave Ruodland perished, was the origin of a celebrated mediæval myth, the story of Roland, the most heroic of the Paladins or Peers of Charlemagne. The great monarch did not again appear south of the Pyrenees; but the Frankish armies drove the Saracens across the Ebro, and the district between that river and the Pyrenees was incorporated with the Frank kingdom, and organised as a "mark," or boundary, for the protection of Gaul. From this time, the Saracens began to lose ground, and Christian kingdoms arose in the North, which ultimately reconquered the whole peninsula. Similarly, in the East, Charlemagne's campaigns against the Sclaves mark the turning-point. Previously, they had been steadily pressing westward; now they began to be driven eastward. The most northern Sclavonic tribe, the Abodrites, dwelling along the coast east of the Elbe, had assisted Charlemagne against the Saxons. They were received into what had been Saxon land, and their prince is spoken of as the vassal of Charlemagne. South of the Abodrites were the Wilzen. They were forced to admit the supremacy of the Frank King, who set over them one of their leaders whom he had taken prisoner. The Sorbs, their southern kindred, who had forced their way over the Saale into Thuringia, were driven back, and the Czechs of Bohemia were defeated in battle.

The possession of Bavaria led naturally to a war with its eastern neighbours, the Avars, who occupied what is now Hungary, and were dangerous enemies of the Frank power. The first campaign (791) was resultless; but quarrels soon arose among the Avar chiefs, some of whom went over to Charlemagne, and the campaign of 796 was completely successful. The central citadel of the Avars, the so-called "Ring," was captured with its immense treasures, and the supreme chief, or Chagan, recognised Charlemagne as his master. Not only were surrounding enemies beaten in battle; the kingdom was also protected by the erection of "marks,"—*i.e.*, border districts colonised by Franks, defended by fortresses, and governed by counts with special powers, especially the right of levying an army at discretion. Such marks were established between the Ebro and the Pyrenees, as already mentioned; in Eastern Brittany, against the still independent Celtic chieftains in that peninsula; and in Schleswig, against the Danes. A series of such marks also defended the eastern border against Sclaves and Avars.

Waitz thus sums up the position of Charlemagne: 'From the Ebro to the Eider, from the coasts of Friesland to Dalmatia and the southern shores of Italy, a dominion had been created such as had not been seen since the fall of the Roman Empire. Not only German and Romance peoples, but also Sclaves and Avars, Greeks and Arabs, were subject to the Frank King; most of them immediately, others in such a way that the native princes saw

in him their superior. The peoples and rulers who did not belong to his kingdom honoured him as a mightier lord, of whom they were subordinates and allies. Alfonso, King of the Goths, who had risen in Asturia and Galicia against the Arabs, stood in close alliance with him, and, after a victory, sent him part of the booty. The Scottish and Irish princes greeted him as their lord, and signed themselves his servants. With the Anglo-Saxon kings there was frequent intercourse. Egbert, who afterwards united the separate small kingdoms, lived for a long time at Charlemagne's court. Eardulf was placed in his Northumbrian lordship with the help of the Frank King. No part of Western Europe was entirely withdrawn from his influence." By these gradual, but still surprising steps, a return had been made to the Imperial grandeur and dominion of Pagan Rome; and the history of the Middle Ages seems to take a different colour from the era of Charlemagne.

CHAPTER X.

THE EMPIRE OF CHARLEMAGNE.

Necessary Connection between Charlemagne and the Pope—Relations between the Popes and the Byzantine Emperors—The Iconoclastic Controversy—Leo III. Pope—Attack upon him in Rome—His Appeal to the Frank King—Charlemagne crowned Emperor—Significance of the Act—Charlemagne's Work of Consolidation and Organisation—Chief Features of his Legislation—The Capitularies—The Counts and Missi—Charlemagne's Care for Education—Alcuin—German Character of the Empire—Aachen—Death of Charlemagne—Louis the Pious—The Oath of Strasburg—The Treaty of Verdun—The German Kingdom, and its Relation to Charles the Great.

It is clear, from the preceding account of the work of Pepin, Boniface, and Charlemagne, that the very closest connection existed between the Frank King and the Papacy. Charlemagne had defended the Church, and, by his Saxon and Spanish wars, had spread Christianity; in mediæval legends, indeed, he almost always appears as the champion of Christianity against unbelievers: on the other hand, the Church, as represented by its head, the Pope, had given him a steady support, and had recognised him as its protector. But the matter went farther than this. In the Frankish kingdom, Charlemagne was not merely the protector of the ecclesiastical organisation; he was its real head and leader. The Bishops of the sees organised by Boniface and Charlemagne were not simply chief shepherds of the Christian flock; they were magnates of the Frank kingdom,—nominated by the King, ruling lands which he had bestowed, teaching the newly-made converts to obey him, and appearing, in order to give counsel and support, at the national assemblies. As the King appointed them, so he governed them with a firm hand: he rebuked their shortcomings in the tone of a schoolmaster, and, at a synod of the Frank Church at Frankfort, caused the decrees of a Constantinopolitan Council of 787, which the Pope had confirmed, to be rejected. Boniface had reformed the Gallican Church; had restored the authority of Archbishops over Bishops; had revived the practice of meeting in synods; and had established intimate relations with the Apostolic see. The union of the old Gallican Church, now reformed, and of the new or purely German Church east of the Rhine, under the sway of Charlemagne, had made it far more necessary for the Pope, simply as Patriarch of the West, to be on good terms with the Frank sovereign than ever before with Lombard or West Gothic king.

But the tie had been rendered still closer by the political necessities of the Pope's situation. It has been seen that the rule of the Byzantine Emperors had become a mere name; that they had been unable to defend their Roman subjects from the attacks of the Lombards, and so had forced the Popes to look for aid to the rising power of the West. There were other reasons for thus turning away from the Emperor reigning at Constantinople. Since the fourth century, the Emperors had extended their rule from secular to ecclesiastical affairs. They had claimed to be the judges in all religious controversies, in matters both of creed and ceremony. To these decisions they secured obedience by severe penalties; and the Bishop of Rome, like all other Bishops, was required to yield. But the Emperor was not near enough to compel submission, and with Leo the Isaurian, who became Emperor in 717, began the long Iconoclastic controversy which has already been mentioned. He endeavoured to sweep away the

abuses which had gathered round the use of pictures and images. But the violence with which he attacked this superstition gave some advantage to those who defended it, and the Pope put himself forward as defender of the spiritual independence of the Church.

Though the Iconoclastic controversy practically determined the separation of Rome from the Eastern Empire, the tie was not yet loosened in theory. The Emperor's authority was still recognised in Rome, and his name appeared in all documents. But there was a growing sense of alienation, and the Emperor could hardly be expected to send help to a subject whose obedience he could not hope to retain. In return for Frank aid, Pope Stephen, as representative, in a certain sense, of the Roman people, had bestowed upon the Frank King the title of Patrician—a title which implied the same sort of duty to protect the Church as had been ascribed to the Exarch, the representative of the Emperor. But it is obvious that the shadowy authority of the Eastern Emperor could not much longer be respected; nor, as the Frank Kings became stronger after they had conquered the Lombard power, and had conferred great estates upon the Pope, could they be content with the vague pre-eminence which the words "Patrician of the Romans" were held to imply.

In 795 died Pope Adrian, who for three-and-twenty years had been the fellow-worker of Charlemagne in the extension of Christianity and the organising of the Church. He was succeeded by Leo III., who not only sent to Charlemagne, as a token of subjection, the key of St. Peter's tomb, and the banner of Rome, but began to date documents with the year of that monaach's reign. Thus the new Pope showed his desire for a closer union with the Frank King than his predecessors. Other Popes had needed help against external enemies; but now that there was no danger from either Lombard or Byzantine, the Pontiff was likely to need help against the utterly selfish factions of Rome itself, no longer restrained by the necessity of union against foreigners. This was soon proved. Leo had ruled for more than three years when a brutal attack was made upon him. The two nephews of Adrian, Paschalis and Campulus, had been placed by their uncle in the highest ecclesiastical offices. Suddenly deprived by Adrian's death of the power they had so long enjoyed, and unable to gain a like influence over his successor, they determined to get rid of him, and to secure the election either of one of themselves, or of some person who would be more pliant than Leo had been.

The Pope was riding in a procession on St. George's day (April 25th, 799) when he was suddenly attacked by an armed band, and thrown to the ground. After the assailants had hurriedly attempted to put out his eyes and cut out his tongue, Paschalis and Campulus dragged him into a neighbouring church, and there, before the high altar, tried to complete the mutilation. When they thought their work was finished, they threw him into prison. Doubtless their object had been to disqualify him by mutilation for the Papacy; but Leo surprisingly regained his sight and speech, and was rescued from imprisonment by his devoted partisans. The Frank Duke of Spoleto marched into the city to his assistance, and the Pope withdrew with him to Umbria. Probably the Romans had been overawed by the soldiers of Paschalis and Campulus, whom they had so long been accustomed to obey: it is clear from the narrative that there was no popular discontent, that the brutal attack was the work of only a small body of men, and that the charges which his enemies brought against Leo were merely an afterthought, in some way to justify their action. From Spoleto the Pope wrote, urgently requesting the presence and support of the Franks. But Charlemagne was at that time engaged in the Saxon wars, and could only invite the Pope to come to him in Germany. Leo soon appeared in the camp at Paderborn, where he was received with courtesy and respect. He was sent back to Rome with a Frank force; and representatives of the King—as "Patrician of the Romans," doubtless—tried his accusers, and condemned them to death, though, upon the request of the Pope himself, the sentence was changed into one of banishment. It was the second time that a Pope had appeared north of the Alps, to beg aid from a Frankish King; and, as the meeting between Stephen and Pepin had led to the conferment of the Patriciate, the meeting between Leo and Charlemagne was to lead to the Empire. A year later, Charlemagne arrived in Rome. It was necessary that the Pope should act, in his negotiations with the King, with the dignity of publicly-recognised innocence. But the Bishops refused to sit in judgment upon the Vicar of Christ; therefore the Pope himself must swear his own innocence in the presence of the world. Standing before Charlemagne, and holding the Gospel in his hands, the Pope declared:—"I, Leo, Pontiff of the Holy Roman Church, being subject to no judgment, under no compulsion, of my own free will, in your presence, before God who reads the conscience, and his angels, and the blessed apostle Peter in whose sight we stand, declare myself not guilty of the charges made against me. I have never perpetrated,

ɔmmanded to be perpetrated, the wicked deeds hich I have been accused. This I call God to ess, whose judgment we must all undergo; and I do, bound by no law, nor willing to impose this ɔn on my successors, or on my brother Bishops; that I may altogether relieve you from any st suspicions against myself."

ı 797, the Emperor Constantine VI. had been roned and blinded by his mother, the beautiful vicious Irene. Irene, indeed, was a violent hipper of images, and persecuted the Iconoclasts the same fury as they had before persecuted opponents. That the Popes were not wholly rned by superstition, that the Iconoclastic roversy was not the cause, but merely the sion, for their severing themselves from ıntium, was now clearly seen. Without being ırbed by Irene's orthodoxy, Leo judged that was an excellent opportunity for making the ch complete. What right, he may have asked, a woman, and that woman almost a murderess, ıe throne of the Cæsars? Rather should ancient ıe regain its former rights, and choose for f an Emperor. The passage in which the ern English historian of the Holy Roman ɔire has described this great act is well known, may be again quoted:—

On Christmas-day, A.D. 800"—according to eckoning of that time, the first day of the ninth ury—"Charles heard mass in the basilica of Peter. On the spot where now the gigantic e of Bramante and Michael Angelo towers the buildings of the modern city—the spot h tradition had hallowed as that of the stle's martyrdom—Constantine the Great had ed the oldest and stateliest temple of Christian ıe. Nothing could be less like than was this ica to those northern cathedrals, shadowy, astic, and irregular, crowded with pillars, ged all round by clustering shrines and chapels, h are to most of us the types of mediæval itecture. In its plan and decorations, in the ious sunny hall, the roof plain as that of a k temple, the long row of Corinthian columns, vivid mosaics on its walls—in its brightness, its ness, its simplicity—it had preserved every ıre of Roman art, and had remained a perfect ession of Roman character. Out of the sept a flight of steps led up to the high , underneath and just beyond the great arch, arch of triumph as it was called; behind, in semicircular apse, sat the clergy, rising tier e tier around its walls; in the midst, high e the rest, and looking down past the altar the multitude, was placed the Bishop's throne, itself the curule chair of some forgotten magistrate. From that chair the Pope now rose as the reading of the Gospel ended, advanced to where Charles—who had exchanged his simple Frankish dress for the sandals and the chlamys of a Roman patrician—knelt in prayer by the high-altar; and as, in the sight of all, he placed upon the brow of the barbarian chieftain the diadem of the Cæsars, the church rang to the shout of the multitude, again free, again the lords and centre of the world, 'Carolo Augusto, a Deo coronato, magno et pacifico Imperatori, vita et victoria!'* In that shout, echoed by the Franks without, was pronounced the union, so long in preparation, so mighty in its consequences, of the Roman and the Teuton, of the memories and the civilisation of the south with the fresh energy of the north; and from that moment modern history begins."†

The adoption of the Imperial title by Charlemagne was not only the summing up of a past development; it was the starting-point for a new development. It is perhaps the most important fact since the adoption of Christianity as the State religion of the Roman Empire. Its influence has been so immense that it is necessary to give a somewhat careful consideration to the subject. But, as nothing is easier than to confuse the different questions which arise, it will be well to consider it under three heads: first, how it was regarded by contemporaries; secondly, what actual changes it made in Charlemagne's position; thirdly, how it was regarded in the later Middle Ages.

The memory of the Roman Empire had never passed away. What later ages called "the fall of the Roman Empire," the deposition of Romulus Augustulus in 476, was in theory but the reunion of the Western Empire to the Eastern. Nor was this a mere fiction of the lawyers of Constantinople. It was the living belief of the Roman population of Italy, and probably of the provincials elsewhere, that the rule of the barbaric kings was either an usurpation, or legitimised by the grant of the title "Consul," or "Patrician." In theory, the act of 800 was but the reversal of the act of 476—the restoration to Ancient Rome of the dignity which her daughter, New Rome, had taken from her. It is curious to see how anxious contemporary writers were to represent the transaction as a perfectly legal use of the rights which Rome possessed upon the abeyance of the Empire: in more than one of them is found the phrase, "Since

* "To Charles Augustus, crowned of God, great and pacific Emperor, long life and victory!"

† Bryce's "Holy Roman Empire," pp. 48-9; to which all interested in the subject should refer.

the name of Emperor had now ceased among the Greeks, and their Empire was possessed by a woman." But it was more than the mere assertion of the rights of Old Rome. There was, it seemed to contemporaries, a natural fitness in giving the Imperial title to him who had brought together Gaul and Germany: inasmuch as God had given all these lands into his hand, it seemed right that he should have the name of Emperor also." Thus, then, it appeared to contemporaries that the assumption of the Imperial title by Charlemagne was both the assertion of a right which had long



EQUESTRIAN STATUE OF CHARLEMAGNE, PARIS.

so large a part of the West—the newly-conquered Germany making up to the Empire, as it were, for the loss of Spain and Britain. One cannot help remembering the reply of Zacharias to Pepin—"It is right that he who possessed the kingly power should have the kingly title"—when one finds the chroniclers insisting that Charlemagne was fit to be Emperor because he "held Rome herself where the Cæsars had always been wont to sit, and all the regions which he ruled, through Italy and been in abeyance, and the natural completion and hallowing of a power which had restored the unity of the Empire in a new shape, and which God had visibly blessed.

Secondly, Charlemagne had encouraged the revival of classical studies, and his biographer tells us how the King and his friends furnished themselves with Biblical and classical names, which they used half-jestingly in their conversations upon literary matters. It is probable, therefore, that Charlemagne

knew better than most even of his Italian subjects what was meant by the power of Rome; and his study of Augustine's "City of God" (a book of which, Eginhard tells us, he was especially fond) must have familiarised his mind with the great ideas associated with the Roman name. Charlemagne did not simply suppose himself to be may be regarded in two ways: we may say either that the German Kingship had passed into the Empire, or that the Empire had become German. The latter is the truer way of regarding the change. The strength of Charlemagne lay in the work of his Frank ancestors, Charles Martel and Pepin, and in his own Frank armies. Yet



MAP OF THE KINGDOM OF THE FRANKS UNDER CHARLEMAGNE.

adopting a new and grander title. He writes of himself henceforth as "ruling the Roman Empire," and speaks of the old Emperors as his "ancestors," or predecessors. For it was not merely another dignity added to those he already possessed; it included all the powers—as King of the Franks, and therefore ruler of Gaul and Germany, as King of the Lombards, as Patrician of the Romans—which he had previously exercised, and gave them a new character. Thenceforth he ruled, not as a King, but as an Emperor. His position, therefore, he felt that he had received new rights and new duties: rights to the obedience of his subjects; duties, in the maintenance of law and order, and in the consolidation of his territories by uniform institutions. Extremely significant in this respect is the capitulary of 802, which ordained that all those who had taken the oath of fidelity to him as King should now renew it to him as Emperor. From the simple obligations to be true to the King, not to bring enemies into the land, nor support traitors, was deduced a long list of moral, eccle-

siastical, and civil duties. No one is to deprive the Emperor of the land or dependents belonging to him. No one is to do any injury to churches, to widows, orphans, or strangers, since, after the Lord and his saints, the Emperor is appointed as their protector and defender. No one is to venture to deprive the King of a "benefice," to neglect the summons to the host, to prevent the carrying out of the "ban," or to refrain from paying the due taxes.

In this oath we see Charlemagne's conception of his position. The service of God, the protection of the weak, are the duties alike of the Emperor and of the people. The more important obligations of the subjects are each brought into prominence. But no new relations are created; those which already exist are given a new basis. Even had Charlemagne been acquainted with the servile theories of the Byzantine Court, he was too much of a German himself, and his subjects were too much attached to their old freedom, for him to introduce any despotic innovation. With his non-German lieges the assumption of the Imperial title was of still greater practical importance. Mr. Freeman has well summed up the new position:—"In the eyes of all Charles's Italian subjects, probably in the eyes of many of his Gaulish subjects, the assumption of the Roman title made all the difference between lawful and unlawful dominion. The King of the Franks was a barbarian conqueror, or at best a barbarian deliverer; in the Emperor of the Romans, men beheld the restorer of lawful and orderly government, after a long and violent interruption. Even in the eyes of his own Germans, Charles Augustus became, in some vague way, greater and holier than Charles the mere Frankish King. And, in the exaltation of its prince, the nation felt itself exalted also. The form of words did not as yet exist; but the West now saw again a Holy Roman Empire, and it was now a Holy Roman Empire of the German nation." *

Finally, it is necessary to notice briefly the relation which the coronation of Charlemagne bears to the great fabric of Imperial theory raised in the later Middle Ages. Gradually a belief arose in the necessary and correlated existence of the Holy Roman Empire and the Holy Roman Church. It was supposed that both consisted of the whole body of Christians, the one in their secular, the other in their spiritual, character; and that the chiefs of these two great corporations, or, rather, of the twofold activity of the same corporation, the Emperor and the Pope, were each supreme in their own spheres. But it was impossible that this perfect balance, this delicate division between the two functions, should be maintained. The Popes, claiming to be overseers of the soul, and guardians of the spiritual interests of society, interfered with what the Emperors regarded as purely secular matters; the Emperors, to secure their control over the temporal goods of the Church, endangered, as the Popes thought, its spiritual independence. A struggle for supremacy inevitably followed. In the great contest from the twelfth to the fourteenth century between Pope and Emperor, each side sought to establish its own theory as to Charlemagne's coronation. According to the Papal advocates, Leo III. had, in the plenitude of apostolical authority, *transferred* the Empire from the Greeks to the Germans; and he who had power to transfer had power to rebuke, and, if need be, to dethrone. This was the celebrated theory of the *Translatio Imperii*, the translation or transference of the Empire. On the other hand, the Imperial advocates regarded the Empire as the prize of conquest, and declared that Leo, in placing the crown upon the head of Charlemagne, had acted only as the Bishop of Rome, its capital, and that Charlemagne was no more indebted to him for the crown than were afterwards the Kings of France to the Archbishop of Rheims, or the Kings of England to the Archbishop of Canterbury. The Pope was therefore bound to crown whoever was chosen by the German electors, and had no right to examine or depose. It is easy to see that each of these theories had an element of truth. In the eighth century, the Imperial title was still the greatest in men's minds. The memory had not died out of the grandeur of that Roman Empire which had held together the whole civilised world; and it was natural, therefore, that Charlemagne should desire this supreme title, with all the vague glory and influence which it would give him. On the other hand, the Pope saw in Pepin and his son the chiefs of the mightiest nation of the West, the defenders of the Christian world against the Moslems, the destroyers of the threatening Lombard power, the benefactors of the Church, the repressors of faction within Rome, his shield against the Byzantine Emperor. The assumption of the Imperial title marked the alliance between Pope and King. There is no trace in contemporary writers of the Pope's acting judicially, and solemnly deciding against Irene, or of his conferring the crown upon Charlemagne as a favour; nor, on the other hand, is there a trace of Charlemagne's demanding it as a right.

* Essay on the Holy Roman Empire, in Historical Essays.

ıe coronation at Rome was a turning-point in lemagne's activity. Up to that time, he had chiefly occupied in wars and conquests: now, part of his work was almost over, especially the completion of the Saxon conquest in 804; such little wars as arose could be entrusted s son or his generals. The essential idea of ld Empire had been the uniting of the various les included in it by similar institutions and Charlemagne, now that he had become eror, naturally pressed forward more eagerly in ork of restoring to the West that order which arbarian inroads had destroyed. Before, as , Charlemagne busied himself with legisla- ; but now he devoted himself almost en- to that work. As in the previous Chapter is wars were massed together, so here it will onvenient to group the main results of his in constitutional matters, without regard to

ıe Frank kingdom of the Merovingians had a confederation of different races under the mony of the prince who happened to be the powerful, rather than a united state. Political was first brought about in the ecclesiastical re by Boniface's conversion of the Hessians and ingians, with the consequent introduction of siastical organisation, and the restoration of rchical order in the Gallican Church. All Bishops of the Frank kingdom were, in theory fact, subject to the authority of the one opolitan, the Archbishop of Mainz, Boniface elf. This unity, which had first been effected gh the Church, was realised in secular matters he destruction of the national dukedoms by n and Charlemagne (under the latter, in ria and Aquitaine), and the introduction where of the Frank system of government.

the Frank nation, as in the other tribes over h it imposed its supremacy, the idea of lation did not at first exist. The relations of iduals to one another were regulated by a ber of customs of immemorial antiquity, which, after the tribes came within the limits of the Empire, were written down. The prince had ower to alter these customs; he was himself rolled by them in much the same way as any member of the tribe. But, as the power ıe prince increased with additional conquests, at he was raised higher above the magnates had once been almost his equals, and as men n to be influenced by the old Roman ideas as ıe functions of the State, the later Merovin- commenced issuing regulations ("Decrees," cts," and "Constitutions") for particular cases. A large part of their subjects—the Provincials—would readily acquiesce in this newly-assumed authority. The great edicts issued from Rome were still remembered; and the early Frankish Kings might perhaps seem to act as deputies or successors of the old Emperors. The half-legendary Merovius had joined the Romans under Aëtius, against Attila; Clovis had been honoured by the title of Consul, and his son had received Provence (after he had already conquered it) as the gift of Justinian. These ordinances became much more frequent when Pepin the Short undertook the organisation of the Frank Church. That Charlemagne regarded his own work as the completion of his father's, is clearly shown by his confirming the whole legislation of Pepin. His energy in the work of legislation is quite unparalleled in the history of the Middle Ages; yet, either because in the earlier part of his reign he had little leisure, or because it was not until he became Emperor that he believed himself to have full legislative power over his German subjects, by far the greater number of the ordinances which are extant, and these the most important, date from the years after 800. Since the time of Charlemagne, the word "capitularies" has been used as a technical term for these ordinances, not at all as describing their contents, but only as a useful phrase in contradistinction to national and tribal customs. The term might be applied to any document divided into chapters (*capitula*), and therefore even to the earlier codes of customs; it is probable, however, that it was already used for the regulations issued by the Lombard Kings, and certainly the name is given to Papal ordinances as early as the time of Gregory the Great (590-604). Of most of the Carolingian capitularies it may be said that they applied to the whole of the Empire, while great differences remained in the customs of the different races; and that they could be altered by Charlemagne or his successors, while the customs were usually regarded as of their own nature permanent.

From these capitularies arose in time a real union and feeling of community in the Frank dominions, the more so because the range of affairs over which the prince was regarded as having authority was ever increasing. Chief among these were the measures to be taken for maintaining the armed force, and for carrying out the decisions of the courts of justice, and matters of taxation. To this was added, with the assumption of the Imperial title, a belief in the Emperor's sacred authority to regulate the life of clergy and people. Thus, every day, were fresh inroads made upon the domain of custom, and the Emperor

gradually acquired a supreme legislative authority. The national assembly no longer met, save in the shape of a gathering of the host; the hereditary dukes and elected judges had given way to royal officers appointed by the King; and, as the King had always possessed absolute power in summoning the host, so he now assumed the right to issue regulations for the protection and safety of the Empire in time of peace. His power of fixing penalties became much wider than it had previously been; fines were replaced by penalties of life and limb. He even attempted to put an end to the customs of feud and fist-law—not, indeed, he declares quaintly, that he would deprive men of their right to prosecute their quarrels in the customary way, but that he would put those who wished to exercise it where they would find it difficult to do so.

While the Frankish kingdom proper was comparatively small, and the dependent races were governed by semi-independent dukes, the King could without difficulty control the counts of Francia. But now that the whole of the Empire had been divided into counties, it became necessary to devise some mechanism to keep them in check, and prevent any attempt to tyrannise, or to create for themselves an independent power. Such an organisation Charlemagne found in the institution of the Missi, or itinerant counts. These were to travel over the country, judging complaints against the counts, and watching the local administration, especially of the Crown estates. They were to exercise a concurrent jurisdiction with the counts; and they alone had the right to summon the people to military service, and to collect the fines for non-appearance at the host—the latter duty being one which would have given the counts too many opportunities for extortion to be safely left to them. In order that they should remain entirely dependent upon the King, they were specially appointed every year. Besides the general duties mentioned above, they received special instructions according to circumstances.

While the Carolingian Empire was held together by a vigorous central power, it was possible, by means of the Missi rendering their annual report at the great courts in August, to keep a steady control over the provincial administration, and to provide for the changing needs of so large a population. But with the break-up of the Carolingian power disappeared also the office of Missus in its old shape. Under the later Carolingian princes they were nominated for indefinite periods, and turned themselves from temporary commissioners into permanent officials. As the counts, originally administrative magistrates, in many cases became independent princes, so, in one or two cases, a duchy arose from the province of a Missus. The fate which befel the administrative system, also befel many of the legislative reforms of the great Emperor. The capitularies were drawn up in Latin, the language of the Church and of the official world, and so had little chance, especially in the short time during which they were allowed to work, of sinking deep into the national life. When the energetic force which had issued them had passed away, together with the elaborate machinery for carrying them out, they disappeared, often leaving very little trace of their influence.

The subject would be incomplete were no reference made to Charlemagne's activity in Church matters. It has been seen that the Saxon territories were divided into dioceses, and placed under the supervision of the Archbishop of Cologne. Alike east and west of the Rhine, Charlemagne watched over the morality of the clergy. A collection of canons sent to him by Pope Adrian were declared applicable to the whole of the Frank kingdom; with this was completed the incorporation of the Frank Church into the Papal system. The Emperor especially interested himself in promoting the education of the clergy: he ordered that schools for those who intended to become priests should be instituted at all the episcopal seats and at all the monasteries; and the Bishops were urged to see that the priests could preach intelligibly. In these efforts he was guided by Alcuin, a learned Northumbrian, who had come over to his court in 782, and became Abbot of St. Martin's, at Tours. Alcuin superintended the arranging of schools, and, for a time, even presided himself over a model school at Tours: he has been fitly termed Charlemagne's Minister of Public Instruction. Regulations were issued for the spiritual well-being of laymen as well as clergy. Thus it was ordered that every person should know the Lord's Prayer and the Apostles' Creed, if not in Latin, at any rate in German; and for this purpose every one should send his child to school, so that he might learn to read. It was but slowly that Pagan habits disappeared, and several capitularies forbade such practices. For a long period, the thoughts of the people were heathen, and their Christianity was only superficial.

Charlemagne's power, in spite of all his conquests, and of the assumption of the Imperial title, remained chiefly German. It has before been shown that the victory of Testry, in 687—the real foundation of the power of the House of Pepin—was also the victory of Austrasia over Neustria,

and therefore of the German element in the Frank kingdom over the Latin or Gallic. The German character of the Frank power was not impaired, but rather strengthened, under Charles the Great. Until recent times, a strange misconception has prevailed. Charles the Great has been regarded as a mediæval Napoleon, the creator of a "French" Empire, and the hero of "French" victories. But between France and Francia there is little continuity, save of name. The Frank kingdom was the rule of a German nation over half-Romanised Celts, the Provincials of Gaul, and over kindred German tribes to the east of the Rhine. Still, it must not be forgotten that the great Frank Emperor belonged to a race which had for some generations been settled in Gaul, and that consequently his reign must always be regarded as a portion of the history of France. After he had passed away, the tendencies to division, which had been strong under the Merovingians, were victorious, and Eastern Francia was parted off from Western. In both, German princes continued to reign, and even in the West the predominance of the German element remained for a while. But the Western Franks were rapidly assimilated by the Latinised people among whom they lived; and of this reaction the Counts and Dukes of France, *i.e.*, the district around Paris, were the leaders, until, in 987, the Frenchman, Hugh Capet, deprived the Carolingian King, at Laon, of the royal title, and so began the history of France in the modern sense of the term.

The centre of the Empire of Charlemagne was the Rhineland. Pepin the Short had usually lived within Neustria; and the old capitals of the Merovingians, Paris and Soissons, ranked in some degree above the other towns. But with Charlemagne this was reversed. It was for the Eastern, or mainly German, portions of his realm that he had the greatest affection. Within Austrasia was the seat of government. Here were most of the royal residences, especially Nimeguen, Ingelheim (on the left shore of the Rhine, between Mainz and Bingen), and Aachen (in French, Aix-la-Chapelle). But Aachen was, above all, his favourite town. Here he resided during the later years of his life, on account of the medicinal baths, from which the town derived its name—from the Latin Aquæ. Here he caused a noble church to be built, upon the model of Theodoric's church of Sante Vitale, at Ravenna, and adorned with pillars brought from that city with the Pope's sanction. Here he received all embassies—even Haroun-al-Raschid, the great Caliph of the East, sent presents to the mighty monarch of the Franks; and here he died and was buried. In the little town of Aachen—the "royal city, principal seat of the kingdom, chief court of the kings," as a ninth-century poem describes it—the modern traveller finds the very shrine of the Holy Roman Empire. There, in the basilica which he had caused to be built, the great Emperor had been found, "sitting on a marble throne, robed and crowned, with the Gospel-book before him," when his tomb was opened by Otho III., "the Wonder of the World," who was fated before two years had passed to be buried by his side. Within the octagon hangs the candelabrum presented by Frederick Barbarossa, when he again opened the tomb in 1165; and in the cathedral treasury is the golden reliquary within which the bones of the now-worshipped saint were placed, in 1215, by Frederick II., with whom ended the great days of the Empire. In the cathedral itself, all the Emperors were crowned until the sixteenth century; and within the Rathhaus is the great hall, the Kaisersaal (now adorned with frescoes illustrating the history of Charlemagne), where the coronation banquets of the Emperors were held.

The private life of Charlemagne was manly and simple. He despised immoderate luxury, and hated drunkenness; he was passionately fond of the chase. During dinner, he listened to music, or caused some one to read to him. He gathered round him the best scholars of his time, and was not content with promoting education generally, but also, during the latter years of his life, attempted to improve his own knowledge. He learned to speak Latin easily; Greek he could understand; and he tried, though with little success, to attain the then professional art of writing. The King and his friends "employed their mother-wit and their curiosity on such learning as was within their reach, relating to the processes of thought and the powers of speech, the laws of numbers and sound, and the motions of the heavenly bodies; and they called it logic, grammar, rhetoric, arithmetic, music, and astronomy."* But his German nature is shown by the fact that he attempted to compose a German grammar, and caused the old heroic lays, of which he was passionately fond, to be collected in a book. He died in 814. Unlike his father, who was nicknamed from his short stature, he measured "seven of his own feet," and was also broad and well-built, with keen eyes, clear voice, and commanding features.

In a plan of division of the year 806, Charlemagne had arranged the future government of the

* Church: "The Beginnings of the Middle Ages," p. 133.

Frank dominions by his three sons, much in the same way as during his lifetime they had ruled them as sub-kings. Louis was to have South Gaul; Pepin Italy and the lands south of the Danube; Charles, the eldest, the remainder, with the Imperial title; and the two younger brothers were to be united with the elder in a sort of federal bond, and to recognise him as their superior. The custom of division was so deeply rooted that the younger brothers had a right, in public opinion, to a share in the inheritance. Charlemagne, therefore, did not attempt to preserve the unity of the Frank power by giving it only to the elder son; but he may have hoped that, as the younger sons were accustomed to rule in subordination to himself, they would not set themselves up in independence against their brother. Charles and Pepin, however, both died before their father; and at Aachen, in 813, Charlemagne crowned his only remaining son as his successor in the Empire.

In 814, therefore, Louis, surnamed the Pious, succeeded to the throne. With all his kindliness, Louis had not sufficient governing faculty to preserve the unity of the Frank power. For sixteen years he ruled prosperously; but the troubles of the later years of his reign showed that this prosperity was due to the impetus which the genius of Charlemagne had given to the government. Immediately after his coronation at Rome by Pope Stephen V., in 816, Louis associated his eldest son Lothaire as Emperor with himself, and placed his other sons, Pepin and Louis, over Aquitaine and Bavaria, while Italy was to be administered by his nephew Bernard. Bernard attempted next year to gain the independent rule of Italy: the revolt was suppressed, and the rebel lost his eyes, and died soon afterwards. Disturbances in the border countries, among the subject Sclave tribes and among the Gascons, were quickly suppressed; and the reform of Church and State by means of capitularies was carried forward as energetically as in the previous reign. The three elder sons rose in revolt, and from this time the history of Louis consists of ever-changing partitions of the realm; there are said to have been as many as ten. He died, completely victorious to outward seeming, in 840, having gained Swabia, Neustria, and Aquitaine for his favourite son by a second marriage, Charles the



THE BASILICA OF AACHEN, OR AIX-LA-CHAPELLE.

Bald, and leaving the already shattered Empire to be struggled for between the three brothers, for Pepin had died in 838. Louis "the German" held Bavaria and the neighbouring lands; while the elder, Lothaire, now Emperor, claimed the supremacy of his father and grandfather. Charles and Louis united against Lothaire, and the bloody battle of Fontenailles, near Auxerre, in which Lothaire was defeated, followed in 841.



LOUIS THE PIOUS DOING PENANCE FOR THE TREATMENT OF HIS NEPHEW, BERNARD.

Louis and Charles remained firm in their alliance, which was confirmed in the next year by the famous "Oath of Strasburg," taken by the two princes and their armies. This oath is important, alike as a philological and a historical document. The contemporary chronicler, Nithard, thought it worth mentioning that the army of Charles took the oath in the "Lingua Romana," that of Louis in the "Lingua Teudisca;" and he preserved the words of both. The latter is one of the earliest monuments of the German language; the former, the very earliest of what afterwards became French, and which, though based on Latin, was so different from the speech of ancient Rome that it could no longer be described by that term. Thus the quarrels between the brothers gave full play to the tendency to division between the German and Romanised elements. In 843, by the celebrated Treaty of Verdun, Louis the German took the Eastern and German Franks, Charles the Bald the Western and Latin Franks, while Lothaire held the Imperial title, together with Italy, and a long strip of land from the North Sea to the Italian

peninsula, bounded roughly by the Rhine, the Scheldt and Meuse, and the Rhone. Part of this Lotharingia still bears his name in the word Lorraine. Without any principle of unity, any natural boundaries, any ties of language or tradition, the "middle kingdom" soon broke up. For a brief space, the three parts were again united under Charles the Fat (884–7), but again fell asunder. Gradually, Lotharingia was divided between the Regnum Teutonicum, the later "Germany," and that Francia which came to be "France" in the modern sense. Then followed the struggles between the Romanised and the German kingdoms for the border territory. In the words of Sir Francis Palgrave, "The history of modern Europe is an exposition of the Treaty of Verdun."

Thus the Carolingian Empire fell to pieces; but its importance was by no means so ephemeral as it might seem. We may sum up what has been before said and implied in Mr. Freeman's words:—"We are not to suppose that the great work of Charles was almost immediately undone amidst the dissensions of his grandsons. Looked at from Aquitaine or Neustria, the work of Charles the Great was altogether ephemeral; but it bears quite another hue if we once step on the other side of the Rhine. Charles found a large part of Germany a mere wilderness of heathendom; the Christian Frank found the bitterest and most stubborn enemy of his creed and empire in the kindred Saxon. Charles converted Saxony by the sword; but, however the work was done, it was done effectually. He welded Saxony and the Teutonic Francia together into that great German kingdom which so long held the first rank in Europe. He opened a path in which a long line of illustrious German Kings and Emperors, from Arnulf to Frederick II., worked with no small success after him. That he bequeathed to them a claim to his Imperial style, and a vague pretension to his Imperial power, was an inheritance of but doubtful value. The kingdom of Germany was in truth broken to pieces beneath the weight of the Holy Roman Empire; but of the united and glorious Germany of Henry the Fowler and Otho the Great, of Henry the Frank and Frederick the Swabian, Charles the Great was the father and the founder."

CHAPTER XI.

THE SARACENIC EMPIRE.

Progress of the Mohammedan Conquests—Delay in the Subjugation of Northern Africa—Harsh Policy of Constantine IV.—Renewed Expedition of the Saracens under Akbah—Destruction of Roman Carthage by Hassan, and Submission of the whole Province—Conversion of African Tribes to Mohammedanism—Conquest of Transoxiana and Scinde—Repulse of Musa from the Fortress of Ceuta—Invasion of Spain by Tarik—End of the Gothic Monarchy, and Beginning of the Moorish Dominion—Attacks on Constantinople—Operations in Asia Minor—Investment of the Imperial City by Moslemah—Death of the Caliph Suleiman—Terrible Losses of the Saracens—Retreat to Damascus—Leo the Isaurian, the first to impose a Serious Check on the Moslems—Nature and Effects of the Greek Fire—Opposition to the Ommiades—Succession of the Abbassides to the Caliphate—Foundation of an Ommiad Dynasty in Spain, and Division of the Saracenic Empire—Commencement of Baghdad—Reign of the Caliph Haroun-al-Raschid—The Tragedy of the Barmecides—Character of the Caliph and of his Reign—Patronage of Literature and Art—Prosperity of the Empire—Haroun and Charlemagne—Government of the Saracenic Empire by Satraps—Frequency of Revolts—Death of Haroun-al-Raschid, and Succession of Mamun—Intellectual Achievements of the Arabians—Conquest of Crete and Sicily—Revival of Piracy in the Mediterranean—Repulse of the Saracens from Rome.

RETURNING to the history of the Saracens, we find ourselves in presence of a mighty Empire, established in many regions of the globe, yet obeying the orders of the Caliph at Damascus, where the political capital had been fixed by Moawiyah. The work of conquest went on with extraordinary rapidity and almost undeviating success; for the Arabs and their converts were filled with the enthusiasm of a great idea, and, for the most part, came in contact with effete populations, the inheritors of a civilisation which was half-decayed, and the dispirited slaves of ecclesiastical systems which had outlived their virtue. But in one direction the armed apostles of Islam encountered a resolute opposition, which delayed their progress for sixty-two years. This was in Northern Africa, which was first invaded in 647, but not subdued until 709. The fact is doubtless to be attributed, in some degree, to the dissensions among the successors of the Prophet; but it was also due in part to the courage and determination of the Greek and Roman inhabitants of the countries lying south of

Mediterranean. On the fringe of the desert, n lands of exquisite fertility, the Greeks anted their Pentapolis, of which the capital yrene; the Cæsars had re-edified Carthage; ugustine had spread the Christian faith from nous bishopric of Hippo. Nowhere could a civilisation be found; nowhere did more ious memories haunt the souls of men. prosperous communities, having something ke for which was worth preserving, retained sion of the sea-coast until near the end of the h century; and beyond the civilised towns ultivated lands of the European races were ild tribes of the interior, descendants of the rs who had fought against Scipio Afri- Marius, and Sulla—men not at first inclined their necks to the Arabian stranger. After- the Moors and Berbers combined with the ns, and formed a new race, which added one most brilliant chapters to the records of Mo- edan power. But, on the first appearance of vading armies, they rejected the religion of ophet, and defied the authority of his succes- In conjunction with the Imperial forces, they many desperate actions with the soldiers of ew faith, and, although frequently defeated, able to postpone the final triumph of the

predominance of the Moslems was materially by an act of tyranny on the part of the ror Constantine IV., who succeeded to the in 668, and imposed heavy taxes on frican subjects, as a punishment for their already, under the pressure of a foreign ation, paid tribute to the Caliphs. A widely- discontent was thus created, and many of ople were now prepared to receive the Ara- as friends. The Saracens had for some years rawn from that part of the continent, owing ir numbers having been greatly reduced by idemic; but Akbah, the lieutenant of Moa- , led a fresh expedition of ten thousand men he African province, and speedily overran the country, westward as far as the Atlantic, outhward to the edge of the desert. Having eted his triumphant march, he spurred his into the ocean opposite the Canary Isles, ddressing his Creator, exclaimed, "Were not ogress stopped by this sea, I would still ad- to the unknown regions of the west, preach- e unity of Thy holy name, and destroying the ous nations which worship other gods than In 698, the Romanised city of Carthage, d on the site of the Punic capital, shared the its predecessor, after having been previously devastated in 647; and all the coast-towns were soon in the power of the Moslems. By this time, the command in Northern Africa had been transferred to Hassan, the Saracenic general in Egypt, who proceeded to the seat of war with 40,000 men, and a powerful siege-train. The fall of Carthage was the death-blow of the Christian power in those regions. The Greeks and Romans were expelled or subjected; but the native Africans in the remoter provinces still resisted the forces of Islam, until entirely subdued by Musa in 709. Then it was that the wandering tribes of the interior adopted the religion, language, and nationality of the Saracens, and furnished additional resources for the conquest of Spain.

The subjugation of the Western peninsula, once the battle-ground of Carthage and Rome, and more recently the home of Vandalic and Gothic monarchies, occupied from 710 to 713; and, while this was proceeding, the Saracenic arms were carried successfully into Transoxiana in 710, and Scinde in 711. The former conquest, which established the power of Mohammedanism from the Oxus to the Jaxartes, first brought the Semitic fellow-countrymen of the Prophet into contact with those Turanian tribes of Central Asia out of which the Turkish nationality arose. In annexing Scinde—from which, however, they were expelled in 750—the Arabians entered the borders of the vast and mysterious Indian territory which was afterwards to be the seat of the Mogul power. Spain was for the present a more important acquisition. The close proximity of that country to Mauritania laid it open to attack; and when Carthage was being besieged, in 698, Egiza, the Gothic King of Spain, aided the Byzantine Emperor in the defence of the city, vainly hoping to stem the tide of Saracenic conquest, then perilously near his own shores. The Spanish monarchs at this time held the fortress of Ceuta, situated on that northern point of the African continent which forms the companion Pillar of Hercules to the rock of Gibraltar. After his conquest of the Moors and Berbers, Musa made an attack on the Christian fortress, but was repulsed by Count Julian, the Gothic commander. Not long afterwards, this very general, actuated by some motive of revenge or self-seeking which it is impossible to extract with clearness from the contradictory mass of legend and tradition, placed his sword at the disposal of Musa, and offered to conduct him across the Straits into Europe.

The advance-guard of the Moslem invasion consisted of five thousand men (chiefly Berbers), who, under the command of a valorous general named Tarik, landed in 710 on the precipitous rock since

dominated by the British flag, and which, in consequence of the expedition now being described, acquired the name of Gebel-al-Tarik (the Mountain of Tarik), or, as we say, Gibraltar. Thence the invader marched to the town of Xeres, on the river Guadalete, where, in 711, he was opposed by Roderick, the reigning King of the Goths. The ensuing battle resulted in the defeat of the Christians, who for three days fled in disorderly rout. Roderick was drowned in the current of the Bætis, afterwards and still known by its beautiful Arabic name of Guadalquivir — *i.e.*, the great river; and his diadem, robes, and steed were found on the bank. Tarik then proceeded to Toledo, the seat of the royal government, which surrendered on a promise of obtaining favourable terms, and where the conquerors found incalculable riches in the form of works of art, fashioned in gold, and thickly set with jewels. Castile and Leon were next subdued, and the victor pursued his fiery and brilliant course until, having traversed seven hundred miles without any effective resistance, he found himself on the shores of the Bay of Biscay. The extraordinary rapidity of his success was in part attributable to treachery. There had recently been a change of dynasty among the Goths of Spain, and the adherents of the fallen house appear to have aided the Moslem in his invasion. The Jews, moreover, who were numerous in the peninsula, had been exasperated by systematic oppression; and it is probable that the Romanised inhabitants had never accepted with cordiality the barbarian rule of Gothic kings, and were therefore not concerned in perpetuating it. At any rate, the whole land quickly submitted to the arms of Tarik, whose success was so marked and decisive as to excite the jealousy of Musa. The latter conducted an army into Spain in 712, but met with unexpected difficulties. The Goths had now recovered their spirits, and they defended the walls of Seville and Merida with desperate courage. Nevertheless, Musa overbore all opposition, and the greater part of Spain became Saracemic in its religion, its language, and its manners. As regards this country, the conquering people are called Moors, because the Saracens who entered Spain were largely mingled with the Africans of Mauritania and Numidia—nations of mixed Semitic and Hamite descent, and therefore homogeneous with the Arabians themselves. Tarik was imprisoned by Musa for exceeding his orders, and the latter formed a gigantic scheme for conquering France, Germany, and Hungary, and thus approaching Constantinople from the north-west. But he himself fell under the displeasure of the Caliph, and was imprisoned in Syria. His relations in Africa were executed, and his son Abdulazis, who governed Spain, where he married the Christian widow of the late king, and showed an unusual regard for popular freedom, was murdered by his own lieutenants.

The triumphs of the Saracens had been numerous and wonderful; but they seemed incomplete, and comparatively worthless, while the capital of Christendom remained unconquered. The acquisition of Constantinople had always been the supreme object of the new Power, since only thus could it be recognized as the true head and dictator of the civilized world. For a time, such a result seemed not improbable. When, in 628, Heraclius received, with a half-contemptuous civility, the swarthy envoy of Mohammed, he could have had no conception that, in forty years from that date, the followers of the Prophet—an innumerable host of devoted warriors, animated by the consciousness of rapid, sustained, and almost unbroken success—would appear before the walls of Constantinople itself, and cause a feeling of alarm for the safety of the Eastern capital. Even when, towards the latter end of his reign, he saw the Saracens making steady progress in Syria, Persia, and Egypt, he probably supposed that the torrent of barbarism from the Arabian desert would speedly exhaust itself, and withdraw towards its source. But, if so, he knew not, and was incapable of apprehending, the extraordinary impetus with which the soldiers of Islam were borne along their appointed path. The Saracens were moved alike by religious zeal and by desire of empire; and the prospect of conquering the chief Christian Power—the inheritor of the Roman name, and of the Roman organization and traditions—was a temptation too great to be resisted. Two attacks were made on Constantinople by the subjects of the Caliphs; both unsuccessful, but both showing the obstinacy and determination of the assailants.

The first attack commenced in the year 668, during the reign of Moawiyah at Damascus, and of Constantine IV. at Constantinople. The Saracens had by this time added a navy to their forces, and the Moslem ships sailed without opposition into the Hellespont, passed onwards with equal facility, and anchored near the palace of Hebdomon, distant not more than seven miles from the Imperial metropolis. But the massive walls of Constantinople proved impregnable, and, although the Emperor himself showed little spirit, the soldiers were equal to their duties. Year after year, the Saracens renewed the attack

during the summer months, retreating, on the approach of winter, to the island or peninsula of Cyzicus, in the Propontis, where they stored the plunder collected from both shores of that inland sea. At length, in 675, they abandoned an enterprise which was evidently hopeless; but the idea of humbling the Byzantine Empire still lingered in the minds of the Caliphs. Another expedition was begun in 716, during the brief reign of Theodosius III., when the Caliph Suleiman despatched his brother Moslemah to Asia Minor with a large force, consisting of Arabians and Persians. But the Christians were well commanded, and their general, Leo the Isaurian, contrived, by adroit negotiations with the enemy (in the course of which he visited the Saracen camp before Amorium with an escort of only five hundred horse), to gain time for operations which resulted in the raising of the siege.

Constantinople was once more threatened in the following year (717), when Leo had succeeded to the throne as the reward of his brilliant services, and when a hostile fleet, numbering eighteen hundred ships, approached the mouth of the Bosphorus, with the intention of combining a naval with a land attack. The Mohammedan Caliph was by far the most powerful monarch then reigning. From Spain to the borders of India, millions of devoted or acquiescent subjects obeyed his rule; hundreds of thousands of fierce warriors burned with an insatiable desire to spread the faith of Islam by the argument of the sword. Repeated success had persuaded the Saracens of their own invincibility, and the expedition now sent out was the most formidable ever directed against the Christian Empire. Including the sailors of the fleet, and the reinforcements afterwards despatched, the whole array may perhaps have amounted, as some historians allege, to 180,000 men; and the equipment of the invaders equalled their numerical strength. On the other hand, the feebleness of the Greeks was extreme. Their European dominions were devastated by Bulgarians and Sclavonians, and the insubordination of their armies, when in the field, was so great that rebellions were frequent, even in the presence of the Moslem foe.

Having arrived before Constantinople, Moslemah invested the Imperial city both by sea and land. The fleet was divided into two squadrons, one of which was stationed on the Asiatic side of the Straits, while the other took up a station on the European shore near Galata. It was not long ere a naval engagement was fought in the narrow channel. As the Saracenic fleet was executing some manœuvres within the Bosphorus, a change in the wind, and the consequent agitation of the waters, threw the heavy ships and transports into confusion. Leo at once ordered the removal of the chain which guarded the entrance to the harbour, and sent forth a number of fire-ships, which destroyed several of the assailant's vessels. Others were driven on shore under the walls of Constantinople, and the operations of the Moslem admiral experienced a serious check. Irritated, however, rather than discouraged by defeat, the naval commander placed in each of his best ships a hundred picked warriors in complete armour, and attempted to enter the city by assault, but was repulsed with disastrous effect. The European squadron then withdrew, and the besiegers encamped before Constantinople on the 15th of August. It was evident to the Saracens that they had undertaken a harder task than they anticipated, and the Caliph Suleiman resolved to proceed in person to the seat of war with heavy reinforcements. Ere he could accomplish this design, he expired in his camp at Chalcis, in Syria, owing, it is said, to mortification at the reverses sustained by Moslemah.

The ensuing winter was one of unusual severity, and large numbers of the Saracens, together with nearly the whole of their horses and camels, died from the unaccustomed cold, as well as from scarcity of food. In the spring of 718, Moslemah received fresh supplies from the African coast, together with an addition to his fleet; but the state of the army was so weak that some Christian sailors on board the new transports were encouraged to escape. Entering Constantinople during the night, they informed Leo of the exact posture of affairs, and a furious attack on the beleaguering fleet was made shortly afterwards. The naval force of the Saracens was completely shattered; the blockade was raised; and the siege was now left entirely to the army, whose ranks were daily growing thinner with disease, famine, and the sallies of the Byzantines. At length, on the 15th of August, the miserable remnant of the land forces embarked on what was left of the fleet, and, being conveyed to Asia Minor, marched back to Damascus. It is admitted by Mohammedan writers that, of the 180,000 men who composed the expedition, only 30,000 returned. The fleet was even more unfortunate. The ships which escaped the assaults of the enemy were dispersed by a storm in passing through the Grecian Archipelago, and, being pursued by the islanders, were destroyed or captured, with the exception of only five. This was the first serious disaster which the Moslems had endured.

It preceded the defeat of Abdalrahman near Poitiers by fourteen years, and, strange to say, it was inflicted on the Mohammedans by a sovereign whose antagonism to image-worship gave him a certain affinity with the followers of the Prophet. But Leo the Isaurian, though justly offended with the idolatry which he found rampant at Constantinople, and which led to such ridiculous assertions as that balsam distilled from the hand of an image of the Virgin was as strong a Trinitarian as any of the orthodox party, and persecuted with severity all who inclined to Monotheism. Still, the Iconoclastic Emperor was never forgiven by the ecclesiastics, and has enjoyed little credit for a victory over the Moslem, not less important than that of Charles Martel.



LOUIS AND CHARLES TAKING THE "STRASBURG OATH" BEFORE THEIR ARMIES.

The discomfiture of the Saracens at Constantinople was mainly due to the skill and resolution with which the walls were defended; for the soldiers of the Eastern Empire, though of very indifferent quality in the open field, possessed mechanical and scientific resources which rendered them formidable behind ramparts. Their engines were equal to those of any previous time, and in the celebrated Greek fire they had an agent of fearfully destructive powers, the secret of which was known only to themselves. This inflammable composition is supposed to have been formed of nitre, sulphur, and naphtha—probably of the last-named in the largest proportion. When ignited, the compound produced a thick smoke and a loud explosion, and the flame was capable of burning under water from which, indeed, it seemed to acquire additional intensity. Sand and vinegar were almost the only things which could extinguish the devouring fire thus kindled—the former by depriving it of air, the latter by some chemical action on its elements. When used in defending a fortress, the composition was either poured out of boilers on the heads of the assailants below the walls, or projected from balistæ in red-hot globes of iron, or carried through the air by arrows, the shafts of which were wound about with flax and tow, previously steeped in the inflammable liquid. As against a naval force, it was generally sent out in fire-ships, but was sometimes blown through long tubes of copper, reared on the prows of galleys, and so fashioned as to resemble fantastic monsters,



DEFEAT OF THE SARACENIC FLEET BEFORE CONSTANTINOPLE.

breathing forth flame and smoke. The invention of this terrible explosive—which may be described as the gunpowder of the early Middle Ages, while the tubes employed in its dispersion were the prototypes of cannon—has been attributed to a Greek of Heliopolis, named Callinicus, who deserted from the Caliphs, and placed his scientific knowledge at the disposal of the Eastern Emperors; but there are grounds for believing that the discovery came originally from India. Ultimately, the secret was known to the Western nations, and even to the Saracens; and Greek fire was largely used in warfare, until superseded by gunpowder.

The repulse of the Saracens from Constantinople, and their defeat in Aquitaine by Charles Martel, were the first events which taught these haughty warriors that there was a limit to their power. By their internal dissensions, they had already learned that an irresponsible despotism has dangers of its own, which sometimes threaten the very existence of a State. From the reign of Omar to the accession of Moawiyah, the Saracenic dominion had been torn by bloody feuds, and disgraced by treacherous assassinations. The dynasty of the Ommiades, commencing with Moawiyah, lasted eighty-nine years; but it was never popular, except with the Syrians, amongst whom it had arisen. The house of Ommiyah had been amongst the latest and least willing of the Mohammedan converts, and the elevation of Moawiyah to the throne was the result of faction, rebellion, and civil war. All these circumstances were borne in mind by the faithful, and an opportunity was anxiously desired for casting off the yoke of the Ommiades. The descendants of Abbas, one of the line of Hashem, and the uncle of Mohammed, were regarded as the fittest persons to maintain the power, and carry on the traditions, of the Prophet to whom they were related; and at length, in 746, Abu Moslem, an officer of considerable influence, openly declared himself the supporter of a new dynasty—that of the Abbassides. He appeared in arms, and expelled the governor of Khorassan from the city of Meru. The Mohammedan world was now agitated by the strife of parties; for the Fatimites, who were also of the race of Hashem, asserted their own claim to the Apostolic throne. In this contention, the Ommiades were distinguished by a white colour, the Abbassides by black, and the Fatimites by green. Many battles were fought in the immense region between the Euphrates and the Indus; but the Ommiades gradually lost ground, and, in 750, Mervan, the last Caliph of the race, was defeated on the Zab. Flying to Egypt, he was there slain, and his adherents in that country were soon afterwards vanquished. The Abbassides now succeeded to power, in the person of Abdallah, surnamed Al Saffah, or the Sanguinary.

The change in the Saracenic dynasty produced one very important result. It broke up the Arabian Empire into distinct parts, and thus created a political schism in what had previously been a compact and mighty kingdom. The Ommiades were proscribed by their conqueror, and treated with remorseless severity; but one of the race, a youth named Abdalrahman, escaped from Syria to the north of Africa, and was invited by the Saracens of Spain to accept the position of their Caliph. The Arabians of the West were for the most part adherents of the fallen dynasty; and, rather than submit to the new rule, they determined on creating a separate dominion of their own. Abdalrahman landed on the coast of Andalusia in 755, and, although opposed by the faction of the Abbassides, was enabled to establish the throne of Cordova, which for nearly three hundred years occupied a splendid position in the annals of the Saracenic race. Further divisions of the Empire followed at a later date, and Christendom was saved from subjection as much by the dissensions of its enemy as by its own valour and self-devotion. Nowhere was the Moslem power seen in greater magnificence, gracefulness, and liberality, than in Spain; but the head of Islam was still in the East, and it was there that the original principles of Mohammedanism were preserved in their greatest intensity. Nevertheless, the seat of government, which passed away from Arabia when Moawiyah made Damascus his capital, never returned to the native land of the Prophet. The Arabian blood was spread far and wide over all the possessions of the Caliphs, and mingled with that of subject races who received the faith; but the Arabians of the peninsula speedily sank into the condition of provincials, who retained all the barbaric peculiarities which had distinguished them from the earliest times.

Arabia is, indeed, a country too remote, too sterile, and too wild, to be the centre of a great Empire. When the followers of the Prophet, inspired by their early successes, determined on founding a dominion which should rival, and perhaps surpass, those of Rome and Persia, it was necessary to select a capital in some more civilized region than the waste and melancholy desert which had prompted the visions of Mohammed. The rebel Moawiyah had achieved his success in Syria: it was in Syria, therefore, that he determined on erecting his throne; and the spacious city of Damascus—a city of ancient renown, of royal memories, and of great external beauty, situated in

an enchanting and seductive land—became the metropolis of Islam. When, however, the Abbassides succeeded to power, they repudiated Damascus as the Mohammedan capital, because of its association with the vanquished dynasty. Almansor, the brother of Abdallah, and his successor on the throne, resolved on creating a perfectly new town for the seat of Imperial power. Hence arose the famous Baghdad, which was commenced, about 763, on the western bank of the Tigris. The locality was fifteen miles above the ruins of Ctesiphon, and the materials were derived from the remains of that city and of Seleuceia. Baghdad was afterwards much enlarged by the Caliph Haroun-al-Raschid, who is said to have been the first to build any portion of the capital on the eastern side of the river. It is at any rate with this sovereign that the place is chiefly associated, and the enchanting fictions of "The Thousand and One Nights" have surrounded the very name of Baghdad with a magic splendour which its present condition is incapable of destroying. Even now, however, the City of the Caliphs, though poverty-stricken, wretched, and dirty, has features of picturesqueness which successive travellers have admired and commemorated. Standing in the midst of a forest of date-trees, its parti-coloured domes, minarets, and towers seem to promise from a distance a degree of magnificence which is found wanting when the town itself is entered. The streets are narrow, winding, and unhealthy; melancholy storks build their nests on the summits of ancient towers; and the depressing aspect of departed greatness overshadows the whole spot. But, in the courtyards of the richer houses, fountains and palm-trees still maintain the associations of a happier time. Colour and gilding are introduced with Oriental profusion into many of the rooms. Vaulted roofs and arabesque carvings bear witness to the grandeur of an Imperial metropolis; and in some of these retreats a western traveller might fancy that the Caliphs were yet reigning in the land, were it not for the ever-present gloom and languor of extinguished power.

By the time of Almansor, and still more under the reign of Haroun, the Arabians had acquired from the Persians a taste for gorgeous display which at first was foreign to their nature. The splendours of the marble palace of Chosroes at Madain, or Ctesiphon, which the soldiers of Omar entered after the flight of Yezdegerd, the last of the Sassanides, made an impression on their minds which doubtless affected the subsequent development of Saracenic art and architecture. In that voluptuous dwelling, they found a dazzling profusion of gold, silver, and precious stones; money uncountable; spices and odoriferous gums from the perfumed forests of the East; a throne of marvellous grandeur; the crown of Chosroes, suspended by a golden chain, to bear the immense weight of its gems; and a silken carpet, covered with diamonds, emeralds, sapphires, and other gems, so as to represent a garden. The children of the desert saw these glories, and reproduced them in the jewelled halls of Baghdad, and the glittering visions of the Alhambra.

Almansor was succeeded in 775 by Almahdi, of whom it is related that he expended 666,000 crowns of gold in a pilgrimage to Mecca. The chief glory of his reign, however, was due to his illustrious son Haroun, who, while still a youth, commanded an expedition sent by his father against the Greek Empress, Irene. Laying waste the Asiatic provinces of the Empire as he advanced, the young prince penetrated as far as Nicomedia, on the Propontis, or Sea of Marmora. Constantinople itself was in alarm as to the possible consequences of this enterprise, and Irene was glad to obtain peace by an annual payment of 70,000 dinars in gold. Matters had greatly changed since the time when Moawiyah, embarrassed by his contest with Ali, consented to buy off the enmity of the Emperor Constans II. by a large sum of ready money and a yearly tribute. Almahdi died in 785, and, after the short reign of his eldest son Alhadi, who expired in the following year, Haroun-al-Raschid (otherwise, Aaron the Sage, or the Just) succeeded to the Arabian sceptre, which he wielded for twenty-three years. When thus called to supreme power, he was only twenty-four; but his intellect was fully equal to the strain of the mightiest sovereignty then existing. The new Caliph was soon troubled by the bad faith of Irene, who, considering herself strong enough to disregard the engagement of a few years before, refused to pay the annual tribute. The Eastern Empire was again invaded, and it is said that the dominions of the Byzantine monarchs were eight times entered by the troops of the Caliph. The greatest of these expeditions was that which took place during the reign of Nicephorus I., who ascended the throne in 802. The new Emperor refused to pay tribute, and despatched a present of swords to Baghdad, together with a letter of defiance. The reply of Haroun is said to have been expressed in the words:—"In the name of the most merciful God! Haroun-al-Raschid, Commander of the Faithful, to Nicephorus, the Roman dog: I have read thy letter, O thou son of an unbelieving mother! Thou shalt not hear, but shalt

behold, my reply." The ensuing campaigns were most disastrous to the Byzantines. Asia Minor and Greece were invaded, and ravaged by fire and sword. Troops were disembarked on the island of Cyprus, which suffered all the severities of war. Heraclea, on the Black Sea, was totally destroyed, and Nicephorus in person was defeated by Haroun. After several renewals, the war was terminated by a treaty, in which Nicephorus agreed to pay a still larger tribute, and not to rebuild Heraclea or the other ruined cities. It is perhaps surprising that Haroun, encouraged by these great successes, did not make an attempt on Constantinople itself; but the desperate experiences of Moslemah had doubtless acted as a lesson which no prudent sovereign would venture to disregard.

During the twenty-three years of his reign, Haroun-al-Raschid encountered several inroads into his kingdom by surrounding tribes, and in 792 was threatened by a descendant of Ali, who declared himself Caliph, and found numerous supporters. The suppression of this movement was a matter of some difficulty, and Haroun is accused of behaving treacherously to the pretender when, by the skilful negotiations of his general, he had got him in his power. But the chief military events of the reign were those repeated expeditions against the Byzantine Empire which proceeded from the mutual jealousy of the two Powers. During the war with Nicephorus, a series of miserable events developed the worst passions of Haroun. The Barmecides were a distinguished family in the province of Khorassan, the chief members of which had, in former times, held the hereditary office of priest in the fire-temple of Balkh. Its leaders had championed the cause of the Abbassides when the supremacy of the Ommiades was first menaced. Khaled-ben-Barmek had been the prime minister of Abdallah, the first Abbasside sovereign, and his influence was maintained during the reigns of Almansor and Almahdi. It was to him that the education of Haroun-al-Raschid was entrusted by his father, and Yahya, the son of Khaled, became Vizier to Haroun on his accession to the Caliphate. The successes of the new reign are said to have been largely due to the military and civil abilities of this minister, and hence his popularity was unbounded. Al Fadl, the eldest son of Yahya, was a brilliant general. Jaafar (the Giafar of the "Arabian Nights") succeeded to the post of Vizier, and distinguished himself by extraordinary vigilance and penetration. Ultimately, however, the Caliph conceived a violent dislike to the whole family, whose popularity may have excited his jealous fears. Jaafar was executed in 803; his father, then a very old man, was thrown into prison, and died there, either from actual violence or from neglect; his descendants, with one exception, were slain; the property of the whole race was confiscated; and the Caliph issued a decree, forbidding, on pain of death, all mention of the names of any among the Barmecides. This edict was disobeyed by an old man whom Jaafar had generously helped; and it is to the credit of Haroun that, on learning the fact, he not only pardoned the offender, but made him a magnificent present.

The actions of the Caliph seem always to have proceeded rather from impulse than from principle. His fame is deeply stained by many crimes; yet he was sometimes just, and often generous. His religious devotion must have satisfied the most exacting, and he was munificent in the practice of almsgiving. Like Philip of Macedon, and some other despots, he could even bear reproof where it was manifestly just. A woman once complained to him that his soldiers had pillaged her house. "Hast thou not read in the Koran," asked Haroun, "that where princes pass with their armies, they make places desolate?" "Yes," answered the woman: "but I have also read in the same book that the houses of those princes shall be rendered desolate for their injustice." Haroun immediately ordered full restitution to be made. But acts of this casual nature do but little to atone for systematic oppression and unrestrained cruelty. It is said that the last command of Haroun-al-Raschid was that the brother of a rebel satrap, against whom he was marching, should be cut in pieces before his face. The greatest of the Arabian Caliphs died in October, 808, at Tous, in Khorassan, at the early age of forty-seven. He had for some time suffered from great dejection of spirits, arising from an apprehension of speedy death; but it is probable that the repeated disturbances in his kingdom, which he was perpetually employed in suppressing, had much to do with his melancholy.

Whatever the faults of this prince, his reign has always been regarded, and not without justice, as the golden age of Saracenic power. The Empire was prosperous, and literature, art, and science, found a liberal patron in Haroun-al-Raschid, who never built a mosque without attaching to it a school. It was chiefly owing to him—though also in some degree to Almansor, the second Caliph of the Abbassides—that the rugged barbarism of the Saracens was superseded by a brilliant civilisation. The learning and the arts of Greece and Rome found acceptance with the followers of Islam, and a splendid style of architecture arose within the

wide dominions of the Caliphs. Baghdad became a centre for all the philosophers and authors of the East. Medicine, astronomy, geometry, and algebra, were cultivated with remarkable success. The poetry of Asia took some new and beautiful forms, and Haroun himself was the author of verses and other literary productions. The police of the Empire under this reign was remarkably efficient; and, that he might maintain a close watch over the administration of affairs, the Caliph, accompanied by his Vizier, would often travel in disguise about the streets of Baghdad, and in various parts of his realm, inquiring into abuses, and redressing wrongs. The consequences were seen in the rise of many flourishing towns, and the creation of an immense commerce, which brought riches to the Saracenic State. Baghdad increased in grandeur under the fostering care of Haroun; but his favourite residence was at Racca, on the Euphrates.

The sway of Haroun-al-Raschid was contemporaneous with that of Charlemagne. These two great rulers of the East and West entertained a mutual respect, and the Arabian Caliph sent an embassy to the Frankish monarch, which was accompanied by splendid presents. One of these gifts was a clepsydra, or water-clock, of which a curious account is given by Eginhard. The dial was composed of twelve small doors, from which little balls fell on a brass drum when the time for striking the hours had arrived. At twelve o'clock, a dozen miniature horsemen issued forth, marched round the disc, and closed all the doors. Similar time-pieces have been made in more recent days; but it is remarkable that the Arabians of the eighth or ninth century should have been able to execute so ingenious a work. Among the other presents from Haroun were a magnificent tent, an elephant, and (what Charlemagne must have valued far more highly than all the rest) the keys of the Sepulchre at Jerusalem—a gift which implied permission to European pilgrims to visit that sacred spot. Something of the early intolerance of Mohammedanism had by this time been softened by intercourse with other nations, by the confidence of success, and the responsibilities of Imperial power. Haroun even conferred the superintendence of his schools on a Nestorian Christian of Damascus. The period had not yet arrived when Moslems and Christians were arrayed against each other in the furious contests of the Crusades; and Haroun could afford to admit Christian devotees to a city which must of necessity have been more interesting to them than to his own subjects.

The various portions of the Saracenic Empire were but laxly held together, for the several provinces, like those of ancient Persia, were governed by satraps, each of whom enjoyed within his own sphere a degree of power that was almost regal. The authority of the sovereign Caliph was hardly manifeested in any other way than by the issue of money stamped with his title, and by the introduction of his name into the public prayers at the mosques. The extraordinary powers thus confided to delegates, many of whom were far removed from Baghdad, frequently induced in them a desire to assert their complete independence: hence the numerous insurrections which troubled the repose of Haroun. After the extermination of the Barmecides, the Caliph, no longer possessing the abilities of Jaafar in the conduct of political affairs, found the difficulty of his position immeasurably increased. Revolts became more frequent, and the apoplectic attack which terminated the Caliph's life may have been due to the incessant anxiety which was now inseparable from his position. Even before his death, the separate dynasty of the Aglabites was founded at Kairwan and Tunis. This was in the year 800, and the government so established lasted until 941. Thus, there were three distinct Mohammedan Caliphates—that of Baghdad, that of Spain, and that of Tunis. On the death of Haroun, a still further division appeared inevitable. The two sons of the late Caliph, Amin and Mamun, contended for the throne; but in 813 the latter acquired complete predominance.

The reign of Mamun lasted until 833, and is described as the Augustan period of Arabian literature and science. The Caliph was a monarch of intellectual tastes, and did much to encourage men of learning and invention. The Saracens of this epoch undoubtedly kept alive the spirit of ancient genius and research, though they appear to have originated but little. Much that we call Arabian came from the remoter East of the Hindoos; much also was derived from the Greeks. But, at a period when the Western nations paid little attention to such matters, the Arabs founded colleges, collected libraries, and encouraged investigation into the phenomena of Nature. Works on the various sciences were, at the command of Mamun, translated from Sanskrit and Greek into Arabic, and astronomy enjoyed the particular attention of the sovereign. Observatories were built, and instruments of greater accuracy constructed; the astronomical tables of the Arabians corrected some of the errors of the Greeks; and a degree of the meridian was measured in the sandy

desert between Palmyra and Racca. The grammatical structure of their own language was now studied by the Arabians; history and geography were cultivated; and the principles of the Aristotelian philosophy were applied to the exposition of Mohammedan doctrines, both of faith and law. It is interesting to note that the astronomical researches of Mamun were conducted in nearly



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the same region from which, so many ages before, the Chaldæans had observed the courses of the stars. The unbroken plains and clear heavens of Western Asia again enabled an inquiring race to watch the cosmic movements by which our globe is surrounded. But, amongst primitive communities, science itself has a tendency to become superstition; and the astronomy of the Saracens degenerated into the astrology of the Middle Ages.

The practice of medicine flourished under the Arabians, and regained in their hands the dignity and importance of an earlier time. In the eleventh Christian century, Avicenna, an Arab of Bokhara, acquired so great a name as a physician that his authority was despotic for many centuries. The medical schools of Saracenic Spain were amongst the most celebrated in the world, and that of Salerno, in Southern Italy, derived its principles from the science of the Arabians. The practice of chemistry was largely indebted to the same race. It was they who invented the alembic, by which the process of distillation is effected; it was they who subjected the substances of Nature to analysis, distinguished alkalis from acids, and derived useful medicines from minerals which had previously been regarded as poisonous and deadly. But here again the fancies of a wild imagination stepped in to pervert and falsify the true results of science. As astrology was the corruption of astronomy, so was alchemy the degenerate and grotesque offspring of the chemic art. What is known as the system of Arabic numerals was a more unmixed good; but it appears to have really originated with the Hindoos, and not to have been introduced into the Saracenic

Empire until about the year 900. If, however, the Arabians borrowed, they generally improved the leading principles which they derived from others; and it says much for the natural genius of the race, that a dominion established by the sword on a basis of religious enthusiasm, and intoxicated by almost unparalleled success, should for so many ages have been the friend of philosophy, of learning, and of invention.



A STREET IN FEZ.

Mamun died in 833. During his reign, in the year 829, the independent kingdom of Fez, in Northern Africa, was founded by the Edrisites, and the islands of Crete and Sicily were conquered by Mohammedan invaders. The former was subdued in 823 by a body of Andalusian volunteers, who established on its shores the fortress and colony of Chandak, whence the modern name of Candia, which has superseded that of Crete, though the islanders themselves have never adopted it. Sicily was assailed from Africa, as in the days of the Carthagenians. In 827, a descent was made on that exquisite island of the Mediterranean, and the Saracenic capital was fixed at Palermo, the harbour of which furnished ample accommodation for the Moslem fleet. Syracuse, however, prolonged her resistance for many years, and it was not until 878 that that famous city of the ancient world—one of the most brilliant creations of Greek genius, enterprise, and courage—submitted to the arms and faith of Islam. After the fall of Syracuse, the progress of the Saracenic power in Sicily was rapid and unchecked. The Christian religion vanished from the soil; the language of Greece was no longer heard; and the people accepted a faith which

must have been abhorrent to all their transmitted feelings and immemorial usages.

The system of piracy which Pompey had suppressed by a mighty effort of naval and military power, was now revived by the Saracens. From the shores of Sicily and of Africa, squadrons of fast-sailing vessels issued forth, the crews of which pillaged the towns of Calabria and Campania. The Tiber itself was entered in 846, and some of the churches in the suburbs of Rome, and on the Ostian Way, were robbed of their offerings. A still more serious invasion followed in 849, during the Pontificate of Leo IV., a Roman himself, and one who inherited the resolute and unflinching spirit formerly associated with the name. Previously to the Saracenic attack, he had formed an alliance with the maritime States of Gaëta, Naples, and Amalfi, which, although nominally vassals of the Greek Empire, were really independent. Under the command of Cæsarius, son of the Neapolitan Duke—a young man who had already given proof of his valour as a sea-captain—the galleys of those allied commonwealths sailed into the port of Ostia shortly after the arrival of the Mohammedans. The latter were attacked with spirit, and a sudden tempest wrecked several of their vessels on the shore. Numerous prisoners were taken, and either executed, or employed on works of reparation. It was after this event that the suburb of the Vatican, originally formed by visitors from foreign lands, was enclosed with walls and towers, and called the Leonine City, after the reigning Pope. The unity of the Saracens was now broken up; the terror of their name had diminished; it was seen that they were not invincible; and, although their power was still great, it was no longer such as to menace Constantinople and Rome with subjection to the doctrines of the Arabian Prophet.

CHAPTER XII.

THE EASTERN EMPIRE IN THE NINTH CENTURY.

Gradual Change of the Roman into the Greek Empire—Causes which brought about the Transformation—Separation of the East and West—Survival of the Ancient Greek Civilisation—Prevalence of the Greek Element in the Eastern Empire—Corresponding Decline of the Roman Spirit—Composition and Administration of the Empire in the Eighth, Ninth, and Tenth Centuries—The Greek Church—Wealth of the Byzantine Sovereigns—The Palaces of Constantinople—Decline of Artistic Genius—Animosity between the Christians and the Mohammedans—The Tolerant Spirit of the Latter embittered by Unfair Usage—Nicephorus I., Emperor at Constantinople—His Treaty with Charlemagne—Growth of Venice—Wars of the Eastern Empire with the Bulgarians and Sclavonians—Death of Nicephorus and his Son, and Succession of Michael I.—Reign of Leo V.—Revival of the Iconoclastic Controversy—Detection of a Conspiracy against the Emperor—Assassination of Leo on the Morning of Christmas Day—Succession of Michael II.—Formidable Insurrection against his Power—Severe Treatment of the Image-worshippers by the Emperor Theophilus—Disastrous Wars with the Saracens—Death of Theophilus, and Regency of the Empress Theodora—Restoration of Image-worship—Sanguinary Persecution of the Paulicians—Breach between the Eastern and the Western Churches on Questions of Government and Faith—Wars during the Reign of Michael III.—Debauched and Frivolous Character of that Prince—His Death by Assassination.

BEFORE the period at which we have now arrived, the Empire of the Eastern Cæsars had almost lost the Roman character with which it started, and had assimilated the qualities of a Greek sovereignty. The Greek element, no doubt, was very different from that of ancient Hellas in its best days; it was Byzantine, monarchical and ecclesiastical. Still, it was Greek rather than Roman, and as such was generally regarded by the nations, although the fiction of a Roman Empire was still maintained. The change took place so gradually that it is impossible to mention any precise date which marks the later development. Yet it is certain that, even before the accession of the Isaurian dynasty, in 717, the Empire of the East acquired a Greek form and colour. Rome had sunk to the position of a provincial town, ruled by the Exarchs of Ravenna on behalf of the Byzantine Emperors. The Pope was the most genuine expression of Italian feeling, and the distinction between Rome and Constantinople was emphasised by the opposition of Leo III. and Constantine V. to those religious ideas and practices which were cherished by the West. The spread of the Saracenic power was another cause which gave a separate character to the younger dominion. The cosmopolitan nature of the Empire was destroyed when the conquests of the Arabs deprived it of Syria, of Egypt, and of Northern Africa. The population of the remaining provinces was chiefly Greek, and the Greek spirit became predominant as a necessary consequence.

Nevertheless, the principles of government continued to be Roman, and the official classes were long animated by a sentiment which kept them apart from the mass of the people. But, as the ages wore on—as the division between East and West became wider with the increase of religious differences—as the Popes assumed the functions of political leaders, championing the cause of Italy and the adjacent nations against the claims of a Power which had ever a tinge of the Asiatic—the Byzantine Monarchy fell back more and more on the Greek and quasi-Greek elements in its composition. The proclamation of Charlemagne as Emperor of the West, in the year 800, operated in the same direction; and the decay of the Latin language, while Greek still existed as a living tongue, was a powerful influence tending to the restoration of a species of Hellenism. Except for the purposes of jurisprudence, and on a few formal occasions, Latin ceased to be the language of the Eastern Empire before the death of Heraclius, in 641: it had ceased to be spoken in Italy sixty years before that. The Arabians regarded Tiberius II. (who ruled from 578 to 582) as the first of the Greek Cæsars; while the Italians conferred the distinction on his successor Maurice, whose reign and life terminated in 602.* Perhaps, however, we ought rather to describe the Emperor Leo III., the founder of the Isaurian dynasty, as the earliest of the unquestionably Greek potentates.

It is remarkable how much of the ancient Greek civilisation survived in the eighth century, to which Leo belonged. The principal cities of the Greek race reasserted their municipal freedom after the Empire had become too weak to maintain the centralising methods of Justinian I. To secure themselves against the inroads of barbarian tribes, the people of these cities were of necessity permitted to bear arms on their own account when the Imperial troops were no longer able to afford sufficient protection. Hence arose a feeling of independence, which in its turn fostered the habits of enterprise, developed industry, and created wealth. Several of the Greek islands, and some of the old commercial cities of the Peloponnesus, regained not a little of their former prosperity. Many remains of the ancient world were thus rescued from the effects of war, anarchy, revolution, and political decay. "Most of the public buildings of the ancient Greeks," says a modern authority, "existed in all their splendour, and it would be a very incorrect picture indeed of a Greek city of this period to suppose that it resembled in any way the filthy and ill-constructed burghs of the Middle Ages. The solid fortifications of ancient military architecture still defended many cities against the assaults of the Sclavonians, Bulgarians, and Saracens; the splendid monuments of ancient art were preserved in all their brilliancy, though unheeded by the passer-by; the agoras were frequented, though by a less numerous and less busy population; the ancient courts of justice were still in use, and the temples of Athens had yet sustained no injury from time, and little from neglect."† Numerous statues and paintings of the classic ages remained for the admiration of posterity, and works of some merit continued to be executed. The general style of living was characterised by an artistic spirit, and, in the wealthy classes, was not only magnificent, but graceful. Choice wines were still drunk out of vessels of exquisite shape; dresses of silk, with gold embroidery, were worn; and the palaces of the rich showed the refinements of long-transmitted taste.

The population of Greece, however, was much reduced in numbers, and the original Hellenic blood was largely mixed with Sclavonian, Bulgarian, Gothic, and other foreign elements. The true Greeks still maintained themselves in the larger cities, in the islands, and along the coasts; but the people of the interior, of the plains, and of the purely agricultural districts, were aliens in race, and justly regarded as barbarians by the Greeks of Constantinople and the more civilised regions. One of the most remarkable circumstances of this very interesting period of the world's history—a transition period, when great forces were struggling for the mastery—is that the inhabitants of the mountains of Laconia clung to a species of Paganism until the latter part of the ninth Christian century. But the Byzantine Greeks were bigoted adherents of the Eastern Church, and their views in this respect gave a colour to the history of the Empire, especially after the accession of Leo the Isaurian. The Greek influence in the State asserted itself more and more, and, although the sovereigns called themselves Roman Emperors even down to the fall of Constantinople in 1453, the forms of Roman government and jurisprudence grew weaker with succeeding ages, until, after the rise of the Comneni in 1057, the successors of Constantine appear as little else than Asiatic despots, paying small regard either to the restraints of law, or the traditions of a remote past. This tendency

* Gibbon's Decline and Fall, chap. 53.

† Finlay's History of Greece, Vol. I., chap. 5.

was clearly perceived, and more or less resisted, by the Emperors Maurice, Heraclius, and Constans II.; and the two latter even formed a project for removing the capital to some Latin city, as a means of restoring the true Roman domination. But the only possible city for the purpose was Rome itself, and the course of events had rendered such a change unadvisable. With the accession of Leo III., in 717, the dream entirely disappeared. Leo was a man of remarkable genius and power, and he commenced, not merely a new dynasty, but a new political and social order. He was succeeded by other monarchs of equal ability, under whose care the Byzantine Empire recovered its strength, prosperity, and self-respect.

A change in the methods of administration had been introduced by Heraclius, and was continued in the following reigns. The provinces were subjected to military governments, which superseded the presidents, consulars, and counts, who had previously exercised jurisdiction. The number of these districts (called *themes*) was twenty-nine, of which twelve were in Europe, and seventeen in Asia. Some accounts, however, allow only sixteen in the latter case, giving a total of twenty-eight. A considerable diminution took place in subsequent ages of the Empire, when rising nations encroached on the dominions of the Cæsars. But, in the eighth, ninth, and tenth centuries, the Greek monarchs ruled over a large and magnificent realm, embracing some of the finest lands in the world, and some of the richest cities. Within the limits of this Imperial sovereignty, the arts of peace, of industry, of utility, and of elegance, were still cultivated with a success which threw into still deeper shade the rugged barbarism of Western Europe. The Sclavonians and other tribes who settled in the Eastern Empire soon acquired its civilisation, and furnished hardy soldiers to its armies. Separate military commands were created for the defence of passes by which the provinces could be readily entered; and these were traversed by great lines of communication. The division between the Greek and Latin Churches was not quite complete at the period to which we are more particularly referring; but it was very nearly so. The Patriarch of Constantinople was the head of the Eastern clergy, and the Pope of Rome had no real jurisdiction. In this ecclesiastical organisation, the ruling spirit was that of the Greeks, and the Greek nationality was kept alive mainly by the influence and power of Hellenic priests. The other nationalities of the Empire, however, sometimes resented a domination which threatened their freedom, and heresies arose among the less-favoured provincials. The population of the Empire consisted of Greeks, Romans, Armenians, Isaurians, Lycaonians, Phrygians, Syrians, Gallo-Grecians, Sclavonians, and a few others of less importance. Of the Thracians, who were at one time surprisingly numerous, and who, in the first Christian century, occupied an immense extent of territory, comparatively few remained. Their lands were now peopled by Sclavonians, and the same abounding race spread over the whole south-east of Europe.

The restored prosperity of the Greek Empire was seen in the riches of the Byzantine monarchs, which were such as to move the astonishment of all European nations. Benjamin of Tudela, a Spanish Jew, who visited Constantinople in the twelfth century, and whose description would doubtless apply also to the earlier times of which we are treating, relates that the tributes of the several nationalities were annually deposited in lofty towers, which were filled with precious stores of silk, purple, and gold. He was assured (whatever we may think of the statement) that Constantinople paid each day to the Imperial Exchequer no fewer than twenty thousand pieces of gold, which were levied on the shops, taverns, and markets, and on the merchants of Persia, Egypt, Italy, Spain, and other countries, who frequented the capital by sea and land. Even allowing for exaggeration in this estimate, it is certain that many of the Emperors accumulated enormous treasures in their strongholds and subterranean vaults, and that these were sometimes left untouched, even in times of war, because the yearly revenue was sufficient. Yet the Imperial style of living was superb and lavish. In addition to the great historical palace, which through successive ages stood between the Hippodrome and the Cathedral of St. Sophia, with gardens sloping down to the Propontis, the Emperor Theophilus, who reigned in the first half of the ninth century, erected a splendid building on the model of that which Haroun-al-Raschid made for himself at Racca, on the Euphrates. This edifice was Oriental, rather than European, in its profusion of marble, porphyry, painting, mosaics, gold, silver, and jewellery. The sculpture introduced into various parts had doubtless the purely conventional character then universally accepted; but the general effect was magnificent. The purity of Greek taste must, however, have greatly degenerated when the artificers of Constantinople could employ their skill in the production of golden trees, the branches of which sheltered a number of automaton birds, capable of uttering mechanical notes, or could delight in the fabrication of golden

lions, which roared when properly set in motion. In such devices we see the prevalence of that fantastic spirit which is more usually associated with Asiatic courts. A childish extravagance pervaded the manners, as well as the adornments, of Byzantine royalty. The Emperors, carrying to much greater lengths the evil example of Diocletian, exacted from courtiers and ambassadors alike a species of servile homage which was an outrage on human nature. They rejoiced in dazzling the eyes of their worshippers by the utmost splendour of attire, and would even descend to paltry tricks, to enhance their reputation for mysterious and almost supernatural powers.

During what may be called the middle period of the Byzantine Monarchy, its greatest trials proceeded from this rivalry of the Saracenic Caliphs. We have seen that the rivalry began even in the time of Mohammed himself; it continued for several ages, and was often marked by the utmost bitterness and animosity on both sides. This, perhaps, was inevitable, considering the immense divergency of religious principles which the two combatants represented; but it is lamentable to find the more liberal and tolerant practices of earlier days passing into the fierce and relentless passions of a later epoch. At the first appearance of Mohammedanism, the followers of the Arabian Prophet may have considered it discreet not to offend unnecessarily the large and powerful communities of the Christians; or they may sincerely have respected a creed which contained much that they themselves revered, and even asserted. On the other hand, the Christians may have seen little cause to dread a strange religion issuing from the deserts of Arabia, and supported by a mob of hungry and uncouth fanatics. At any rate, there was a certain degree of mutual forbearance in the first antagonism. When Omar went in person to receive the submission of Jerusalem, he was treated in a friendly manner by the Patriarch of that city. The Mohammedans did not insist on the Christians of the conquered provinces abjuring their faith, nor did they visit them with death, or any extreme penalty. They simply required that they should pay a somewhat heavy tribute, and give precedence to Mohammedans. On these conditions, they were free to follow their own observances; and such appears to have been the true spirit of Mohammedan law, as laid down by the Prophet and his immediate followers.

It is related of Abdalmelik, who died in 705, that he desired to convert the great church at Damascus into a mosque, but that he abstained on finding that, by the terms of their capitulation in 634, the Christians were entitled to keep possession of it. In the next reign, that of the Caliph Walid, the feeling of the Arabians had entirely changed. Walid and Justinian II. were frequently at war, and the former, reversing the noble precedent of Abdalmelik, expelled the Christians from the church of Damascus, and applied the building to the purposes of his own religion. Moawiyah rebuilt the church of Edessa; but when the contest between the two religions became envenomed by long continuance, each appeared desirous of annihilating the other, that it might exist alone. The purely trivial and inadequate grounds on which the Greek Emperors would sometimes quarrel with their Saracenic contemporaries, is seen in the conduct of Justinian II., who refused to receive the tribute of Abdalmelik because the coins of that sovereign bore the legend, "God is the Lord;" though it must be added that he had received some more definite offence from the superscription of Abdalmelik's letters, which contained an exhortation to believe in Mohammed. The infamous tyrant of Constantinople, whose divided reign was little else than a succession of massacres, and who had blasphemously associated the name of the Divine Being with his most deliberate crimes, chose to see in the inscription on the Caliph's gold pieces a covert attack on the doctrine of the Trinity, and accordingly advanced in person against the Saracens. A battle ensued near Sebastopolis, on the coast of Cilicia, and Justinian sustained a terrible defeat, owing to the desertion of some Sclavonian troops. The rage of the Emperor was so extreme that he ordered the other Sclavonians, whose fidelity had remained unshaken, to be slain, and the wives and children of the deserters were at the same time put to the sword. Abdalmelik replied by treating the Christians with a severity which seems to have been foreign to his nature; and from that time forward the relations of the antagonists assumed a darker hue. But between the two opponents, the intensity of whose convictions permitted of no compromise, was a floating population of time-servers, who were either Christian or Mohammedan, according as their interests appeared to lie. The Armenians, who occupied a very difficult position between the Greeks and the Saracens, repeatedly changed sides, and could hardly be regarded by either nation as genuine adherents of the creed it professed.

It is a curious fact that Nicephorus I., who deposed the Emperor Irene in the year 802, was a man of Arabian blood, one of whose ancestors, a Christian monarch of Ghassan in the time

Heraclius, declared his conversion to the Mohammedan faith, but after a time—apparently from a mere feeling of pique—resumed his former religion, and took refuge at Constantinople. Nicephorus was lineally descended from this person, and his character was in some respects worthy of his origin. He was rapacious and hypocritical, although not devoid of humanity when passion and avarice left his better nature undisturbed. Soon after his accession to the throne, he had to suppress a formidable rebellion, and at no time was he cordially loved. His financial administration was exacting and oppressive, and he offended the clergy by endeavouring to make the civil power supreme over the Church. Nevertheless, he appears to have been tolerant of individual freedom in the matter of religion, and it is possible that his memory has been traduced, beyond his actual demerits, by the resentment of the ecclesiastical party he opposed.



THRONE OF THE BYZANTINE EMPERORS.

(After a Greek MS. of the 9th Century, containing the Works of St. Gregory Nazianzen, in the Imperial Library, Paris.)

Nicephorus possessed little capacity for war, and endeavoured, though not always successfully, to maintain a policy of peace. In 803 (the year following his succession), he concluded a treaty with Charlemagne at Aix-la-Chapelle. By this instrument, the boundaries of the two Empires were regulated, and the Byzantine sovereigns were acknowledged to be supreme over Venice, Istria, the coast of Dalmatia, and the south of Italy.



ASSASSINATION OF THE EMPEROR LEO V.

Nicephorus, on his part, recognised the authority of the restored Western Empire in Rome, in the Exarchate of Ravenna, and in the Pentapolis. Venice was now growing in importance as a great commercial centre, the trade of which was chiefly with the East, and which therefore, not unnaturally, looked to the Eastern Empire as its most efficient protector. Even at that time, however, the Venetians had a local government of their own, and it was during the reign of Nicephorus that the Doge and the principal citizens, harassed by the attacks of Pepin, removed the seat of government to the small island of Rivoalto, famous in more modern days as the Rialto. The warlike operations of Pepin, the vassal King of Italy, had been undertaken by him in obedience to the commands of his father, Charlemagne, who, speedily violating the treaty of 803, endeavoured to bring the Venetians into subjection to the Frankish Empire. Nicephorus sent a fleet into the Adriatic for their protection; but they were compelled, before the restoration of peace, to promise an annual tribute. The war came to an end in 810; but the Venetians were forced to pay the Western Emperor thirty-six pounds' weight of gold every year until the time of Otho the Great, who released them from the exaction.

The wars of Nicephorus with Haroun-al-Raschid have already been described. They were productive of nothing but disaster to the Christian sovereign, nor can it be said that the Mohammedan ruler derived any credit from a series of expeditions which had no other object than to inflict the utmost amount of devastation on the provinces entered by the Saracenic armies. The crowning misfortune of the Emperor's reign, however, proceeded from a different direction. The Bulgarians, a people of Hunnish origin, as already explained, had established a kingdom between the Danube and Mount Hæmus, the modern range of the Balkans. Their ranks were swollen by many Sclavonian tribes, and in more recent centuries the Sclavonian element has absorbed the Hunnish. The kingdom of the Bulgarians was established in the latter part of the seventh century, and by the early years of the ninth these barbarians had possessed themselves of Dardania, Thessaly, and Epirus, and had established a power of no slight importance. About the year 810, the Bulgarian king attacked some Byzantine troops stationed on the banks of the Strymon, and seized a large amount of treasure. Nicephorus resolved to deal vigorously with the assailants; but his first attempts were thwarted by the insubordination of his troops. In 811 he [illegible] campaign, and for some little time was successful; but the tide of fortune speedily turned, owing, it would appear, to numerous desertions from the Byzantine army, and to treasonable communications with the enemy by some of the Imperial officers. The result was that Nicephorus was surrounded on Bulgarian territory, and entirely defeated in a night attack, against which he had made no adequate preparation. The Emperor was slain, together with many distinguished officers, and the Bulgarian king made a drinking-cup of his skull. Stauracius, the son of Nicephorus, received a fatal wound on the same occasion, and lived only a few months in the Imperial dignity. The next Emperor, who ascended the throne in 812, was Michael I., the brother-in-law of Stauracius. Michael obtained the support of the ecclesiastics by his orthodoxy and his subservience; but the times required a martial prince, and his abilities did not lie in that direction. The northern and eastern parts of the Empire were devastated by the Bulgarians, and in 813 a military revolt was added to the other troubles of the State. The mutineers marched from their winter quarters in Thrace towards Constantinople; and Michael, though enjoying the support of the clergy, the Senate, and the people, determined to resign, rather than shed the blood of his subjects in civil strife. While the insurgents were still some distance from the metropolis, he sent them the keys of the city and of the palace, and, in acknowledgment of his spontaneous submission, was permitted to retire into a monastery, where he lived more than thirty-two years.

The instigator of the mutiny was an Armenian named Leo, who was now raised to the throne by the acclamations of the army. Leo V. sympathised with the Iconoclasts, and in this, as well as other respects, had the support of the army; but the opposition of the ecclesiastics was not readily to be overcome. The evil of idolatry, which the Empress Irene had fostered, and the Church was always inclined to favour, was now developed to an extent which might well fill any rational man with alarm, not merely for the dignity of the human mind, but for the interests of religion itself. The reliance on the virtue of images, as a resource against all evils, and a blessing operative in innumerable ways, had grown into a kind of fatalism. It was believed that the statues of the saints could reveal the existence of hidden treasures, and promote the worldly fortunes of the faithful. Under the influence of this degrading superstition, men frequently neglected to secure their own well-being by industry and thrift; and the priests encouraged a belief which could so easily be turned to the ad-

vantage of their own power. The dissensions between the image-worshippers and their opponents led to violent commotions. At length the Iconoclasts obtained the upper hand, and a Council of the Church, held at Constantinople in 815, re-established the decision promulgated in 754 during the reign of Constantine V., abolished the worship of images, and anathematised all who countenanced the practice. Many of the clergy submitted to this decree with an alacrity which says little for the depth of their convictions; some, however, resisted, and images and pictures that had been removed from the churches were ostentatiously carried through the streets by those who denied the authority of the civil power in such matters, and rejected the decisions of any council not in favour of their own views. Throughout these transactions, Leo behaved with exemplary impartiality, moderation, and justice. All who broke the law were subjected to punishment, but of so mild a character that even the most violent were unable to win the crown of martyrdom. The Emperor was in truth disliked and distrusted by the extreme on both sides, and became unpopular for the very reasons which should have made him universally respected. His services to the State were indeed numerous and important. In the earlier part of his reign he inflicted a crushing defeat on the Bulgarians, though his fame is darkened by the unsparing cruelty of his reprisals, and by an unsuccessful plot to assassinate the barbarian king. The subsequent years of his reign were distinguished by his attempts to restrain the follies of image-worship, and by his earnest endeavours to reform the administration of justice, and to purify the Empire of many notorious evils. He also restored the discipline of the army, repaired the fortresses which the Bulgarians had destroyed, and placed the frontiers in a better state of defence than had been known for several years.

Leo had offended so many interests that he can scarcely have expected to end his days in peace. After a reign of seven years, a conspiracy was formed against him in 820 by the officers of the court, headed by Michael the Amorian, who had been largely instrumental in procuring his accession to the throne, and was long trusted as his most intimate friend. Several disloyal plots on the part of this officer had already been discovered by Leo, until at length the measure of his patience was exhausted, and the rebel was brought to trial, found guilty, and (it is alleged) sentenced by the Emperor himself to be burned alive in the furnace of the Imperial baths. The festival of Christmas was at hand, and the Empress begged of Leo to postpone the execution until a later season. Leo consented, but at the same time said to his wife, "You think only of my eternal welfare; but you expose my life to the greatest peril, and your scruples may bring misfortune on you and on our children." The ensuing night, which was that of Christmas-eve, was passed by Leo in restless agitation, and under a sense of impending evil. Before retiring to his chamber, he had received the key of Michael's fetters; yet he could not feel assured as to the safe custody of the prisoner. He rose in the middle of the night, and visited the captive's cell. The door was unlocked, and Michael and the jailer were found to have changed beds. The Emperor suspected the existence of some plan of escape, involving an attack upon himself; and he hastily withdrew, to consider what measures should be taken under these alarming circumstances. A partisan of Michael, who had secretly watched the Emperor's movements, entered the cell after the departure of Leo, awakened Michael, and made arrangements with him and his confessor for striking an immediate blow. The other conspirators, who formed part of the Imperial household, and therefore lived within the walls of the palace, were speedily brought together; and in the darkness of that winter night the plan of assassination was hastily settled.

On quitting the prisoner's cell, the door of which he must have left unfastened, Leo betook himself to the chapel, where matins were to be celebrated at an early hour, for it was now Christmas-day. It had been arranged that the members of the choir should be admitted at the postern-gate a little before the commencement of the service; and Leo, who had a fine deep voice, was expecting their arrival, that he might take part with them in the sacred music of the hour. The assassins, aware of these facts, disguised themselves as choristers, with daggers concealed under their robes. Mingling with the real singers, they obtained admittance into the chapel, but were for a time encountered by an unexpected difficulty. As a protection against the cold, both the Emperor and his chaplain were muffled in fur mantles and thick coverings for the head, so that there was a doubt as to their identity. When, however, the well-known voice of Leo was heard soaring above those of the choristers, the assassins rushed forward with their weapons drawn. Even as it was, some made a mistake, and wounded the priest; but, on the error being discovered, all concentrated their attack on the unfortunate monarch, who vainly endeavoured to defend himself with a crucifix. Seeing the hopelessness of his position, he begged for

mercy, and was answered, "This is the hour, not of mercy, but of vengeance." His hand was soon cut off, and, falling before the communion-table, he was despatched with repeated blows.

Immediately on the completion of their murderous design, the conspirators hurried to the cell of Michael, and saluted him as Emperor while his limbs were still loaded with the chains of his predecessor. In the agitation of the moment, a smith could not be found to remove the fetters, and some hours elapsed before the new sovereign of the Eastern Empire could be freed from these symbols of his disgrace and his intended ruin. When at length he was restored to a more fit condition, he proceeded to the church of St. Sophia, and was crowned by the Patriarch of Constantinople, who seems to have paid little regard either to the bloody conspiracy which had raised him to the throne, or to the meanness of his origin. Leo was accused of being a tyrant; but it is probable that his real offence consisted in his opposition to the office-holders and the ecclesiastical party. When the Patriarch Nicephorus, whom Leo had deposed, heard of the assassination that had been accomplished on that gloomy Christmas morning, he observed that the Empire had lost a useful sovereign, but that the Church was delivered from a dangerous foe. If, however, it was hoped that Michael II., as he must now be called, would prove more pliable in the hands of the clerical leaders, the expectation was disappointed. Michael was a native of Amorium, in Asia Minor, and had no great sympathy with the Greeks, who were the dominant party in the Church. In early youth he had served as a private soldier, but, in rising to the position of a general, and afterwards to the sovereignty of the Empire, he had not learned to forget his original simplicity and ruggedness. Abulfaragius says he was the son of a converted Jew, and his religious views were probably heretical. His inclinations were in favour of a wide toleration; but the decree against images and pictures in churches was strictly maintained. Still, he conciliated the orthodox by some favours, and his independence provoked less opposition than might have been expected.

The reign of Michael II., who from some defect in his speech was called the Stammerer, was disturbed and troublous. He was speedily confronted by a rebellion organised by a military officer named Thomas. This person was regarded as a champion of popular rights, for his origin, like that of Michael himself, was extremely low; [illegible] reputation was greatly injured, in the eyes [illegible]ds, by his seeking aid of the Saracens in the prosecution of his designs. Nevertheless, he found himself strong enough to make an attack on Constantinople, which he assailed with a body of 80,000 irregular troops, collected from the vicinity of the Tigris and the Caspian. The siege, however, was ill-conducted, and led to no favourable results. During its progress, the Bulgarians invaded the Eastern Empire, and deprived the rebels of their supplies, by plundering the country on which they depended. It was, of course, no part of the Bulgarian king's design to help the ruling Emperor of Constantinople; but his expedition really had that effect. With a portion of his army, Thomas marched against the Northern barbarians, but was defeated with heavy loss. Michael took advantage of his enemy's discomfiture, sallied out from Constantinople, and compelled the besiegers to withdraw. They fled either to Arcadiapolis or to Adrianople, and for five months Thomas sustained a closely-pressed siege. Being at length delivered up by his own followers, he was hanged for his treason, after his limbs had been cut off. But the rebellion survived a short time longer in Asia Minor, and the war altogether lasted nearly three years. It was during the reign of Michael II. that Crete and Sicily, as before related, were conquered by the Saracens—a loss of territory which was regarded at Constantinople with languid indifference. To defend these insular possessions was perhaps no easy matter, and the minds of the Byzantines were now more occupied with ecclesiastical than with military considerations. The controversy with respect to Iconoclasm still endured, and the image-worshippers brought accusations of tyranny against Michael for his manner of dealing with the question. The humble native of Amorium, who had attained to the throne by virtue of a conspiracy, and had offended the most powerful interest in the State, died peaceably in October, 829, and was succeeded by his son Theophilus.

The new monarch, whose reign lasted until 842, is said to have been distinguished by his justice, no less than by his intellectual culture; but it was justice of a kind which is more often stern than merciful. He endeavoured to reform the administration of the State, but without much success; and he opposed himself with fanatical violence to every act which had the slightest complexion of idolatry. It appears unquestionable that, in his zeal to rid the Empire of a great evil, he persecuted offenders with a cruelty which even the excellence of the cause was insufficient to justify. The reign of this monarch presents little that can be regarded with satisfaction, although the honesty

e Emperor's motives can hardly be called in ion. Theophilus was a brave soldier, but as eral he was usually unsuccessful. His five litions against the Saracens, though not d of occasional victories, won by his sub- ates, brought him little profit, and the last nated in a serious disaster. Amorium, the rom which the family of Theophilus derived igin, was taken by the Mohammedans in 838, entirely destroyed. Thirty thousand of the bitants were massacred by Motassem, the er and successor of Mamun; the others were as slaves. The action of the Saracenic ruler haracterised by barbarous ferocity; but it had provoked by the previous capture and de- tion of Zapetra by Theophilus. The ruin of rium, and the scorn with which Motassem ed all offers for the release of his Christian ners, afflicted Theophilus with a melancholy h he was powerless to overcome. His subjects l him "the Unfortunate"; but the epithet, making some allowance for the Emperor's ts, was hardly of a nature to soothe his ded vanity. He endeavoured to amuse lf by the erection of costly and magnificent ings, for which the immense accumulations in Byzantine treasury furnished him with the s. But his health broke down, and at the ach of death the worst passions of his nature intensified by jealousy and fear. He dreaded his brother-in-law, Theophobus, should seize hrone with the help of the army, of which he one of the most distinguished and successful als. From his sick bed, he issued orders his relative should be decapitated, and that ead should be produced before himself. This done, and, as he gazed upon the pallid and ss features, he exclaimed, "Thou art no longer phobus, and I am no more Theophilus." They the last words he ever spoke. His death ed soon after, and thus, in 842, the crown nded on his son, Michael III., a child under years old. The actual power of the State fell the hands of the Empress Theodora, who was ed by a Council of three, consisting of her Manuel, her brother Bardas, and an eminent man named Theoctistus.

e first act of the regency was the complete ration of image-worship. This result was ed mainly by the influence of Theodora, invited a Council of the Church to meet at tantinople almost immediately after her and's death. The Council was attended by e exiled Bishops, abbots, and monks who had banished for their devotion to what was regarded as the orthodox opinion, and the result was of course a foregone conclusion. The Iconoclastic Bishops were expelled from their sees, and the doctrines they upheld were formally anathematised. The banished pictures were restored to the cathedral of St. Sophia exactly thirty days after the decease of the late Emperor, and the festival is even now observed in the Greek Church on the first Sunday in Lent. Religious questions engaged particular attention throughout the reign of Michael III., and the triumph of the Orthodox party was followed by bigoted persecutions. The intolerance of the image-worshippers was exhibited more particularly with reference to a body of Christian nonconformists known to history as the Paulicians, who appeared in Armenia about the middle of the seventh century. Arising out of the mystical sect of the Gnostics, these peculiar thinkers, who professed to base their principles and practice on the teaching of St. Paul, were to be found chiefly in the villages and mountains west of the Euphrates. They were strongly opposed to the worship of images and relics, and, while fully accepting the doctrine of the Trinity, they explained away some of the most distinctive features of the Christian system by a transcendental process of interpretation, which to others seemed purely fanciful. The root of some of their tenets is probably to be found in the speculations of Plato, while others may have been derived from their Gnostic predecessors, or from the still older body of the Manichæans, whose belief in an evil deity, constantly at war with the benevolent intentions of his divine antagonist, they appear to have shared. However fantastic, such views were blameless; but the independence of the Paulicians provoked the animosity of the Orthodox, and they were severely persecuted through successive generations.

These cruelties, which for some time past had undergone a little mitigation, were revived and intensified by the restless zeal of Theodora. The historians of the Greek Church relate without shame that ten thousand Paulicians were put to death by the emissaries of the Greek regency; and the number would probably have been greater, had not many escaped into the province of Melitene, where the Saracen Emir granted them protection. With the assistance of this ruler, the exasperated Paulicians brought together a body of five thousand men, and invaded the Eastern Empire. The theological war thus provoked by the intolerance of Theodora continued for more than thirty years, and fanaticism on the one side found its counterpart on the other. Under the

guidance of Chrysocheir, the successor of Karbeas, who had originated the war, many of the finest cities of Western Asia were pillaged and oppressed. The headquarters of the Paulicians were in the fortified city of Tephrice, surrounded by the mountains between Siwas and Trebizond; but after the death of Chrysocheir, who was slain in battle, the Greek Emperor Basil I. took possession of this formidable stronghold about 875, and the Paulicians, though still maintaining their independence, and inflicting occasional injuries on the borders of the Eastern Empire, were no longer able to inspire any serious terror. Several of their body afterwards found refuge in Thrace and Bulgaria, and their doctrines were widely disseminated among the people of those countries. Thence the heresy spread into the West, where it was generally identified with the Bulgarians, and regarded with the utmost horror. It would appear that in protime the views of the Paulicians were much corrupted; but to the last they retained two principal dogmas—namely, that the books of the Old Testament were worthless as guides to faith, and that Christ, when he appeared in the world, was clothed, not with a real, but with a visionary body.

One of the most important events in the reign of Michael III. was the breach which then took place between the Eastern and the Western Churches. The connection of those great ecclesiastical bodies had not, for many ages, been very close or cordial; but some degree of union nevertheless prevailed. A controversy now broke out, in Constantinople itself, between the Patriarch, Ignatius, and the first Secretary of State, Photius, on whom Michael desired to confer the chief ecclesiastical position. There had been precedents for the appointment of a layman to the highest office in the Church; but the circumstances attending the choice of Photius—especially the



VIEW IN ADRIANOPLE—THE MOSQUE OF SELIM II.



MAP OF THE BYZANTINE EMPIRE IN THE NINTH CENTURY.

haste with which he was made to pass, by daily promotions, through the inferior grades—rendered his election illegal, and the partisans of Ignatius opposed it with the utmost energy. It was then determined by the Government to seek aid from a general Council of the Church. This could not be held without the sanction of the Pope; and the reigning Pontiff, Nicholas I., required that the claims of Rome should be recognised by Constantinople. A Council was held in the year 861, and Ignatius was deposed, in spite of his vehement protests that the assembly was not entitled to remove him. This view was afterward supported by the Pope, to whom Ignatius appealed, and who disavowed his own agents for having neglected to demand the recognition of the Papal See as supreme in all spiritual matters. A synod was convoked at Rome in 863, and Photius was threatened with excommunication if he should presume to retain possession of the Patriarchal chair after being informed of the Papal decision. Michael, incensed by so marked interference in the affairs of his dominion, wrote an angry letter to Pope Nicholas, in which he strongly asserted the independence of the Eastern Church. Photius, on his part, insisted that the Patriarchs of Constantinople were equal to the Popes of Rome. A Council, held in 866, pronounced the excommunication of the Pope; but this was a decision which there were no means of enforcing. Each party to the dispute was strong enough to hold its own ground, and to defy the other. The recent conversion of the Bulgarians, and of some of the Sclavonic nations, had added to the power of the Eastern Church, while the Western relied for support on the Franco-Roman Empire which had been restored under Charlemagne.

The rupture between the two Churches resulted not merely from questions of government and jurisdiction, but from certain differences of doctrine, greatly exceeded, both in number and importance, by the points of agreement. Photius—who, though not educated in theological studies, was a man of ability and learning—upbraided the Western Church with teaching that the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Son as well as from the Father. This dogma, contained in the Nicene Creed, he declared to be anti-Scriptural; and, to the present day, the orthodox of the Greek communion maintain that the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Father *by* the Son. In addition to this subject of contention, and some other barren niceties which need not be detailed, various matters of discipline were differently ordered by the two great Christian odies. Celibacy is enjoined by Rome on all priests and deacons, whereas the Greeks allow of marriage below the rank of Bishops. But the greatest cause of quarrel was in the assumption by Rome of an absolute supremacy over all parts of Christendom—an assumption which the Emperors and Patriarchs of Constantinople strenuously repudiated. The final rupture, however, did not take place until 1054, when the Pope's legates deposited on the altar of St. Sophia a terrible anathema, devoting all of the Greek Church to the tender mercies of the devil; since which time, the Eastern Christians have gone their way with much satisfaction to themselves.

The reign of Michael III. was distinguished by two wars with the Saracens, in both of which the Emperor himself suffered defeat, though in the second his uncle Petronas achieved a brilliant victory over Omar, the Emir of Melitene. This was in 863, and the Saracenic reverse was so serious as to secure the Greek frontiers for a considerable time, and to occasion alarming seditions at Baghdad when the news reached that city. The Bulgarians were again a source of trouble, and in 861 the Empire ceded to them a large tract of country along the range of Mount Hæmus, in recognition of their king becoming a Christian. A greater peril proceeded from a source still farther north. It is now that the Russians make their first appearance in history: a people from the deserts of European Sarmatia, wild, savage, and warlike, who in 865 passed through the Bosphorus in numerous small vessels, committed terrible havoc and many barbarities on the shores of the Propontis, and menaced Constantinople with attack. Michael was at this time absent from the capital on an expedition against the Moslems; but he hastily returned, and dispersed the pirates with such rapidity and completeness that his subjects gave much of the credit to supernatural interposition. The character of the monarch was not such as to inspire respect. His intemperate habits procured for him the title of "the Drunkard"; he was cruel and licentious; and, imitating the example of Nero in more ways than one, he joined in the sports of the Hippodrome to an extent that compromised the dignity of his office. The pious, moreover, were offended by his ribald burlesques of religious ceremonies, which he openly exhibited in the streets of Constantinople, arraying a court buffoon in the robes of the Patriarch, clothing others as metropolitan Bishops, and himself joining in a demonstration which was accompanied by the singing of immodest songs.

The life of this contemptible ruler was terminated by assassination. Michael had raised to the

position of Chamberlain an obscure Macedonian named Basil, who for a little while advanced himself still higher in the Imperial favour by slaying Bardas, the uncle of the sovereign, for some offence given during a futile expedition for the reconquest of Crete. Bardas had been elevated to the dignity of Cæsar: Basil was now made the colleague of Michael, with the title of Emperor. But such humours are always liable to reaction. In a little while, Basil fell under suspicion, and a third Emperor was created by Michael, who had become actually mad with drink and debauchery. Fearing for his life, Basil entered into a plot against the insane and ferocious monarch; and in 867 he was murdered in a palace on the Asiatic shore, after a drunken carouse which facilitated the work of death.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE STRUGGLES OF CHRISTENDOM AND ISLAM.

Early Life of Basil I.—General Character of his Reign—Economical, Legal, and other Measures—Temporary Reconciliation with the Roman Church—Ignatius and Photius—Military Successes of the Greek Empire against the Saracens in Asia and Europe—The Presents of a Subject to a Sovereign—Wars of Basil, and of the Frank Emperor, with the Saracens in Southern Italy—Sufferings of the People from Invasion and Anarchy—Spirited Resistance of the Pope of Rome to the Moslem Pirates—Decline of the Saracenic Power—Formation of a Turkish Body-Guard at Baghdad—Assassination of the Caliph Motawakkel—An Era of Military Turbulence—Establishment of Separate Dynasties—The Sect of the Karamites—Final Years and Death of the Emperor Basil—Reign of Leo VI.—Siege and Capture of Thessalonica by the Saracens—Troublous Reign of Constantine VII. (Porphyrogenitus)—The Imperial Power Shared by Romanus Lecapenus and his Three Sons—Constantine VII. Sole Emperor—Devastating Wars between the Christians and Mohammedans—Reign of Romanus II.—Recovery of Crete from the Saracens—Heroism and Popularity of Nicephorus Phocas—His Succession to the Throne—Arbitrary Measures, and Assassination of Nicephorus—Brilliant Rule of John Zimisces—Basil II. and his Wars with the Bulgarians—Subjugation of Bulgaria by the Byzantine Empire—Conquests in Armenia and Adjacent Countries—Death of Basil II.—Reigns of Constantine IX., Romanus II., Michael IV., and Michael V.—A Period of Anarchy—The Empresses Zoe and Theodora—Constantine X.—Close of the Basilian Dynasty.

CAPRICE is one of the most powerful influences in a despotic State, and men are often raised from the lowest to the highest stations for no other reason than the whim or fancy of the reigning monarch. Basil I., who succeeded to the Byzantine throne as the result of a murderous conspiracy, was a person of such humble origin that it is impossible to say what was the nationality to which he belonged. He is generally called Basil the Macedonian; but the ancient kingdom of Macedon, even if he was born within its limits, had long been peopled by a variety of races, different from the mingled Greeks and Illyrians who obeyed the sceptre of Philip and of Alexander. In a later age, when his dynasty was firmly established at Constantinople, an attempt was made to show that Basil was descended, either through his father or his mother, from Constantine the Great, from the Armenian Arsacidæ, and from the mighty hero who overthrew Darius, and flamed like a comet over half Asia. But this is extremely doubtful, and it can only be said that the parents of Basil were peasants, belonging either to the Sclavonian or the Armenian nationality. After a youth of great hardship and vicissitude, passed among the Bulgarians, who, in one of their marauding expeditions, had taken his family prisoners, the future Emperor made his way on foot to the capital, slept all night in the portico of a church, and soon afterwards obtained employment as a groom in the service of a nobleman about the court. He possessed some remarkable magnetic power, not often known, but within the limits of modern experience, by which he could tame a wild horse by simply whispering to it, or stretching out his hand to its ear. This extraordinary gift, together with his unusual size and strength, which enabled him to overcome a famous Bulgarian wrestler who had been regarded as invincible, attracted the attention of Michael III. while Basil was still acting as a groom. He took him into his own service, and, finding the young man a good sportsman, a hard drinker, and a person well inclined to base subserviency, promoted him to high office. Having previously received a fortune from a widowed lady of Patræ, in the Peloponnesus, whose favour he had gained, the path of success was open to the obscure adventurer.

It was by no less a crime than murder that Basil the Macedonian attained Imperial power; but, on the whole, he used that power well. After his coronation in the cathedral of St. Sophia, he knelt before the high altar, and exclaimed in the

hearing of the people, "Lord, thou hast given me the crown: I deposit it at thy feet, and dedicate myself to thy service." Considering the previous career of the new sovereign, and the deed by which he had reached the height of his ambition, these words sound like audacious hypocrisy; but the subsequent actions of Basil seem to justify the belief that he may have spoken with a sincere intention. It is true that he concentrated in his own hands still greater prerogatives than had been wielded by his predecessors; it is true that he reduced yet further the functions of the Senate, which now lost even the semblance of legislative powers, and became nothing more than an administrative council; it is true also that such local bodies as existed in various parts of the Empire were absorbed in a vast system of centralisation. But the force thus accumulated in the head of the State was for the most part wisely applied. The Empire had been greatly impoverished by the extravagance of Michael. Basil restored its prosperity by economical measures, and at the same time punished all extortioners. The favourites of the late Emperor were compelled to restore half of what they had received from their drunken master; though whether Basil himself set them an example in this respect does not appear. He enforced the strict administration of justice, and conferred a permanent benefit on his subjects by the compilation (in Greek) of a code of laws which was completed by his successors, Leo VI. and Constantine VII. This code was based on that of Justinian, of which it presented a summary, adapted to the changed condition of later times.

Basil gave great attention to what he regarded as the interests of religion, and effected a temporary reconciliation between the Eastern and the Western Churches. As a preliminary to any advance towards the Roman Pontiff, the Emperor removed Photius from the Patriarchate early in 869. A General Council assembled at Constantinople in the autumn of the same year, and terminated in the following February. Ignatius was reinstated in the post from which he had been removed several years before, and for a time it seemed as if the Roman Church would regain all it had lost in the East. But the extreme demands of the Popes were still resisted, and, on the death of Ignatius in 878, Photius was once more made Patriarch. The life of this remarkable prelate—a scholar, a statesman, and an opponent of Papal claims whom Protestants not unreasonably regard as a precursor of the Reformation—came to an end in 891, five years after his banishment by Leo VI. to a monastery in Armenia, where, notwithstanding the worldliness of his character, he still enjoyed the respect of many Greek theologians.

The military events of Basil's reign were numerous and important. The Emperor himself sometimes commanded his armies in the field; but his abilities were not those of a general, and the successes of the time were due chiefly to subordinates. During the last few reigns, the strength and discipline of the Byzantine army had greatly improved, and Basil found a very efficient machine ready to his hand. We have seen that he crushed the Paulicians, whose attacks, though in the first instance provoked by injustice, had become a scourge and a danger to Christendom. The Saracens were defeated in numerous engagements; the greater part of Asia Minor was recovered; and the Imperial arms were once more seen to the east of the Euphrates. Some marauding expeditions of the Moslems on the shores of south-eastern Europe were vigorously repelled, and Basil assisted the Frank Emperor, Louis II., in his operations against the Arabian invaders of Southern Italy. On several occasions, the Byzantine fleet distinguished itself, as well as the Byzantine army; and the Empire regained much of its old character as one of the great military Powers of the world.

For these expeditions and measures of defence, Basil found the necessary means in his replenished treasury, and in the wealth which his early benefactress, the rich lady of Patræ, continued to pour into his lap. It is recorded of this munificent widow that she earnestly desired to see her favourite on the throne, and that she performed a journey to Constantinople, accompanied by a retinue of more than three hundred persons, male and female—all of them slaves, remarkable for their youthful beauty and their mental accomplishments. These were designed as presents for the Emperor; and the other gifts—which are said to have exceeded in curiosity and value anything ever offered to a Byzantine sovereign even by a foreign monarch—consisted of splendid draperies, exquisite specimens of woollen, linen, and cambric (the last-named so fine that each piece could be enclosed in the joint of a reed), and a service of cups, dishes, and plates, of gold and silver. The episode of the widow Danielis is worth mentioning for the light it throws on the state of Greek and Constantinopolitan society in the second half of the ninth century—a condition still retaining many features of the ancient world, together with an element of Oriental magnificence and pomp. Danielis survived the Emperor Basil, and paid another visit to the capital during the reign of his

son Leo, whom she made her heir. After her death, the Imperial officers were astonished at her wealth, which included many palaces, farms, and villages; and it is related that the number of her slaves was so large that the Emperor Leo ordered three thousand to be enfranchised, and settled as a kind of serfs on estates in Apulia.* It is usual to speak of this lady as old when Basil first made her acquaintance; but, as the Emperor reigned nineteen years, as his visit to Patræ was some time before his accession, and as Danielis survived him, she can hardly have been more than middle-aged at the earlier period.

The wars of the Emperor Basil with the Saracens in Southern Italy were produced by the contentions of two Lombard princes who laid claim to the duchy of Beneventum. That duchy had for several years maintained a distinguished position, and its rulers were noted, not merely for their success in war, but for their liberality and culture, which induced them to maintain an academy of thirty-two philosophers and grammarians. The realm was afterwards divided into the independent principalities of Benevento, Salerno, and Capua; but this partition led to dangerous rivalries, and ultimately to the intrusion of the Saracens. In the year 842, both competitors for the sovereignty of the entire province solicited aid from the Mohammedans of Sicily, and those enterprising warriors speedily acted on their own behalf. They stormed the city of Bari, with entire indifference to the fact that it belonged to their own ally, and, having formed a camp at that convenient spot, used it as a station from which plundering expeditions were sent forth along the coasts of the Adriatic. This state of things continued for several years, and the eastern and southern shores of Italy suffered so terribly that the large landed proprietors built fortified towers, strong enough to resist attack, and sufficiently high to be beyond the reach of fires lighted at their bases. At length, in 867, the Frank Emperor, Louis II., laid siege to Bari, and sent ambassadors to Constantinople, to request the assistance of a Byzantine fleet. Basil had then just succeeded to the Imperial power, and he despatched a naval force to the seat of war. But the alliance between the two Christian monarchs was never very cordial. The Greek sovereign was offended with Louis for claiming the title and position of Western Emperor, and Louis was irritated at the slur thus thrown on his position. When, in February, 871, Louis carried the city of Bari by assault, and exterminated the Saracenic garrison, the Greeks disputed the honour of the conquest with their more numerous or more energetic allies. The association came to an end; each of the two Christian belligerents began to act on his own account; and the Saracens gained in strength from the disunion of their enemies. Once more attacking Rome, they extorted from Pope John VIII. an annual tribute of 25,000 marks of silver. In the south of Italy, a condition of the most deplorable anarchy resulted from the failure of the Christian Powers to coalesce in any definite plan of action. So complete was the absence of government that the unhappy cultivators of the soil were robbed and oppressed as much by the Frank and Greek Emperors, and by the Lombard princes, as by the Saracen freebooters. The Dukes of Naples, Amalfi, and Salerno, even joined the Mohammedans in pillaging the Roman territory; and the state of demoralisation was so extreme that no one had any regard but for his own interests. The Bishop of Naples, after dethroning his brother, and putting out his eyes, because he had entered into an alliance with unbelievers, committed precisely the same offence himself when he had obtained possession of the dukedom. The only ruler who showed any honesty and courage was the Pope of Rome, who won some battles against the Mohammedans, and treated his prisoners with a severity which appears to have been necessitated by the desperate condition of affairs. But the Pontiff could do very little with the small forces at his disposal, and the southern Italians begged for more effective assistance from the Byzantine Empire. Basil sent an army to the seat of war, took possession of Bari, and gained several victories over the Saracens, who were ultimately expelled from all their possessions in Calabria. The Greek Emperor thus acquired a considerable dominion in Southern Italy; but many of the cities paid little regard to his authority.

Although the Saracens were yet able to spread devastation far and wide, by desultory actions which were rather those of corsairs than of regular troops, their influence as a military power had for some years past undergone considerable diminution. They were still reckoned the best soldiers in the world; but the Saracenic Empire was disorganised, and the original vigour of the race was impaired by internal jealousies and divisions. Mamun, the seventh of the Abbassides, who reigned from 813 to 833, was in truth the last of the really powerful Caliphs; with his successor, Motassem, whose reign terminated in 841, the decline of the Arabian sovereignty may be said to have commenced. It was the latter of these monarchs who first created

* Finlay's History of Greece, Vol. II.

a body-guard of Turkish warriors, and thus established a precedent which was soon productive of those evils usually resulting from the introduction of a foreign and favoured soldiery into the capital of a great Empire. Motassem had conquered a number of Tartarian tribes beyond the Oxus and Jaxartes, and, finding them hardy and valiant, had organised from their ranks a force of 50,000 men, who formed the garrison of Baghdad. Relying on the countenance of their patron, these barbarians behaved with insulting violence to the people of the metropolis. Riots ensued, and the Caliph, displeased at the independence of his subjects, or fearing still worse convulsions, retired to Samara, on the Tigris, where he formed a military camp.

The mischief thus commenced did not reach its climax until the next reign but one—that of Motawakkel, who succeeded to the Caliphate in 847. This prince was a persecutor of the Jews and Christians, whom he compelled to wear broad belts of leather, to distinguish them from Mussulmans. His intolerance, however, failed to procure the confidence of his fellow-believers. Systematic despotism and cruelty brought the Caliph into odium, and he was obliged to rely entirely on the support of his Turkish body-guard. The event proved the worthlessness of such a prop. The Prætorian troops (for they may be fitly so called) were won over to the cause of the Caliph's son, Mostanser, who aimed at royal power. In 861, after a reign of fourteen years, Motawakkel was murdered by his own guards, who burst into his apartment at the supper-hour, and hewed him into seven pieces. Whether or not Mostanser was privy to this assassination, he was at any rate willing to avail himself of the opportunity it created. He ascended the throne, to experience nothing but the torments of a guilty conscience; and his reign lasted not more than six months. The Turkish guards now disposed of the Caliphate as they pleased, and in eight years (from 862 to 870) made and unmade three sovereigns of Islam. At length the Caliph Motamed obtained possession of the sceptre, and, re-establishing the capital at Baghdad, reduced the power of the foreign mercenaries. The Tartarian warriors were divided into different bodies, and sent out on foreign expeditions; but the Caliphate, though saved from immediate danger, could not regain the strength and authority of an earlier day.

What had once been the united Empire of the Saracens continued to be torn by quarrels, and in 872 the dynasty of the Taherites, which had been founded in Khorassan in 813, was supplanted by the race of the Soffarides. The provinces of Syria and Egypt were ruled by Turkish hordes between the years 868 and 905; and the whole of Islam was threatened with spiritual as well as political disruption. Despite the rigid unity of belief which Mohammed endeavoured to establish, the Moslem faith has been split up into a vast number of sects; indeed, several doctors of the sacred law assert that its divisions exceed even those of Christianity, and maintain that this very fact is a proof of its superior holiness. The ninth and tenth centuries of the Christian era—the third and fourth of the Mohammedan—were especially fruitful in these schisms, and the religion of the Arabian Prophet seemed as if it might disappear in a chaos of wild dissensions. A sceptical spirit had entered into Islam; the absolute authority of the Koran was denied; even some of the Caliphs were freethinkers. In the early part of the ninth century, a sect, called that of the Ismailis, arose in the Shiite division of Islam. The doctrines announced by its founder had a materialistic basis and tendency, but were in the first instance disguised, to all but a few, in a cloud of mystic symbolism. The sect of the Ismailis soon afterwards developed into that of the Karamites, or Karmathians, so called from one Karmath, an Arabian preacher, who carried on the mission originated by Abdallah Ibn Mamun, a Persian oculist, and his son Ahmed. The Karamites opposed with violent enthusiasm the pomp and sensuality of Baghdad. Their leader interpreted the Koran in a more spiritual sense than had been usual before his day, and at the same time allowed to the faithful a freedom in the matters of ablution, pilgrimage, and the use of wine and certain kinds of food, which the orthodox considered unlawful. The heresy of this independent thinker (who began to make himself famous about 890) spread widely among the Bedouins, and Karmath and his successors found themselves at the head of so large a force that they were able to contend with the Arabian Caliphs in many sanguinary actions. The cities of Racca, Baalbek, Cufah, and Bassora, were successively taken and pillaged, and in 929 Abu Taher, the successor of Karmath, and of his lieutenant, Abu Saïd, stormed Mecca itself, committed a frightful massacre, insulted the very symbols of the Mohammedan faith, and carried off the famous black stone, which, however, was subsequently restored, though in a shattered condition. Ultimately, the Karamites broke up into a variety of factions, and, after several reverses, were wholly extirpated in 951. They had not, indeed, succeeded in establishing their own power, but they had weakened that of the Caliphs. Even as late

as the reign of Radhi, extending from 934 to 940, it had been found necessary to pay the heretics an annual tribute of 50,000 dinars.

The consideration of these facts has withdrawn our attention from the Emperor Basil, of whom, however, little more remains to be recorded. Towards the latter end of his reign, he was troubled by a plot against his crown, if not against his life. The conspirators were punished with severity; for the monarch who has attained his position by treason, will not permit the application of the same methods to himself. Basil's own son, Leo, was at another time suspected of a design to assassinate his father; but the charge, though strictly investigated, was never proved. After all the dangers of his exceptional position, Basil's life was terminated by a mere accident. In following the chase, he was gored by a stag which had been brought to bay; and the shock produced a fever, of which he expired in the year 886. The cruelty that lay deep in his nature came out with peculiar savageness in his last moments. One of the attendants in the hunting-field had drawn his knife, and cut the girdle of the Emperor, to disengage him from the stag; and Basil, regarding the action as an attempt at assassination, ordered the man's head to be at once struck off. The peasant who had attained to power by murdering his patron, fitly terminated his career by executing one who had endeavoured to save his life.



THESSALONICA.

Constantine, the eldest son of Basil, and his favourite child, died before his father; and the throne was now occupied by a monarch who has received the title of Leo the Philosopher. His parentage is doubtful; for, although he was the child of Basil's second wife, Eudocia, and was recognised by Basil as his own son, it was suspected that his actual father was the Emperor Michael III., whose intimacy with Eudocia was sufficiently notorious. Leo VI. was a pedant and

a sensualist, whose despotic tendencies were mitigated by the indolence of his disposition. His immoralities brought him into conflict with the Church, and his want of energy exposed the Empire to numerous defeats by the Saracens. On the other hand, the Byzantine generals obtained some important victories over the Mohammedan foe, and towards the end of Leo's reign certain territories were wrested from the enfeebled grasp of the Emirs. The balance of advantage, however, was on the side of the Moslems, and the sack of Thessalonica (which succumbed to the Saracens on the 30th of July, 904) was attended by numerous horrors. The siege had been pressed with great determination; the defence was conducted with equal vigour; and the city was at length taken by the employment of that terrible Greek fire which had at one time saved Constantinople from the Moslems, but which was now used by them for the subjugation of a Christian city. The secret of compounding this explosive had passed from the sole custody of the Byzantines, and the Saracens were never slow to avail themselves of any means by which the faith might be propagated. An ecclesiastic named Johannes Cameniates, a native of Thessalonica, who was taken prisoner after the city had been captured, has left an elaborate account of the siege and the defence, which throws an interesting light on the military procedure and resources of the tenth century.

In Southern Italy, the arms of Leo VI. were for the most part attended by ill-success, and a war with Bulgaria, brought about by the extortion of two Greek merchants in whose favour a monopoly of the Bulgarian trade had been established, led to several disasters. The Bulgarian monarch, Simeon, became one of the most powerful monarchs of the time; and when the war reached its close, in 893, he was in a position of decided superiority to his antagonist. Leo expired in 912, after a reign which presents few features of interest, and none of glory. On his death, the actual power of the State passed into the hands of his brother Alexander, who had long borne the title of Emperor. He appears, however, to have acted only as regent for his nephew Constantine VII., and he died in about a year. The child Constantine, called Porphyrogenitus, from his having been born "in the purple"—that is, in the chamber of porphyry—did not attain his majority until 920. His whole reign was full of troubles. Intrigue, conspiracy, and war, distracted the force of the State; the Bulgarians ravaged the Northern provinces, and [illegible]en appeared before the walls of Constantinople; and the warriors of a Turkish tribe, called the Patzinaks, made themselves so formidable that the regency thought it prudent to bribe them by a sum of money to act as allies, rather than as enemies. Even with this assistance, the Byzantines met with frequent and grave reverses, and the Bulgarian king, Simeon, maintained his ascendency. During this disastrous period, the chief power on the Bosphorus was wielded by a general named Romanus Lecapenus, who had advanced his fortunes by plots and sedition, and who, in 919, while Constantine was still a boy, persuaded him to marry his daughter Helena. This conferred on him so illustrious a position that he was soon afterwards crowned as the colleague of Constantine VII. His three sons were gradually associated with himself in the Imperial office, and the youthful Constantine was degraded to the fifth rank among the titular princes. Constantine was wholly wanting in strength of character, and, while his time was devoted to the study of literature and art, the active duties of a sovereign were concentrated in the hands of Romanus. The power of that ambitious soldier, however, was not destined to last until the end of his days. What he had gained by intrigue and rebellion, he lost by violence and treachery. In 944, after a supremacy of twenty-five years, his own sons removed him from power, and confined him in a monastery, but, five weeks later, were themselves sent into the same retirement by their sister, the wife of Constantine.

The eldest of the sons of Romanus is reckoned in Byzantine history as Constantine VIII.; but his power was so extremely brief, and his position so purely revolutionary, that it is misleading to place him among the regular monarchs of the Eastern Empire. Constantine VII. now recovered his rights, and for fifteen years reigned as sole Emperor. His inveterate indolence persuaded him to leave the chief conduct of affairs to the Empress Helena, and the Imperial troops continued a series of doubtful contests with the Saracens and the Northern barbarians. In these encounters, the armies of the Empire were not unfrequently successful; but their reverses were also numerous and damaging, and the State was exhausted by struggles which could hardly in any case have repaid the efforts they involved. Perhaps, however, where two great Empires, professing different religions, are placed in such immediate proximity, a state of perpetual warfare is unavoidable. The decline of Saracenic power invited the attacks of the Byzantines; but the Caliphs were not yet so weak as to be unable to conduct reprisals with deadly effect. Asia Minor was ravaged by the

Mohammedans; Syria and Mesopotamia were desolated by the soldiers of the Cross; the Armenians, gathering courage from the misfortunes of the Arabian sovereigns, assaulted their dominions with enthusiasm and success; and the whole of Western Asia suffered from the implacable fury of the disputants. Ancient cities were ruined; the prosperity of large communities was destroyed; cultivated districts were reduced to solitary sheep-walks; and the provinces between the Halys, the Euphrates, and the Mediterranean presented a scene of universal desolation. It was unfortunate for the interests of humanity that neither belligerent was in a position of absolute predominance over the other.

Constantine VII. died in the year 959. His son and successor, Romanus II., has been suspected of hastening his father's decease by the administration of poison; but the story is doubtful, and the subsequent conduct of Romanus was not such as to give it countenance. Though his habits were profligate, his disposition appears to have been mild and gentle, and he was regarded with general affection. The great event of his reign was the recovery of Crete from the Mohammedans. Several previous expeditions against that island—the last of which was sent forth by Constantine VII. not long before his death—had ended in disastrous failure; but that of Romanus was better commanded, and led to more fortunate results. The commander of the forces was Nicephorus Phocas, a general of great ability. The strongly-fortified city of Chandak was taken by storm on the 7th of May, 961, and the submission of the whole island followed soon after. Many of the Saracens were slain; the others were reduced to a state little better than that of servitude. A hundred and thirty-eight years had elapsed since Crete had been won by the Saracens; and in this interval many of the Greek population had adopted the faith of Islam. Several of these were now re-converted by an Armenian monk, sent into the island for that purpose. On returning to Constantinople, Nicephorus was allowed the honour of a triumph; for the ancient custom of the Roman Republic and the Roman Empire was still retained by the Byzantines. He brought with him the Saracen Emir of Crete, and Christendom had real cause to congratulate itself on a success which considerably enhanced its reputation and prosperity. Romanus II. did not survive this great event more than two years: he died in 963, at the age of twenty-four—exhausted, probably, by his numerous excesses, but, in the popular belief, poisoned by his wife.

The Empress Theophano was left regent for her two sons; but the real direction of public affairs remained in the hands of the existing chief minister, Joseph Bringas, a man of penetration, experience, and firmness, but one who was disliked for the severity of his disposition. He was jealous of Nicephorus Phocas, whose popularity had been earned by the conquest of Crete, and by subsequent victories in Syria. Bringas formed a design of seizing the victorious general, and putting out his eyes, according to the barbarous custom of that time; but the plot was baffled by the prudent measures of Nicephorus, and the threatened hero was persuaded by his two nephews, John Zimisces and Romanus Kurkuas, to assume the position of Emperor. The favourite commander marched from Cæsarea to Chrysopolis, and there established his camp. Basilius, an illegitimate son of Romanus I., raised a sedition in the streets of Constantinople, and forced the ministers to take refuge in the churches. Bringas found himself without support, and Nicephorus, entering the capital, was crowned in the cathedral of St. Sophia, on the 16th of August, 963. The new Emperor had been almost worshipped on account of his military triumphs; but a closer acquaintance diminished the popular regard. His manners were austere, and his devotion to military discipline offended the pleasure-loving inhabitants of the Eastern capital. He has been accused of a hypocritical asceticism, and of an insincere profession of a desire to withdraw from the world into the repose and forgetfulness of a monastery. But, however this may have been, he consented to remain at the post to which events had called him, and the Empress Theophano, dreading the intrigues of her enemies, sought protection in an alliance with the first soldier of the Empire.

The marriage took place in 964, and Nicephorus now devoted himself to the administration of his realm. War was made upon the Saracens; but an attempt to expel those intruders from Sicily ended in failure, owing to the unskilfulness of the general to whom the expedition was intrusted. On the other hand, John Zimisces succeeded in his operations against the same power in Cilicia and Cyprus. The Emperor himself proceeded in person to Cilicia in 967, defeated the enemy on several occasions, and then, invading Syria, invested the city of Antioch, which was soon afterwards taken by one of his generals. These were important services to the State; but the expense of so many campaigns necessitated the imposition of onerous taxes, and Nicephorus aroused general indignation by the issue of a debased coinage, in which he paid the debts of the State, while the taxes were

collected in the older and more valuable money. Never did any sovereign do more to destroy the esteem in which he had been held before royal power was given into his hands. Nicephorus offended the people by despotism and extortion; he disgusted his generals by the jealousy with which he regarded their services; finally, he displeased his wife by the homeliness of his manners. Theophano, growing tired of her husband, and perhaps suspecting him of some design against her two sons by Romanus II., formed a conspiracy against his life. The chief agent in the plot was John Zimisces, a man of almost dwarfish stature, but otherwise of great comeliness. He is said to have been one of the lovers of the Empress, and he was certainly exasperated against his uncle for having disgraced and exiled him, in spite of numerous achievements as a capable and valiant soldier. On the night of December 10th, 969, Zimisces and the other conspirators entered the palace of the Emperor, roused him from his sleep, and murdered him.

The assassination of a sovereign was so common an event in Constantinople that it usually passed without notice; but on this occasion the Patriarch Polyeuctes refused to perform the coronation of John Zimisces until he had made a solemn declaration that he was not concerned in the late act, and that he was ready to abandon his criminal association with the Empress. The new sovereign basely threw the entire guilt on Theophano and his companions on the fatal night. The offending officers were exiled, and the Empress was dismissed from the palace. Notwithstanding this double treachery, John Zimisces distinguished himself by his virtues as a sovereign. He defeated the Russians and the Saracens, secured the frontiers of the Danube and the Tigris, and, after an illustrious reign of seven years, died in January, 976. He had just concluded a most brilliant campaign in Mesopotamia and Syria, and his death was attributed to poison, administered by the President of the Council, Basilius, whom he had offended by an inconsiderate speech. The fact is not certain; but, unfortunately, it is too much in accordance with the general habits of Byzantine life to be in itself improbable.

The sceptre now passed into the hands of Basil II., the son of Romanus II. and Theophano, who reigned in conjunction with his brother Constantine IX. Strictly speaking, Nicephorus Phocas and John Zimisces were only regents; for Basil II. was regarded as the lawful sovereign on the death of his father. But, in the Byzantine Empire, power was always the prize of the strongest. Even after the death of Zimisces, Basil enjoyed for a time little more than the name and honour of a monarch, the actual conduct of affairs remaining in the hands of Basilius, as head of the Government. For five years, the young Emperor was persuaded by his chief minister to devote himself entirely to indolence and pleasure; but in 981 he assumed a more dignified position, and marched in person against the Bulgarians. The power of that nation had of late become very formidable, and the supremacy of the Byzantine Empire was threatened in the most important of its European possessions. The kingdom of Bulgaria owed fealty to the sovereigns of Constantinople; but a military revolution had conferred power on a chieftain named Samuel, who, whatever his cruelties, was a man of remarkable energy and genius. After obtaining possession of the throne, he expelled the Byzantine authorities from Bulgaria, excited a spirit of independence in the Sclavonians of Macedon, invaded Thessaly, and plundered the larger part of Greece. A powerful monarchy was created in an incredibly short space of time, and the city of Prespa, in Macedon, was selected as the capital. Against this upstart dominion, Basil marched at the head of a considerable army; but, after ineffectually besieging Sardica, he was compelled to retreat, and, while passing through one of the defiles of Mount Hæmus, was suddenly attacked and routed. With much difficulty, and with the loss of his baggage, military chest, plate, and tents, he escaped to Philippopolis, where he rallied his troops, and formed new designs for the future.

On returning to Constantinople, Basil deprived Basilius of all his offices, confiscated his estates, annulled his acts, and sent him into banishment. In 989, the attention of the Emperor was distracted by the rebellion of two generals, named Phocas and Sclerus, who had previously acted as rivals, but who now joined their forces in a common opposition to Basil. The insurrection was brought to a close by the sudden death of Phocas, and Sclerus, who seems to have acted under compulsion, was pardoned by the Emperor, and ended his life soon after. In the meanwhile, war had been resumed with the Bulgarians, who were several times defeated by the Byzantine generals in the open field. Samuel was not long in discovering that his irregular forces were no match for the disciplined legions of the Empire, when these were encountered on the level plains of Bulgaria. He therefore transferred the seat of his government to the town of Achrida, or Ochrida, situated in a mountainous district between Macedon and Albania, and commanding the great Egnatian Way

which connected the Adriatic with Bulgaria, Thessalonica, and Constantinople. From this point, Samuel could strike in many directions, and, when he found it necessary to retreat, could entrench himself in a position not easily assailed. The wisdom of his choice was soon apparent. His arms were again successful, and his dominions now equalled the European portion of the Greek Empire in extent. His possessions included parts of Macedonia, Epirus, Illyria, and Northern Greece. The Albanians and Wallachians united with him in making war on Basil; and cities not actually within his realm were subjected to continual attack and molestation.

Hostilities continued for several years with varying success. While on a plundering expedition into Greece, in 996, the forces of Samuel were almost annihilated during an unexpected attack by the Byzantine general, Nicephorus Uranus. Some Bulgarian cities were taken in the year 1000, and the Emperor himself again entered the field in 1001. His successes were rapid and important, and in 1002 Samuel was cut off from all communication with the plains of Bulgaria by the masterly dispositions of Basil, who made his way through the passes of Mount Hæmus, and extended his line as far as the Danube. Thus menaced in the very heart of his dominions, the Bulgarian king adopted the bold expedient of marching into those of his opponent, and attacking Adrianople. He hoped in this way to divert the Emperor from the siege of Vidin, which he was then investing; but the design, though rewarded by immediate success, and by the collection of a great booty, led to ultimate disaster. On his return, Samuel was encountered by Basil, who, in a sudden assault, stormed his camp, captured his military chest and stores (as Samuel had captured those of his adversary several years before), and recovered the plunder of Adrianople. Many other reverses followed; but the war still continued, and the Bulgarian king, by fortifying all the passes that led into Upper Macedonia, yet presented a dangerous front. At length, in 1014, Basil attacked the principal position of the Bulgarians, and obtained an overwhelming victory. On this occasion, 15,000 prisoners were made by the Byzantines; and Basil, having put out their eyes, and left to each hundred a one-eyed leader, sent them in that miserable condition to their sovereign, who is said to have died with rage and horror at the sight.

Even after this terrible catastrophe, the war was prolonged by the desultory efforts of Bulgarians and Sclavonians, and the Imperial arms were not always victorious. In the main, however, Basil upheld his credit as a warrior of great vigour and capacity. In 1018, the whole of Bulgaria submitted to the Greek Emperor, who, on reaching Achrida, was received, not merely with acquiescence, but almost with enthusiasm. The administration of Bulgaria was then arranged, on terms which effected its complete incorporation with the Empire; and, as a consequence of their neighbour's overthrow, the princes of Servia acknowledged the supremacy of Constantinople. After making a progress through Greece, where he visited Athens, and admired the noble monuments of antiquity, which had even then sustained little damage from time or violence, Basil returned to Constantinople, which he entered by the Golden Gate, with all the pomp of a triumph. The people received him with acclamations, and gave him the title of "Slayer of the Bulgarians." His exploits as a military commander had certainly been great; but nothing can relieve his name from the reproach of abominable cruelty, committed on a scale so vast (if the figures are correct) as to go far beyond the ordinary atrocities of a fierce and barbarous time. He had delivered the Empire from an immense danger, by which its very existence was at one time imperilled; but, having vanquished his foe, he did absolutely nothing to repair the ravages of war. The lands swept by his armies were almost depopulated, and large districts remained waste and solitary until repeopled by Wallachian adventurers, who, about a century later, penetrated as far south as the borders of the Thessalian plain. It is important to take note of these facts, for modern history in the south-east of Europe has received much of its form and colour from the migration of races during the predominance of the Byzantine Empire.

The influence of Basil was felt also in the direction of Armenia. David, one of the recent kings of that country, had left the whole of his territories to the Greek Emperor; but, after his death, his brother George advanced a claim to the throne, and was left in peaceable possession of the Northern districts. Basil sent numerous colonies of Bulgarians and Sclavonians into Georgia, where he had conducted a successful campaign in 991, between the first and second of his Bulgarian wars; and he now removed many Armenians into Bulgaria. The latter years of his life were occupied by wars in the vicinity of the Euxine, where the Turkish tribes were beginning to extend their power, and numerous petty kings had placed themselves in opposition to the Byzantine monarch. His military genius appeared as conspicuously in

these as in other regions, and, after restoring peace in the latter part of 1022, he turned his attention towards Sicily, whence he hoped to drive out the Saracens. While making preparations for an enterprise which would certainly have been the most difficult of any in his long reign, he died in December, 1025, at the age of sixty-eight. Basil II. was an enthusiast in religion, and in the prime of life wore sackcloth beneath his Imperial robes or his armour, as an expiation for the sins of his youth. It is to be feared that he showed no repentance for his barbarities in war; but this much must be recorded to his credit—that he endeavoured to protect the poor from the rapacity of the rich, and to prevent the lands of small proprietors from being absorbed by the wealthy. He had observed the increasing tendency of riches to concentrate themselves in the hands of a few individuals, and, during a campaign in Syria in the year 995, when he recovered some cities from the Caliphs, had seen with alarm the extraordinary opulence and immense personal authority of a Cappadocian nobleman. While a few persons thus heaped up enormous fortunes, the general prosperity underwent a marked decline. Towns decreased in size with the failure of manufactures and trade, and the landed estates of the aristocracy were cultivated by Mohammedan captives, or by Sclavonian, Albanian, and Wallachian serfs.*



CITADEL AND PALACE OF THE ANCIENT KINGS OF BULGARIA AT TIRNOVA.

Constantine IX., who had been nominally the colleague of Basil in the administration of the Empire, succeeded to the actual sovereignty on the decease of his brother. In this position he survived only three years, which revealed nothing but the weakness and profligacy of his nature. To the vices of a debauchee he added the cruelty of a despot, and the affairs of the realm were administered by a number of incapable wretches, who

* Finlay's History of Greece, Vol. II.

ght only of pleasing their master and enrich- themselves. Plots and insurrections were d by the attacks of Saracens and Turks, and Empire would have hastened to ruin, had it been for the highly-organised army which II. had left. Constantine expired in 1028, was succeeded by Romanus Argyrus, a person Paphlagonian, of menial position in the palace, named Michael, whose extraordinary comeliness was occasionally marred by the convulsions of epilepsy. Immediately on the death of Romanus, Zoe invested Michael with the Imperial robes, and commanded the Patriarch to place the crown upon his head, and to celebrate his marriage with herself.



CONSTANTINOPLE.

ected with the Imperial family, and selected he position by the dying Emperor, who com- l him to divorce his wife, and marry his hter Zoe. Romanus III. was a well-meaning but his abilities as a soldier were so slight that Eastern wars resulted in nothing but failure. of his generals, however, were more fortunate, the Emir of Aleppo became tributary to Empire. After reigning about four years, anus III. fell into a lingering distemper, of he died on the 11th of April, 1034. Some before his decease, his wife Zoe, though then four, had carried on an intrigue with a young

Michael quickly discovered that he had succeeded to a position which brought with it perpetual care and apprehension. He distrusted the fidelity of the Empress; he dreaded the dagger or the poisoned goblet of the assassin; and the anxiety of his mind increased the frequency and violence of his fits. The political affairs of the Empire were managed by Michael's brother John, a monk of ambitious disposition and vigorous intellect. John was tyrannical and avaricious, and his oppressive government provoked several insurrections during the reign of Michael IV. The military events of that reign were numerous, and included several encounters

with the Saracens. A Byzantine invasion of Sicily was at first attended by such marked success that the greater part of the island was subdued; but in 1040 a reinforcement of African Saracens entered the island, and, owing mainly to dissensions between Stephen, the admiral of the Byzantine fleet, and Maniaces, the commander of the land forces, the tide of war turned in favour of the Mohammedans, so that, after a while, Messina alone remained in possession of the Christians. The northern parts of the Empire were ravaged by the Patzinaks; Servia established its independence; the Bulgarians and Sclavonians, exasperated by oppressive taxation, rose in rebellion, and tasked the resources of the Empire to suppress the movement; pestilence and natural convulsions filled the minds of all men with alarm; and, in the midst of these depressing circumstances, the Emperor Michael IV. died on the 10th of December, 1041, after a reign of seven years and eight months.

When it had become apparent that the days of the epileptic Emperor were numbered, his brother John, whose position made him supreme in all State affairs, introduced into the palace a nephew who added to the name of Michael that of Calaphates, or the Caulker, from the employment of his father in careening vessels. Despite his humble birth and training, this man was adopted by the Empress Zoe as her son; and, four days after the death of her second husband, she placed the crown upon the head of his nephew. Nothing could surpass the protestations of Michael V. that he would be faithful to those who had raised him to his proud position; nor could anything be more sudden or complete than his ingratitude. John was immediately disgraced, and the Empress was exiled to a convent in one of the islands of the Propontis. But the creature of an hour found that he had gone too far. The populace of Constantinople rose in tumult; the Emperor was besieged in his palace; the gates were forced, the guards were swept away, and, after an immense slaughter, the people took possession of the Imperial residence, and plundered it. Michael fled, but was brought back, and punished by the loss of his eyes. His reign, which lasted no longer than four months and five days, ended in April, 1042; that which followed did not endure so much as two months. Zoe and her sister Theodora were recalled from monastic seclusion, and invested with the joint government; but their co-operation speedily gave place to mutual jealousy, and Zoe, though now sixty-two, married a third husband, who succeeded to the throne as Constantine X., surnamed Monomachos.

The reign of this fresh interloper extended from 1042 to 1054, and was marked by a series of seditions, rebellions, and court plots. Wars with the Servians, the Russians, the Patzinaks, and the Seljukian Turks, spread devastation throughout the Empire; but, although the military system of the Eastern sovereigns showed symptoms of decay, the honour of the Byzantine arms was well sustained on several occasions. The details of some of these matters will come more appropriately into other divisions of this History; for the importance of the Byzantines now begins to wane before the rise of younger races. Constantine X. retained possession of the throne until his death in 1054, though his habits were profligate, and his methods of government despotic. Zoe had died in 1050, and, a little before his own decease, Constantine endeavoured to deprive Theodora of the succession by naming the commander of the Macedonian troops as the next occupant of the throne. The attempt, however, was defeated by the promptitude of Theodora, who was proclaimed Empress by the army. Her death took place about nineteen months later, in the year 1056; and the sceptre then came into the feeble grasp of Michael VI., an aged general, who soon proved his incapacity to deal with the turbulent elements of the Greek capital. The palace eunuchs and the territorial aristocracy quarrelled for the actual exercise of power, and in 1057 the sixth Michael was deposed, and forced to take monastic vows. With the death of Theodora, the Basilian dynasty came to an end, after continuing a hundred and eighty-nine years; and Isaac I., who succeeded Michael VI., began the race of the Comneni, under whom the Eastern Monarchy entered on a period of more confirmed decline.

CHAPTER XIV

THE NATIONS OF EASTERN EUROPE, AND THE TURKS.

Appearance of the Russians on the Historic Stage—Their Country included in the Ancient Sarmatia—Combination of Finns and Sclavonians—Conquest of the Early Russians by the Varangians from Scandinavia—Establishment of a Dynasty at Novgorod by Rurik the Norseman—Etymology of the Name Russia—Attacks of the Varangians and Russians on Constantinople—War between Sviatoslaf and the Emperor John Zimisces—Spread of Civilisation and Christianity in the North—The Religious Ideas of Vladimir—His Character and Actions—Reign of Vladimir II. (Monomachos)—His Testament to his Children—Improvement in the Social State of Russia early in the Twelfth Century—Rise of the Hungarians—Their Settlement in Pannonia, and Incursions into other Lands—Mixed Population of Hungary—Early History of Poland—The Tartars of Central Asia—Beginning of the Turkish Power—First Appearance of the Turks in the West—Their Service under Heraclius, and afterwards with the Caliphs—Disruption of the Saracenic Empire, and Rise of other Mohammedan Powers—Formation of New Dynasties in Persia, Northern Africa, and Egypt—Toghrul Bey, Khan of the Seljukian Turks—His Supremacy at Baghdad—Reigns of Alp Arslan and Malek Shah—The Title of Sultan—End of the Seljukian Turks, and Rise of the Osmanlis.

RUSSIA, though she celebrated the thousandth year of her national existence in 1862, was one of the latest countries of the Old World to enter on the historic stage. The explanation of this fact is to be discovered, not merely in the remoteness of the land, but in the circumstance (itself, doubtless, a consequence of that remoteness) that the home of the Muscovite race never came within the civilising influence of the Roman Cæsars. The extreme North was almost entirely unknown to the Greeks and Italians. Everything beyond the fiftieth degree of latitude was described as "Terra Incognita;" the enormous region of Scythia was regarded as too inhospitable and too menacing for either conquest or exploration; and Sarmatia, which adjoined it on the west, was equally obscure. What we now understand as Russia Proper was included in Sarmatia, and the aboriginal race has furnished an important element to the modern population. In the ancient world, the Sarmatæ had a bad name for cruelty, lawlessness, and revolting habits. They were undoubtedly barbarians of an extreme type, though their courage secured for them a certain degree of respect. Their ethnological family was that of the Tshudi, or Finns, a branch of the vast Turanian stock; but, in the early Christian ages, these savages were conquered by the Sclavonians, who, penetrating northwards from the Danube and the Lower Volga, amalgamated with the primitive occupants of the soil. This was a distinct advance in civilisation, for the Sclaves, though not a very cultured race, were at any rate superior to the Finns. It was neither Finn nor Sclave, however, who established the Russian Monarchy, but a member of the great Scandinavian brood which possessed a large part of Northern Europe.

The Scandinavians were an offshoot of the Teutonic race, planted in the modern kingdoms of Norway, Sweden, and Denmark. The immense extent of sea-coast which they commanded, and which gave them ready access to many other countries, encouraged the habits of naval enterprise, and the Varangians, or sea-rovers, from the western side of the Baltic, were for several generations a terror and a scourge to half Europe. The word Varangian is said to be of Sclavonic origin, and to signify "allies," though it may perhaps be German, with an analogous meaning; but the people, as we have said, were Scandinavians. Further on, we shall find them attacking the shores of Britain, Ireland, and France; creating a new race in the last of these countries; and subsequently, as Normans, exercising a brilliant and durable influence over several parts of the world. From the middle of the eleventh century, the Greek Emperors employed large numbers of these warriors as a body-guard, and their stalwart persons and two-edged battle-axes struck terror into the Byzantines. But at present we are concerned with their appearance in Russia, which was about two hundred years before. The history of the great Northern Empire commences in 862, when a Scandinavian pirate, named Rurik, who had previously invaded the eastern shores of the Baltic, and reduced several Finnish and Sclavonic tribes, established at Novgorod a dynasty which lasted until 1598. This adventurer found the country divided amongst a number of small, independent communities, the principal of which were Kief and Novgorod; and it was the Novgorodians who called him into the land, to help them against their more powerful neighbours. About four-and-twenty years earlier, some Russians had visited Constantinople, where they were suffered to join an embassy from Theophilus, Emperor of the East,

to Louis I., Emperor of the West, the son and successor of Charlemagne. Their ruler was a species of Grand Duke; but his power was not very great.

Rurik created a monarchy of a more important character. With the help of his Scandinavian fighting men, he conquered a large extent of country, and at his death, in 879, left to his son Igor a dominion of sufficient strength to be secure against attack. We cannot, however, describe Rurik as more than the Prince of Novgorod: it is only at a much later date that we hear of Russia as a sovereignty, though the term was always applied to certain regions north of the Black Sea. The etymology of the name Russia is extremely doubtful. The Romans spoke of a Sarmatian tribe as the Roxolani, and some writers have seen in this term the origin of the later word; but the derivation is not generally accepted, and we must probably look to one of the Eastern tongues for a root. It has been supposed that the remote ancestors of the Russians are mentioned in Ezekiel, xxxviii. 2, where, according to modern scholars, the passage (as it stands in our authorised version), "Magog, the chief prince of Meshech and Tubal," ought to run, "Magog, the prince of Rosh, Meshech, and Tubal." The meaning recently suggested is, that Magog is the head of the three great Scythian tribes, of which "Rosh" is the first. The German commentator Gesenius is of opinion that by Rosh is intended the tribe north of the Taurus, so called from its neighbourhood to the Rha, or Volga, and that in this name and tribe we have the first trace of the Russian people.* The Russians seem also to be mentioned twice in the Koran under the name of Rass, and the Rasses referred to in Judith (ii. 23) are perhaps the same nationality.

It was during the reign of Rurik that the Russians made their first attack on Constantinople—the expedition of 865, described in a previous Chapter. Thus, one of the earliest facts in their history is associated with that Imperial city which the subjects of the Czars still covet for themselves. Another fact equally remarkable is that the advances of the primitive Russians in this direction were to a great extent checked by the Turkish tribe of the Patzinaks, who, having established themselves on the lower course of the Borysthenes, or Dnieper, were employed by the Greek Emperors in resisting the progress of the Varangians and their subjects. Several other attempts, however, were made in subsequent years, and the Byzantines suffered severely from attacks which, though always unsuccessful, owing mainly to the havoc which the Greek wild-fire spread among the innumerable light vessels of the assailants, were conducted with a ferocity that involved large numbers of non-combatants in the worst miseries of war. Even at that time it was believed by many that Constantinople was fated to become a Russian city; and it was said that in the square of Taurus, in the Eastern capital, an equestrian statue was inscribed with a prophecy to that effect. The early Russians, however, were little else than pirates. The permanent conquest of a metropolis such as Constantinople does not seem to have entered into their designs, and they were probably influenced by no other motive than the love of plunder. Having, therefore, enriched themselves with the treasures of Greek wealth and art, they were glad to escape along the northern shores of the Black Sea, to ascend the channel of the Borysthenes, and to regain the fastnesses out of which they had issued.

The chieftains of Novgorod speedily acquired possession of Kief and Moscow, and a dukedom of no inconsiderable magnitude was thus established in the vicinity of the Greek Empire. The rulers of Constantinople began to acknowledge the importance of the new Power, and in 945 concluded a treaty of peace with Kief, to which the Varangian princes had removed their court. An active trade had grown up between the two nations, and the treaty fully recognised the commercial interests of the Northern race. The alliance was so close that the Emperor Nicephorus II, who reigned from 963 to 969, conceived he might make use of the Russian Varangians for an easy conquest of Bulgaria. The contemporary Grand Duke of Kief was Sviatoslaf, a warrior-prince who had already given proof of his courage and enterprise by the subjugation of several communities between the Volga and the Danube. The proposals of the Greek Emperor were conveyed to this chieftain by a patrician named Kalokyres, son of the Governor of Cherson, who was entrusted with fifteen hundred pounds' weight of gold to pay the expenses of the expedition. The Imperial emissary acted the part of a traitor. Forming an alliance with Sviatoslaf, he proclaimed himself Emperor, and gave occasion for a war which caused great suffering to both belligerents. Sviatoslaf invaded Bulgaria, but not in the interests of Nicephorus Phocas. The Varangian had no scruples about applying to his own ambition the gold sent him by the Byzantine sovereign. With a well-appointed army he set

* Smith's Dictionary of the Bible, Art. "Rosh."

on his enterprise, and defeated the Bulgarian
s in 968. The vanquished king died of
and mortification; his children were made
ive, and his dominions, as far as Mount
nus, fell a prey to the conqueror. Nicephorus
formed an alliance with the Bulgarians whom
would fain have subdued, and was about to
h against the Russians when Sviatoslaf
enly returned to his own country, to defend
against an inroad of the Patzinaks. His
, however, was not much prolonged. After
assassination of Nicephorus, in 969, he re-
ed to Bulgaria with an army of 60,000 men;
his power was now so greatly aggrandised by
aty with the Patzinaks, and an alliance with
Hungarians, that he formed no less a design
the subjugation of the Eastern Empire. He
nced as far as Adrianople, and, to a summons
he should instantly vacate the territory he
invaded, replied that Constantinople itself
t soon expect the presence of a master.

ut the throne was now occupied by John
isces, with whose commanding abilities as a
er the reader is acquainted. Zimisces was at
moment employed in the East; but he was
represented by capable generals, who, in 970,
elled the invaders to retire behind Mount
aus. In the following spring, the Emperor
elf took the field at the head of a powerful
, and a naval force was sent into the Danube
ver the communications of the enemy with
wn land. Marching unopposed through the
es of Mount Hæmus, Zimisces entered Bul-
, and surprised the Russians at Prestlava.
r a desperate action, they were completely
ed, and on the following day Prestlava itself
taken by escalade. Sviatoslaf escaped to
stolon, which was speedily besieged by the
rious Emperor, aided by his fleet on the
ube. The situation was desperate; but
toslaf made repeated attempts to break
igh the ranks of the besiegers. His infantry
sent forward in solid squares, covered from
to foot by their huge shields, and presenting
ppearance of moving towers as they advanced
the plain. Again and again these efforts
renewed, and the Russians fought with such
erate valour that the Byzantines themselves
buted their ultimate successes to the interposi-
of St. Theodore. All, however, was in vain,
Sviatoslaf at length sued for peace. In July,
an agreement was concluded, by which the
ngian chieftain solemnly bound himself to
tual amity with the Empire, and with the king-
of Bulgaria, and undertook to restore all spoil,
slaves, and prisoners. On the other hand, John Zimisces promised to allow the Russians to descend the Danube in their boats, to supply them with wheat for each surviving soldier, so that there should be no excuse for plundering, and to renew the former commercial treaties between Kief and Constantinople. After the settlement of the treaty, an interview took place between the conqueror and the conquered; John Zimisces sitting on horseback on the bank of the Danube, and Sviatoslaf in a boat which he had himself steered to the place of meeting. The latter lost no time in retiring from Bulgaria; but he was obliged to winter on the shores of the Black Sea, where cold and famine reduced the numbers of his army. In the spring of 972, he was defeated and slain by the Patzinaks, through whose territory he was endeavouring to force his way.

The Byzantines and the Russians, whether in peace or war, were brought into frequent contact, and the latter received from the former some elements of civilisation, which their municipal institutions, and the freedom enjoyed by many of their cities, notwithstanding the military violence of the Varangians, enabled them to develop. Christianity made progress in Russia during the tenth century; and as it was from the Eastern Empire that the principles of religion were received, the Russians, to the present day, belong to the Greek instead of to the Latin Church. One of the principal agents in the conversion of the Northern people was Vladimir I., the son of Sviatoslaf, who succeeded to power in 984. Beginning life as an idolater (though his grandmother, Olga, had been a sincere and earnest disciple), this chieftain was converted to Christianity by some Greek missionaries, whose arguments were strongly aided by the prince's desire to marry Anna, sister of the Emperors Basil II. and Constantine IX. Vladimir had been brought under the influence of several religions, and was perhaps not deeply impressed by any. He had been in turn solicited by the Mohammedans and Jews who dwelt on the eastern side of his realm, by the Romish priests who had entered the western parts from Poland, and by the Greeks who were powerful in the south. His sensual nature inclined him towards the Mohammedans, who promised him numerous wives in this world, and countless houris in the next. But to renounce the use of wine was too great a trial for this festive monarch, and Mohammedanism was rejected for the Christianity of the Eastern Empire. Vladimir was baptised by an ecclesiastic in the church of the Panaghia at Cherson—an ancient Greek city to the north of the Crimea, which had

long preserved its independence and its prosperity, but which Vladimir had wrested from the Byzantine Empire; and his subjects followed his example in large numbers. With Greek Christianity, the nation received some degree of Greek art and culture. Churches and palaces arose in Kief, the capital of the State; and a system of education was established where nothing but ignorance and superstition had recently prevailed.



RURIK.

Vladimir is to this day held in high regard by



INTERVIEW BETWEEN JOHN ZIMISCES AND SVIATOSLAF.

his countrymen, and deservedly so. He was undoubtedly a great monarch, though deformed by the savage and brutal vices of his age. Not only was he distinguished as a warrior, but he had remarkable powers of organisation. His sway was established from the Baltic to the Black Sea, from Poland and Lithuania to the Volga. The Crimea submitted to his rule, and on his marriage with Anna he retained possession of Cherson—nominally as the dowry of his wife, but in reality as a conquest. It is related of Vladimir that his nature was so entirely changed by the influence of Christianity that, where he formerly condemned criminals to death, he now simply inflicted a fine. This, however, is improbable, as his conversion was in a great degree prompted by worldly motives, and his disposition can hardly have been so completely delivered from the other influences by which he was surrounded. Towards the end of his life, his rule declined in strength, and serious disorders broke out in several directions. At length, the city of Novgorod refused to pay its annual tribute, and the old duke marched against it with a large army. Yaroslaf, one of his sons, is said to have taken part with the rebels, and the aged monarch died of grief on his way to Kief, in the year 1015, after a reign of forty-five years. Vladimir has been enrolled among the saints of the Russian Church, and is honoured with a place equal to that of the Apostles. He was in truth no saint; but he helped to civilise and educate his country, and his good deeds deserve to be remembered. Sanguinary contentions followed his death, for he had divided his dominions among his twelve sons, each of whom aspired to the whole. Ultimately, however, Yaroslaf gained the upper hand, and reunited the realm under one head. An unsuccessful expedition against Constantinople occurred during this reign; but it was also distinguished by better things. To Yaroslaf the Russians were indebted for a code of laws which is still to some extent in force. Wise and far-seeing in many of his actions, Yaroslaf nevertheless repeated one of the worst mistakes of his father, and, creating separate principalities for his sons, caused the return of anarchy after his death. The country was devastated by the Poles, and the growing prosperity of Russia was arrested by the absence of a strong and undisputed government. Many Russians were now established at Constantinople, where they were employed as bankers and merchants; and their activity was not without a favourable influence on their own country.

Amidst these commotions, a remarkable man appeared upon the scene. Vladimir Monomachos, grandson of Yaroslaf, was a prince of illustrious descent, and himself a person of unusual powers. His mother was a daughter of the Greek Emperor Constantine X. (Monomachos), and he was also connected with the royal house of Poland. The future sovereign began his career as a warrior under the standard of his Polish relative, Boleslaf II., whom he aided in a war against Bohemia, in 1076. His services, however, were soon required at home, where the division of the Russian nationality into numerous petty states led to constant wars among the rival princes. His father was Grand Duke of Kief, which claimed supremacy over the other communities; but this supremacy was merely nominal, and was disputed by any community which felt itself strong enough to rise in arms against the assumption. Vladimir Monomachos took part in these intestine wars, and, having seized the town of Minsk, slaughtered the inhabitants without regard to age or sex. He seems to have been the actual ruler of Kief during the life of his father, and, owing to the peculiar laws of succession existing among the Russians, lost power rather than gained it on the death of that prince. Those laws provided that the succession should not pass from father to son, but from the oldest to the next oldest among the Russian princes. The father of Vladimir was succeeded by his nephew, Sviatopolk, Prince of Turov; but he permitted Vladimir to retain certain minor principalities of which he already had possession. A nomadic tribe from Central Asia, called the Polovtzee, had harassed the Russians by continual attacks. Vladimir employed himself for some years in subduing these marauders, and it was not until he had reached sixty that he can be said to have enjoyed peace and tranquillity. On the death of Sviatopolk, he became Grand Duke of Kief, and reigned thirteen years, until his death in 1125. They were years of great prosperity to Russia. New towns were built, foreign enemies were repelled, and internal peace was assured. Vladimir Monomachos, like his namesake and great-grandfather, was a prince of liberal and worthy aims, and he lifted Russia to a higher rank among the nations than she had ever occupied before. His last instructions to his children exhibit a remarkable spirit of wisdom and benevolence.

"O my children!" he wrote, "love God; love also mankind. It is neither fast, nor seclusion, nor monastic life, which can save you; but good works. Do not forget the poor; feed them, and think that all goods belong to God, and are entrusted to you only for a time. Do not conceal treasures in the bowels of the earth, for this is

contrary to the Christian religion. Be fathers to the orphans; judge the widows yourselves, and do not permit the stronger to oppress the weaker. Do not take the life either of the innocent or of the guilty: the life and the soul of a Christian are sacred. . . . In your household, look to everything yourselves, without relying on your stewards and servants; and the guests will not find fault either with your house or with your dinner. In time of war be active, and be an example to your officers. It is not then the time to think of banquets and enjoyment. Repose after having established the nightly watch. Men may suddenly perish; therefore do not lay aside your armour where danger may happen, and mount your horses early. Above all, respect a stranger, be he a great or a common man, a merchant or an ambassador; and if you cannot give him presents, satisfy him with meat and drink, because strangers spread in foreign countries good and bad report of us. Salute every one whom you meet. Love your wives, but give them no power over yourselves. Remember every good thing which you have learned, and learn what you do not know."

Like a ruler of the patriarchal days, Vladimir took credit to himself for having done all that he could order a servant to do. He had never, he said, relied on magistrates and officers, but had himself superintended the Church, the household, the stables, the hunt, the horse, and the falcons. Allowing for a touch of exaggeration here and there, it is probable that he had really acted as he averred. Reviewing the events of his life, he laid claim to having undertaken eighty-three important expeditions, besides others of less note. He had concluded with the Polovtzee nineteen treaties, captured more than a hundred of their chieftains, whom he afterwards released, and punished upwards of two hundred. He had often travelled a hundred miles in one day; had with his own hands bound several wild horses in the midst of deep forests; and had had many remarkable escapes from the attacks of savage animals. This adventurous prince married a daughter of Harold, the last of the Anglo-Saxon kings, and is thus in some slight degree connected with our own country. His reign marks a decided improvement in the state of Russia. The arts of peace began to be considered as of some importance in the affairs of life, and the barbarism of mere military prowess was somewhat mitigated by the development of commerce, and the spread of education. The Varangian chieftains and their followers had by this time melted into the great body of the Russian people, and the Sclavonic element, which at an earlier date had absorbed the Finnish, now incorporated the Scandinavian also. Kief and Novgorod were cities of importance; a merchant class had grown up in the chief centres of trade; and the sword was not the only power acknowledged within the boundaries of Russia, though doubtless it was still the chief.

Another people rose into importance in the eastern parts of Europe about the same time that the Russians first emerged from their deserts, and became known to the more civilised races under the sceptre of the Byzantine Emperors. Those whom we now call Hungarians are partly, though not entirely, descended from the nomadic tribe of the Huns, who, in the decline of the Roman supremacy, combined with other nationalities to destroy the great fabric of Imperial power. Their original seat was in Asia, where they occupied a barren tract of country immediately north of the Great Wall of China. The Huns were apparently Mongolian Tartars, and their power was exhibited, about two hundred years before the Christian Era, in an attack on their southern neighbours, which was attended by so much success that the Chinese Emperor sued for peace. But the predominance of the Asiatic Huns was afterwards broken up, and large numbers, quitting their original country, moved in a north-westerly direction in search of more fertile lands. Reaching the banks of the Volga, they crossed that river, and entered the territories of the Alani, whom, as the reader has been previously informed, they fiercely assailed. The Alani defended themselves with spirit and determination, but were at length crushed in a great action on the banks of the Don. This was in the fourth Christian century, and the Huns now became a power in Europe, and a cause of indescribable horror to all the Roman populations. Their dark complexions, deformed figures, flat noses, deeply-sunken black eyes, uncouth gestures, and shrill voices, seemed to mark them out as the posterity rather of devils than of men. The Goths, whom they frequently attacked, and who were certainly more civilised than themselves, declared that they were descended from the witches of Scythia, who, having been driven into the desert for their unholy practices, had there associated with infernal spirits, and become the mothers of this abominable race. Some believed them to be the subjects of the Gog and Magog mentioned in the Old Testament, whose appearance was reckoned amongst the signs of the approaching destruction of the world; and all knew them to be dauntless warriors, terrible in battle, and unsparing in victory.

The Huns were in truth a set of unmitigated savages, whose ferocity surpassed that of all the other barbarians. Sometimes at war with the Goths, sometimes in alliance with them, they devastated large tracts of country on the banks of the Danube, and in the fifth century had obtained so formidable a position that the Emperor Theodosius II. paid an annual tribute to their chieftain, Rugilas, or Roas, to secure his dominions from further attack. Their achievements under Attila have been related in the earlier pages of this volume; but on the death of that monarch they almost disappear from history until some centuries later. A certain number settled in Pannonia, to which they gave the name of Hungary; the rest were attacked by the Goths, and driven beyond the Tanais, now the Don. Towards the end of the ninth century, the Huns of Pannonia were joined by another Scythian tribe, apparently belonging to the same Mongolian race (though the point has been doubted), which, under the name of Magyars, had for several years been settled among the Ural Mountains, whence they emigrated into the Ukraine, and subsequently into regions still farther west. Hungary was completely conquered in ten years, and the land was divided amongst the military chieftains. The head of this movement was a valorous commander named Arpad, whose power, at the close of the century, extended from the Carpathians to Servia, and from the Eastern borders of Transylvania to the foot of the Styrian Mountains. Though the Hungarians always asserted their right to choose, depose, and even punish their monarchs, according to their own conception of right or necessity, the house of Arpad continued to reign over Hungary until 1301; and in the year 1000 the ruling chieftain assumed the royal title and dignity. The first King of Hungary was St. Stephen, as he is called from his devotion to the Christian faith. A crown was sent him by the reigning Pope, Sylvester II., and to this day it forms the upper part of the Hungarian coronal.

Christianity was first introduced into the Hungarian realm by Geysa, the grandson of Arpad, and the father of Stephen; but it was in the reign of the latter that it made the most considerable progress. Until then, the Hungarians had been a turbulent and aggressive race, and from 897 to 934 they were almost as great a pest to Europe as the Huns of Attila. Bavaria, Swabia, and Franconia, experienced the terror of their incursions. In one direction they spread to the North Sea, and laid the city of Bremen in ashes; another, they passed the Rhine, and ravaged Southern France to the Pyrenees. Germany paid them tribute for more than thirty years; Italy was subjected to fire and slaughter from the Alps to the southern point of Calabria; the Bulgarians were overthrown, and even Constantinople might have been taken, had not these rapacious warriors been bribed to retire from the very gates. Their inroads were at length checked by the Saxon princes, Henry the Fowler, and his son Otho the Great, and before the middle of the tenth century the roving tribes of the Hungarians were compelled to withdraw within the limits which they might justly call their own. Their inclinations, however, were still predatory and martial; but the milder influence of Stephen reduced them to a more civilised mode of life. Notwithstanding their devotion to war, the people had some peaceful instincts, which resulted in the formation of municipal and other institutions, superior to those of most barbarian races. The elements of the Hungarian Constitution, which presents several points of similarity to our own, date back even to the time of Arpad. In later ages they were enlarged and matured, and in our time the political forms of Hungary have survived all attempts at subversion, and still ensure the prosperity and repose of the people.

From the close of the tenth century, the Hungarians must be counted amongst the settled nations of Europe; and during the reign of Geysa II., who ruled from 1141 to 1161, the well-being of the country was greatly increased by colonies of Flemings, who introduced various branches of industry, and worked the rich and productive mines in which the land abounds. The Magyars are still the dominant class in Hungary; but a liberal infusion of other races, and the refining effects of European civilisation, have imparted to them not merely a different character, but a different personal appearance from that of their ancestors. The Mongolian type of physiognomy has entirely disappeared; and of the ancient ferocity of the Huns and the Magyars nothing remains but a certain high and chivalrous spirit, which perpetuates in the nineteenth century the romantic valour of the Crusaders. The mass of the population is extremely mixed, and it may be said, without exhausting the whole truth of the matter, that Goths, Gepidæ, Lombards, Romans, Wallachians, Armenians, Germans, Servians, Sclavonians, and Jews, have united with the Huns and Magyars to form the modern nation which now acknowledges its sovereigns in the House of Austria.

Poland is another country of Eastern Europe

h begins to attract attention about the tenth
ıry. Like Russia, with which it is now partly
porated, Poland was included by the Romans
ıe vast region of Sarmatia. The people are
ronians, and the name first appears in history
e appellation of a tribe, the Polani, who dwelt
een the Oder and the Vistula, and were
ounded by other communities of kindred origin.
Polani ultimately became predominant over
brethren, and hence the country acquired its
nctive name. This was about the middle of
ixth century; but the people were then little
r than barbarians, of whom nothing can be
ed that is not obviously fabulous, or at any
largely mixed with fiction. In the recesses of
forests and bogs, the Poles maintained the
trous worship of older times until the year
when their chief became a convert to Chris-
ty, and, with that persuasive power which
ıgs to absolute sovereigns, induced many of
ubjects to think with himself. This monarch
ıged to the dynasty of Piast, founded about a
ıry before by a peasant of that name, who has
eathed to posterity no exact record of his
ns. By favour of the German Emperor, Otho
the Polish dukedom became a kingdom in the
1000—the same year which saw the translation
Hungary from the lower to the higher rank.
iously to that date, Poland had been a depen-
y on the Empire; but it now assumed a position
onsiderable importance among the military
eignties of Europe. The most prominent
rchs in the early history of Poland are the
kings bearing the name of Boleslaus, or Boles-
It was the first Boleslaus, living in the
est quarter of the eleventh century, who re-
d the royal title from Otho. All of these
rchs, except the last, were enterprising and
ke. Bohemia, Moravia, Russia, Hungary,
various parts of Germany, were successively
led by their armies, and the second Boleslaus,
ıg vanquished the people of Kief, took up his
ence in that city for several years. During
bsence, his own subjects revolted, and it was
without a special effort that Boleslaus reduced
to obedience. His end was unfortunate; for,
ıg quarelled with the Bishop of Cracow, whom
urdered in 1079 while officiating in the cathe-
he was excommunicated by the Pope,
deprived of his kingdom. Abandoned by
ubjects, he fled into Hungary, and some of the
ish writers allege that he died a violent
about 1080, though it is more probable that
xpired quietly in a monastery. The fifth and
nonarch named Boleslaus differed greatly from
his predecessors. He was a weak and superstitious ruler, and during his reign the Mongolians entered Poland, and defeated the Christians in a great battle in 1241. The country was nearly ruined by this incursion, and it was a long time before Poland recovered the power it had possessed under the earlier monarchs of the line of Piast.

While the Russians, the Hungarians, the Poles, and other nations on the Eastern side of Europe, were struggling into separate existence, and gradually receiving the impress of Christianity, another race, destined in time to become the main champion of the Mohammedan religion, was beginning to make itself known to the subjects of the Caliphs. The Turks came from the same vast region which had sent forth the ancestors of the Huns, Magyars, and other races. What the ancients called Scythia, the moderns denominate Tartary—an immense tract of Central Asia, inhabited by numerous tribes, of various origin and different physical appearance. One of the principal nationalities, even in early times, was that of the Turks —a Mongolian race, allied to the Chinese, though the Turks of later and more historic days have been so largely qualified by intermixture with other races as to have acquired a distinct character. The Turks of Tartary were parted into several tribes, of which the most remarkable were the Oghuzes, the Seljuks, and the Osmanlis. Oghuz Khan, a ruler of the first of these tribes, is said to have reigned in Turkistan as far back as the era of Abraham. To the Persians his country was known as Turan, from which we may infer the Turanian origin of the people. The dominions of these nomads reached in one direction to China, in another to the banks of the Oxus and the Jaxartes. The first of the Seljuks to attract attention was Toghrul Bey. He was the grandson of Seljuk, after whom the tribe was named, and in the middle of the eleventh century his power was acknowledged over a vast extent of country, including the former possessions of the Oghuzes, whose power had been destroyed by their more energetic rivals. The Turks were now among the most conspicuous people of the East. They were born warriors, and as early as the seventh Christian century had become known to Europe in that capacity. Some of their tribes were then settled between the Caspian and the Euxine, in the vicinity of Mount Caucasus; and the Emperor Heraclius thought he saw in them material for good soldiers. He took several into his service, and these Turkish auxiliaries so distinguished themselves by fidelity and valour that in the ninth century the Saracen Caliphs, as the reader is

aware, formed a body-guard out of their ranks. Their religion up to that date had been partly Zoroastrian, partly a wild combination of fantastic myths common to all the Tartar hordes; but their conversion to Mohammedanism followed quickly on their association with the Arabians and Persians, and they soon became its most powerful supporters.

The supremacy of the Saracens, as we have seen, had for a long time been declining, and, in the latter part of the ninth century, a Turkish chief, named Ismael Samani, seized on Transoxiana at the instigation of the Caliphs, who hoped to diminish the power of the Soffarides in Khorassan. Amer, the brother and successor of Yakoob-ben-Lcis, the founder of that dynasty, marched against Samani with a powerful force, but was defeated, taken prisoner, and sent to Baghdad, where he was ultimately put to death. Transoxiana, Khorassan, and Seistan, now formed a vast Empire under the rule of the Samanians, and by the year 900 the power of those princes had extended over the whole north of Persia. The south obeyed the race of the Deylimites, so called from the village whence they had sprung. In subsequent years, these Deylimites acquired a still larger part of Persia, and in 933 the Caliph of Baghdad was compelled to acknowledge their superior strength. Thus the actual sceptre of the East passed away from the Arabians, three hundred and one years after the death of their Prophet and law-giver. The following year, Kaher, the nominal Caliph, was blinded, deposed, and imprisoned; and the next six members of the Abbasside race (with the exception, perhaps, of Rahdi, the immediate successor of Kaher) were little more than servants of the Deylimite Emirs, under whose sway the language and genius of Persia revived.



MOSUL, CHIEF TOWN OF AL-JEZIREH (MESOPOTAMIA).

In Africa, about 908, Mahadi Obeid Allah, who asserted his descent from Fatima, the daughter of Mohammed, founded a State upon the northern

coast, and built for himself a city on a peninsula jutting out into the Mediterranean. This prince successively defeated the Aglabites and the Edrisites, whose territories, lying to the west of his own, he conquered and annexed; and, sixty-one years later, his great-grandson, Moez-ladin-Allah, marched on Egypt, his approach to which he had facilitated by digging wells in the desert.



LANE IN THE COPT QUARTER, CAIRO.

Though still belonging nominally to the Caliphs, Egypt had been in a state of revolutionary change and turbulence for several years, and two dynasties of Turks had defied the power of Baghdad. It was now subjected by Moez, who, enlarging and beautifying the city which the Saracens, after their subjugation of Egypt, had commenced on the eastern bank of the Nile, is always regarded as

the true founder of Cairo (Al-Kahira), the City of Victory. The government of Moez is praised for its mingled firmness and benevolence. The people were prosperous and contented, and the armies of the Fatimite Caliph added Palestine and Syria to the dominions of their master. The original territories of the Fatimites, on the northern coast of Africa, were relinquished by Moez to Yusef Belkin, since it would have been impossible to govern them from Cairo, owing to the interposition of the deserts. Morocco was founded in 1069 by a number of religious enthusiasts, and speedily became the capital of a dominion reaching to the Straits of Gibraltar.

By successive wars and revolutionary movements, the power of the Arabian Caliphs had been so much reduced by the middle of the eleventh century that the more vigorous race of the Turks obtained an ascendency which might at one time have appeared impossible. The Seljukian Khan, Toghrul Bey, speedily made himself master of Khorassan and Irak; then, advancing to Baghdad in 1055, he put an end to the supremacy of the Deylimites, and imposed his will upon the feeble Caliph, Kaim, who had called for his assistance. The Commander of the Faithful was menaced by the ambitious designs of his son Besasiri, and would probably have been deposed by an insurrection, had not the movement been promptly suppressed by Toghrul Bey, who put Besasiri to death. The grateful Caliph rewarded his friend with the title of Prince of the Princes, and Lord over all Mohammedans. He likewise married his sister, and gave him his own daughter for his wife. Toghrul Bey came into frequent collision with the Byzantines, and the Christians of Armenia suffered terribly from his unsparing assaults. Kaim was always treated by him with profound respect, as the legitimate successor of Mohammed, and consequently the head of Islam; but the power of the Caliphate was in his own hands, as it had recently been in those of the Deylimites. The titular ruler of the Saracens occupied a position similar to that of the *Rois Fainéants* of Neustria and Austrasia: Toghrul was the Mayor of the Palace, and Kaim could only seem to rule by actually obeying.

The Seljukian Khan died in 1069, and was succeeded by his nephew Alp Arslan, a name signifying "the Valiant Lion." The appellation was well bestowed, for Alp Arslan was a warrior of courage, impetuosity, and skill. He conquered a large part of Turkistan, and the north-western regions of Persia, together with Armenia, Georgia, Mesopotamia, and Syria. His armies even penetrated into Phrygia, where they were encountered by the Greek Emperor, Romanus Diogenes, the third of the Comneni. This heroic sovereign conducted three campaigns against the Seljukian Turks, whom he drove beyond the Euphrates. A fourth campaign, in 1071, resulted in a great disaster to the Emperor. His army was entirely defeated in an attempt to recover Armenia, and Romanus was forced to surrender on the field of battle. He was led captive into the presence of Alp Arslan, who treated his vanquished adversary with consideration, and restored to him his liberty, on the understanding that the usual ransom should be followed by an annual tribute. In the following year, Alp Arslan attacked his Turkish countrymen beyond the Oxus, but, during the campaign, fell beneath the dagger of an assassin. He was succeeded by his son Malek Shah, who so enlarged his hereditary dominions that his authority was acknowledged by all the Turkish tribes to the very limits of China, was admitted by the Tartar kingdom of Cashgar, and, while stretching south to Arabia Felix, penetrated, on the north-west, the Greek possessions in Asia Minor. But Malek was not merely a great soldier; he was also a patron of learning and the arts, and a ruler to whom his people were indebted for many useful reforms—amongst others, a reconstruction of the calendar, which had gone far wrong, but which in 1079 was brought into a condition making a nearer approach to accuracy than had been effected even by Julius Cæsar.* He had the good-fortune to be served by an intellectual and benevolent Vizier, who had previously acted for his father, Alp Arslan. But it is painful to relate that Nizam-ul-mulk, the trusted minister of two powerful sovereigns, was disgraced at the age of ninety-three, and soon afterwards slain by Hassan Sabah, the originator of the terrible society of the Assassins, which will demand our attention further on.

Malek died suddenly at Baghdad in 1092, and Hassan is supposed to have murdered him also. The successors of Malek Shah ruled over Asia Minor (which they denominated *Roum*, to mark its association with the Roman Empire), Syria, Mesopotamia, Armenia, part of Persia, and Western Turkistan, for one hundred and thirty years. Their capital was fixed at Nicæa, in Bithynia; and, in the declining ages of the Eastern Empire, their aid was frequently solicited by rival claimants to the Byzantine throne. These monarchs called them-

* The era thus created is called the Gelalæan Era, from the Arabic word *Gelaleddin*, "Glory of the Faith," one of the complimentary titles of Malek Shah.

selves Sultans—a title first bestowed by the Caliphs on Mahmoud the Ghaznevide, whose conquests in Hindoostan, early in the eleventh century, have yet to be related. The word Sultan is Arabic, and signifies "mighty man;" the appellation was therefore one of very great distinction. The Taherites, Soffarides, Samanians, and Deylimites, though acting in complete independence of the Caliphs, had never gone farther than to call themselves Emirs, or rulers—a term often applied to subordinate officials, and, in a more peculiar sense, to the real or supposed descendants of Mohammed through his daughter Fatima. So far as military power was concerned, the Turkish Sultans were now all that the Arabian Caliphs once had been, or even more; yet the rulers of Baghdad still retained their pontifical authority. They were the representatives of Mohammed, and therefore the chief Imâms, or High Priests, of Islam. The empire of the Seljukian Turks was seriously weakened by internal dissensions towards the close of the thirteenth century, and early in the following age broke up into a number of small principalities, which completed the ruin of a once splendid sovereignty. The tribe of the Osmanlis now succeeded to the Turkish supremacy; but their history brings us to a date with which at present we are not concerned.

CHAPTER XV.

GERMANY, THE POPEDOM, AND ITALY.

Rise of Germany as a Nation—End of the Carolingian Empire—Succession of Arnulf to the German Throne—Separate Governments in France and Italy—Expedition of Arnulf to Rome—Reign of his Son Lewis—The False Decretals of Mayence—Story of Pope Joan—Henry the Fowler, Monarch of Germany—His Reforms and Military Organisation—Repulse of the Hungarians—Succession of Otho the Great—Domestic Troubles—Subjection of the Sclavonians and Danes—Disturbances in Italy—Otho Crowned King of the Lombards—Renewed Invasion of Germany by the Hungarians—Final Defeat of their Hordes by Otho—War with the Western Sclavonians—The German King again in Italy—Assumption of the Imperial Title at Rome—Deposition of Pope John XII.—Establishment of German Predominance over Italy—Divided and Turbulent Condition of the Latter Country—Constitution of the Roman Senate—The Popes Dependent on the Italian Princes, and afterwards on the German Emperors—Territorial Divisions of Italy—Embassy of Luitprand to the Greek Emperor, Nicephorus Phocas—Death of Otho the Great—Reign of Otho II.—Italian Affairs—Crescentius, the Roman Tribune—Otho III. in Italy—The Millennial Year—National Aspirations of the Italians, and Hatred of German Rule—State of Germany in the Eleventh Century—Powers of the Counts Palatine—Functions and Prerogatives of the German Emperors—Privileges of the States, the Diet, and the Electors—Injury to Germany from the Pursuit of Imperial Dominion.

From the declining glories of the Greek Empire, and the rise of new nations in the east of Europe—from the setting splendour of the Saracenic Caliphate, and the dawning power of the Turks—we must now revert to the West, which long continued to be influenced by the genius and the work of Charlemagne. It has been mentioned that, after the temporary reconstruction of the Frank Empire under Charles the Fat, between 884 and 887, the vast fabric again fell to pieces. But during the century which had elapsed since Charlemagne became the arbiter of Western Europe, Germany had arisen as a distinct nation, and the subsequent course of events was materially affected by this circumstance. Up to that period, the Germans had been simply an immense community of scattered tribes, rude, barbarous, and for the most part heathen, sending forth hordes of warriors and colonists into other lands, but establishing nothing solid or permanent in their own. They now began to acquire a more settled and organised character, and, with the faith of Rome, something of the ancient civilisation was adopted by the Teutonic race. When Charles the Fat, growing demented, was removed from the throne, in 887, the unity of the Frank Empire was for ever destroyed, and in 888 the German dominions of the afflicted monarch passed under the sway of Arnulf, the illegitimate son of Carloman, one of Charles's brothers. With this ruler, the distinctive existence of Germany may be said to commence. It is true that Louis the German, grandson of Charlemagne, and father of Charles the Fat, had, by the Treaty of Verdun, been made King of the Teutonic realm east of the Rhine; but the arrangement lasted not much longer than his life, and it was only by the accession of Arnulf that the division between Francia and Germania became complete and final. At the same time, the French dominions fell to Eudes, Count of Paris, who had gallantly defended that city against a very determined attack by the Normans; but,

during his reign of ten years, he was never able to establish more than a nominal authority over the provinces south of the Loire. The Italian possessions of the late Frank Emperor were divided between the Dukes Guy and Berengarius; and, in the violent contentions which ensued, an ineffectual attempt was made to re-establish the Kingdom of the Lombards, which in the course of several generations had acquired something of a national character.

Arnulf formed an alliance with the Magyars against a Moravian king who reigned in Western Hungary, and had invaded his dominions; and in 895 he entered Italy at the invitation of the Pope, to help in settling the affairs of that distracted peninsula. His expedition was renewed in the following year, when, marching to Rome, he found the city gates closed against him by the people. After numerous ineffectual attempts to storm the walls, the Germans at length succeeded, and burst like a torrent into the city. Arnulf received the Imperial crown from the Pope, Formosus, and thenceforward considered himself, though with little reason, Emperor of the West. His life, however, did not last much longer. He died near the end of 899, poisoned by slow degrees, as the penalty of a conquest which had roused against him all the furtive bitterness of the Italian heart. The German sceptre now passed into the feeble hands of a child,—Lewis, the son of Arnulf, then only six years old. The actual power of the State was wielded by Otho, Duke of Saxony, and Hatto, Archbishop of Mainz; but the affairs of Germany were far from prosperous under their joint rule. An insurrection was commenced by Adalbert, who was treacherously betrayed and beheaded; and the Magyars carried terror throughout the land. The youthful Lewis consented to pay them a ten years' tribute, but became so unpopular in consequence that he died of a broken heart in 911, at about eighteen years of age,—the last of the Carolingian princes in Germany. The line of Charlemagne was represented by the French king, Charles the Simple; but the Germans would not entrust their destinies to so feeble a monarch. The nobles (who now began to acquire greater rights and privileges) accordingly elected to the royal office Conrad, Count of Franconia, who died after a turbulent reign of seven years, extending from 912 to 919.

During the ninth century, the German city of Mainz (more familiarly known by its Gallicised name of Mayence) had grown to be a place of great importance as a seat of ecclesiastical learning. name is associated with certain false decretals —collections of Papal edicts and decrees, together with the decrees of Councils—which were published there, about the middle of the century, by a German deacon named Benedict Levita. By these documents, the Pope was declared the absolute sovereign of the Church, and therefore superior to all Councils, whether Œcumenical or otherwise. The Pontiff was likewise invested by the same fraudulent instruments with the power of nominating to all Bishoprics, and of deciding all ecclesiastical questions. Every Bishop was made amenable to the Pope, and to him only; thus abrogating one of the most ancient rights of the provincial synods. The composition of these decretals was ascribed to St. Isidore, a Spaniard of the seventh century; so that not only was their true authorship concealed, but they were invested with an antiquity which was entirely false. Pope Nicholas I., who reigned from 858 to 867, declared the decretals to be genuine, and adopted with enthusiasm an imposture which added largely to his own power, and that of his successors. The true decretals of the Romish Church contain the whole body of canon law, and are to the Church what the code of Justinian was to the later Roman Empire. The term is now understood to denote a collection of decrees and opinions, originally made, after the middle of the twelfth century, by a Benedictine monk named Gratian, enlarged, nearly a century later, by Pope Gregory IX., and occasionally augmented by succeeding Pontiffs. The productions of Benedict Levita were antecedent to the earliest of these, and it has long been generally admitted that they have no just foundation; but they answered their purpose of increasing the despotic power of the Popes. The Gallican Church resisted these assumptions with much spirit, and, in the reign of Charles the Bald, Hincmar, Archbishop of Rheims, defended the ecclesiastical independence of his country. But a conviction of the Pope's supremacy had grown up in the popular mind, and the struggles of the French prelates were in vain.

Mayence is also connected with another imposture, or supposed imposture. For many ages it was believed that a young woman of that town, but of English family, had concealed her sex, had been elected to the Papal chair, and had actually filled the office of sovereign Pontiff under the title of John VIII. The story is, that, having conceived a passion for an English monk, this woman, who is generally known as Pope Joan, got admission into his monastery by assuming the male habit, and that, upon the death of her lover, she entered on a course of studies which, in 855, after

the decease of Leo IV., resulted in her succession to the Popedom. Her true personality was not discovered until two years and five months after her election, when she died under peculiar circumstances, and, according to the story, was succeeded by Benedict III. The narrative is of an extremely doubtful character, and is commonly rejected by modern authorities, though there are still writers who maintain its authenticity. Yet it is clear that the story had obtained currency in the latter part of the twelfth century, and for nearly four hundred years it was believed even by Roman Catholics. A figure of the Papess was admitted into the cathedral of Sienna, and another statue of the same person was observed by Luther in the streets of Rome. Nevertheless, the grounds for doubting this fantastic legend are very considerable. Had any such fact occurred in the history of the Papal Church, there would probably be some record of an earlier date than the twelfth century; and it seems, moreover, difficult to fix any period of time during which such a person could have occupied the Pontifical chair. Leo IV. appears to have died on the 10th of July, 855; Benedict III. died on the 10th of March, 858, after a Pontificate of about two years and a-half; so that there is scarcely any room for Pope Joan. The story has given rise to much controversy; and, while some among the Protestants have been anxious to establish its truth, as severing the continuity of the Apostolical succession in the Romish Church, the Catholics have been equally interested, for the converse reason, in denying the alleged scandal. The most cautious judgment in the matter is that the relation is very far from being strictly proved, but that it was long believed, and is not absolutely impossible.

A little before his death, Conrad recommended as his successor Henry of Saxony, a prince possessing all the necessary qualifications for a ruler in times of general disturbance. This sovereign, the first of the Saxon line, is usually described as Henry the Fowler, because, when a messenger brought him intelligence of the death of Conrad, he was found in the Hartz Mountains engaged in field sports. The Diet which elected him represented only a portion of the German people, for the Swabians and Bavarians were absent; but Henry did not allow this fact to paralyse his action. The local dukes, whose power had been largely reduced by Charlemagne, had in more recent days acquired an importance even greater than they possessed in earlier times. The Bavarians, the Saxons, the Franconians, and the Lorrainers, were ruled by martial princes whose authority was almost despotic, while in Swabia the two Commissioners introduced by Charlemagne had usurped the whole power of the State. The five independent sovereignties into which Germany was divided at the commencement of the tenth century were—Saxony, with Thuringia; Franconia, from the banks of the Rhine and Maine; Swabia, extending from the Rhine to the Lech; Bavaria, reaching to the frontiers of Hungary; and Lorraine, which was then under the protection of France. The difficulties of Henry the Fowler were therefore extreme; but his ability and courage overcame all obstacles. In the first place, he advanced against the Commissioners of Swabia, who at once submitted to his rule. Arnulf, Duke of Bavaria, made some show of resistance, but speedily yielded to the persuasions of the King. The people of Lorraine were soon afterwards induced to renounce the French supremacy, and to acknowledge Henry as their sovereign lord; so that nearly the whole German race was in a few years reunited under one monarchy. Having confirmed his power by certain political reforms, which at once strengthened the authority of the crown, and promoted the well-being of the people, Henry took warlike measures for resisting the Hungarians, whose incursions he held in check, while unable to repel them altogether. Military service was made compulsory, and a body of cavalry was formed, which met at certain times for martial exercises, and, in the opinion of some modern writers, originated the later practice of tournaments. Germany was at that period greatly wanting in large walled towns, where the people could take refuge from an enemy commanding the open field. Some of the ancient boroughs had fallen into decay, and the commonalty had no protection against the furious onslaughts of the Magyars. These towns were now repaired by Henry the Fowler, and the foundations of others were laid by the same energetic prince. Outlaws who had long ranged the country at will were formed into regular companies of soldiers. The fortresses were manned with powerful garrisons; a third of all agricultural produce was stored within their walls; and it was beneath the protection of their ramparts that all great public gatherings were appointed to take place. The necessary preparations were completed in 932, and next year the Hungarians entered Germany after the expiration of a nine years' truce to which they had consented. Their forces were divided into two armies, one of which was defeated by the Saxons near Sondershausen, while the other was completely overthrown by Henry himself at Keuschberg on the Saale.

On his death, in 936, Henry was succeeded by his eldest son Otho (afterwards entitled the Great), who had already been approved by the Diet as the next successor to the throne. Previous to his own coronation, however, he was formally elected at Aix-la-Chapelle by the Dukes of the various provinces, the Counts of the Empire, the other nobles, and the Archbishops and Bishops, who were followed by an immense number of the people. Thus we see that the crown of Germany was at that time elective, though there can be little doubt that the choice of a monarch was determined beforehand by political and military considerations, and that the principle of hereditary succession carried with it no little weight. Yet, although Otho had been elected with apparent unanimity, he was soon menaced by insurrections in various parts of the country. The most formidable of these domestic revolts was that of the King's own brother Henry, who in 937 entered into a conspiracy with the Duke of Franconia, the Duke of Lorraine, and the Archbishop of Mayence. It was not until after many years that Otho subdued all the internal enemies of his rule; but, having at length established his predominance by repeated victories, he turned his arms against the Sclavonians of the Elbe and Oder, and the Danes of the Northern peninsula, who were made tributaries to the German crown.



VIEW IN PRAGUE—THE BRIDGE TOWER.

The affairs of Italy next engaged the attention of Otho the Great, and offered abundant opportunities for the display of his brilliant military genius. The whole land was in a state of misrule and confusion. Several candidates for the royal power had lately arisen, and their contentions afflicted the provinces with misery. Berengarius, Duke of Ivrea, was desirous of effecting a match between his son and Adelaide, widow of



THE BISHOP OF RATISBON AT THE BATTLE OF AUGSBURG.

Lothaire, son of Hugh of Provence, who had for a time reigned in Italy; and on her refusal he had confined her in a fortress on the Lago di Garda. Escaping from that stronghold, she was placed by her friends in the castle of Canossa, where she was besieged by the forces of Berengarius; but, in response to her plea for assistance, Otho entered Italy with a powerful host, and compelled Berengarius to raise the siege. The German monarch, who was himself a widower, afterwards married Adelaide at Pavia, where, in 951, he was crowned King of the Lombards, or in other words King of Italy. Returning to Germany, he was confronted by an insurrection, headed by his son Ludolph, Duke of Swabia; and when this danger was removed by the penitence of the young prince, the Hungarians, who had renewed their attacks earlier in the reign, once more entered Germany, and spread devastation far and wide. Their numbers were so great that they confidently asserted their absolute invincibility, unless the earth should open and swallow them up, or the heavens should fall on them. Advancing westward, they penetrated to the heart of Flanders, and Otho arrayed against them all the forces of Germany. On the 10th of August, 955, he appeared before their camp near Augsburg at the head of eight battalions. The contest was furious and sanguinary. For a long time, the issue was doubtful, but, after a prolonged struggle, in which Otho distinguished himself by his personal valour, the Hungarians were driven back, and fiercely pursued by the Germans, who burned many of them to death in the villages where they sought refuge. One of the warriors on this memorable field was the Bishop of Ratisbon, for in those days it was not unusual for ecclesiastics to wield the fleshly arm. The Hungarians were now entirely crushed, and Germany did not again suffer from their destructive invasions.

This encounter with the Magyars was followed by another war with the Sclavonians. Bishoprics were founded at Oldenburg, Meissen, Prague, and other places. Christianity was introduced amongst the people, and the Dukes of Poland and Bohemia acknowledged themselves the tributary vassals of Otho. Towards the close of his life, the German sovereign again entered Italy, where his son Ludolph, whom he had sent into the peninsula after his rebellion, had died while prosecuting a war against Berengarius. Having deposed that prince, Otho was a second time crowned King of Italy at Pavia. Thence he proceeded to Rome, where, on the 2nd of February, 962, the Imperial crown was placed upon his head by Pope John XII. It was now that the title of Emperor was permanently attached to the German name and nation; and from this era two maxims of public jurisprudence acquired the force of authority and the ratification of power: viz., that the prince elected in the German Diet became, by virtue of that election, King of Italy and of Rome, but that nevertheless he could not legally assume the titles of Emperor and Augustus until he had received the crown from the hands of the Pope.

John XII. was one of the worst Pontiffs that ever disgraced the Roman Church. He allowed himself to be greatly influenced by a favourite mistress named Joan, who in fact governed in his name, and was thence called "Papissa"—a circumstance that has been regarded as the origin of the legends about Pope Joan. The Roman people were not very exacting as to the morals of their chief Bishop; but the sins of John became at length so flagrant that in 963 Otho was requested to enter Rome once more, and depose an ecclesiastic who was scandalously unfitted for his position. The German Emperor again crossed the Alps, and in an assembly of the clergy caused John to be removed, and Leo VIII. to be elected in his stead. In the following year, John re-entered Rome at the head of his armed partizans, drove out Leo, and treated his adversaries with great barbarity. Otho, who was at that time in the north of Italy, immediately prepared to vindicate his choice by force of arms; but John died suddenly in 964. Leo died the following year, and was succeeded by John XIII. It was to Leo VIII. that Otho was indebted for a decree granting to him, and to his successors in the kingdom of Italy, the faculty of naming the Pope, together with all Archbishops and Bishops of the Romish See. The subjection of Italy to German predominance, which had commenced with Charlemagne, and which, in one form or another, lasted even to our own day, was fixed and established in the reign of Otho the Great. It was a predominance of a very mischievous character, productive of an immense train of evils, and of no real advantage to either country. But the weakness of Italy invited assaults on its independence, and, by his understanding with Charlemagne, Pope Leo III. compromised the freedom and progress of his country, for the sake of a temporary advantage which appeared to him of paramount importance.

The condition of Italy in the tenth century revealed in glaring colours the evils of foreign interference, of ecclesiastical dominion, and of a decaying civilisation which had as yet but partially adapted itself to new forms of social life. Rome

was a city of august memories and magnificent buildings, which still retained something of its ancient grandeur. But it was no longer the capital of an Empire; it was not even the capital of Italy, for Italy was broken up into a number of separate States, which obeyed no common centre. Nor could it be said that the Eternal City was the metropolis of the whole Christian world, for the Eastern Christians acknowledged the supremacy of Constantinople. The Western nations looked to Rome for their rule of faith; but the Pope was far from independent of the secular power. It is true that there was much parade of ecclesiastical jurisdiction. The principal members of the clergy formed a Senate, which assisted the Pontiff in the administration of the Church. This Senate was composed of the twenty-eight Cardinal-priests who ruled over the twenty-eight parishes into which the city was divided; of the seven deacons connected with the chief hospitals the seven Palatine Judges of the Lateran, and certain dignitaries of the Church. The assembly met under the direction of the seven Cardinal-Bishops of the Roman province. When a new Pope was selected by the College of Cardinals, their choice was submitted, in an irregular way, to the ratification of the Roman populace; but the final and true decision lay with the German Emperors. Otho I. and his successors exercised their rights in this respect in a way which proved that they did not regard them as simply formal. Popes were created or set aside at their pleasure, and neither the Cardinals nor the Roman people had any real voice in the matter. This subjection, however, was no new fact in the history of the Popedom. Before the time of Otho, the Dukes of Spoleto and Tuscany usually dictated the election of the sovereign Pontiffs. Their choice was frequently determined by the most ignoble motives, and the chair of St. Peter was repeatedly occupied by the creatures of worldly-minded men, or by persons whose mental incompetence was equalled only by their moral corruption.

The successes of Otho brought the Papal chair under subjection to the German sovereigns, and reduced the greater part of Italy to the same foreign dominion. From the time of Arnulf to that of Otho, the petty princes of Italy, who had previously occupied the position of vassals, were independent of all external control. The chief of these rulers were the Dukes of Benevento, Tuscany, and Spoleto, and the Marquises of Ivrea, Susa, and Friuli. Apulia and Calabria still belonged to the Eastern Emperors, and were governed by an official called the Catapan. Amalfi and Naples were republics, acknowledging the supremacy of Constantinople; and Salerno and Capua had princes of their own. The northern part of Italy was completely subdued by Otho the Great; but even that powerful monarch respected the south, because to have done otherwise would have brought him into collision with the Greek Emperor. Nevertheless, he desired to obtain an ascendency over the whole peninsula, and therefore, in 968, despatched Luitprand, Bishop of Cremona, to the Eastern capital, to demand the stepdaughter of the Emperor Nicephorus II. (Phocas) for his son. This ambassador has left a very curious, though perhaps exaggerated, account of his reception, which seems to have been extremely unpleasant in all its features. The Emperors exacted the most abject homage from all who approached the throne. Twenty years before, when acting as envoy from Berengarius to Constantine VII., Luitprand was compelled to fall prostrate, and to touch the ground thrice with his forehead. When he arose, he was astonished to find that, in the short interval of time which had elapsed, the throne had been raised by an engine from the floor to the ceiling, and that the monarch now appeared in a different and more gorgeous dress. The interview terminated without a word being spoken; but, on the subsequent occasion, the later sovereign expressed himself with freedom. "I greatly regret, sirs," Nicephorus said to Luitprand and his colleagues, "that your lord should have had the audacity to take possession of Rome, and put to death Berengarius and Adalbert. This, I know full well, was done by your advice." Luitprand replied that his lord the Emperor had freed Rome from tyrants and miscreants, and that there were champions in his company who were at any time ready to maintain his right in fair and honourable duel. The next day, at dinner, Nicephorus found great fault with the German system of warfare, and declared that the soldiers of Otho were brave only when they were drunk. Luitprand had an equally bad opinion of the Byzantine soldiers; but he reserved his comments for a more convenient season. He and the others at length departed in disgust; but after the murder of Nicephorus, in 969, Southern Italy was ceded to Otho by the Emperor John Zimisces, and the hand of the Princess Theophano was promised for the young prince. Otho the Great died on the 6th of May, 973, while kneeling before the altar in the church of Memleben, and his body, having been transported to Magdeburg, was buried in the church of St. Maurice in that city.

The next occupant of the German throne was Otho II., the son of Otho I. by his second wife

Adelaide. This prince had reigned barely two years when his dominions were invaded by Charles, brother of the French king, Lothaire, who entered Lorraine with the boast that the horses of France should drink up all the rivers of Germany. A battle took place at Aix-la-Chapelle, where the French were worsted, and compelled to retreat. They were pursued as far as Paris, the suburbs of which were burned; but the war ended with the agreement that Charles should hold Lorraine as a fief of the Empire. Otho was in fact glad to turn his attention from France to Italy, where events of great importance were in course of development. In the general disruption of the tenth century, some ennobling recollections of her former greatness had been awakened in Rome. A person named Alberic obtained the title of Prince, and for twenty years exercised the actual government of the once Imperial city. He is said to have restored the offices of Consul and Tribune, and it would seem that his object was to re-establish the ancient Republic in alliance with the modern Papacy. During the reign of Otho III., a Roman named Crescentius succeeded to the power of Alberic, and this reformer, having caused himself to be proclaimed Consul, murdered Pope Boniface VI., and set up Boniface VII. in his place. The movement was directed against the Imperial party, and the leaders of that party immediately elected another Pope. Otho now entered Italy with his army, and, inviting the principal Romans to a feast in the piazza before St. Peter's church, treacherously seized and put to death all the supporters of Crescentius. The revolutionists were thus suppressed for a time, and Otho marched into Southern Italy, to take by force of arms the territories which the Eastern Emperor had promised as the dowry of Theophano, but which he seemed inclined to withhold. He was encountered, however, at Basantello, in Calabria, by an overwhelming force of Greeks and Saracens, who on this occasion acted together; and, being disastrously defeated, expired the following year (983), of grief and mortification.

Otho II. was only twenty-eight years of age at the time of his death, and his son, who succeeded to the throne as Otho III., was an infant of three. Henry, Duke of Bavaria, surnamed the Wrangler, who had made an ineffectual attempt at civil war in the previous reign, now once more advanced his claims, and for a time seized the person of the infant king. But the rebellion was soon suppressed, and a few years later Otho was placed under the care of Gerbert, Abbot of Magdeburg—a Frenchman of extraordinary learning, and of such proficiency in science that he was said to be in league with the infernal powers.* In 998, when only fifteen years of age, Otho III. (whose own acquirements are described as wonderful) assumed the actual direction of affairs, and at once proceeded to Rome, that he might receive the Imperial crown from the hands of the reigning Pope. The ceremony took place without any opposition, but, after Otho had quitted the city, an insurrection broke out, headed by the Pope himself. The King at once returned, deposed the Pope from whom he had but recently received the crown, and elevated Gerbert to the Pontifical office, under the title of Sylvester II. Crescentius, who, as Consul, had enjoyed considerable power for some years, and whose sympathies had continued with the revolutionary party, shut himself up in the castle of St. Angelo (formerly the Mausoleum of Hadrian), and bade defiance to his enemies. The castle was besieged by the Margrave of Meissen; but the garrison made an obstinate defence. The unfortunate Consul was at length induced by a promise of safety to give himself up; but he was soon afterwards beheaded, and the patriotic movement came to an end.

A kind of stupor fell upon Europe shortly afterwards. The year 1000 was approaching, and it was generally believed that that would be the last year of the world—the Millennial date, when the second coming of Christ was to be expected, together with the final Judgment. All things conspired to produce a feeling of solemnity and awe. A long succession of famines, followed by pestilence, had desolated the greater part of Europe. Saracens and barbarians were threatening the very existence of Christendom. The misery of the humble was equalled by the depravity of the rich, including the ecclesiastics of Rome; and the disorganisation of society was so complete that robbers not only infested the open roads, but invaded walled towns. Law and government seemed wholly extinct, and men, believing the general doom to be at hand, neglected to till the ground, to follow their trades, or to provide for the most ordinary necessities of life. The consequence was that the scarcity became unparalleled, and people were

* Gerbert had in his early years resided in Spain, where he probably derived a good deal of his science from the Moors. In a bigoted age, this would bring him under suspicion. William of Malmesbury (Book II., chap. 10 of his Chronicle) tells a romantic story of his selling himself to the devil, in order to escape from a certain Saracen magician from whom he had stolen a book of forbidden knowledge. He adds that, on his death-bed, he ordered that he should be cut in pieces, in expiation of his guilt. Gerbert seems really to have been a good as well as a learned man.

secretly reduced to the resource of feeding on human flesh, though they committed to the flames a butcher who had exposed it for sale in a French market-place. In some quarters, the awakened conscience showed itself in striking ways. Knights deposited their weapons and insignia before the images of the saints. Feudal lords emancipated their serfs, and bestowed large sums in charity, for a motive which can hardly be called charitable. The portals of the churches were blocked by crowds of suppliants, and a season of peace and goodwill was widely proclaimed. Military adventures gave way before the apprehensions which the time inspired; and Otho, finding no more work for his sword, made a pilgrimage into Poland, where he built a church in honour of the martyr Adalbert. It was on his return to Germany that he opened, at Aix-la-Chapelle, or Aachen, the sepulchre of Charlemagne, and discovered the body of the illustrious Emperor in the position previously described.

Again proceeding to Rome, in the year 1001—this time with the intention of setting up his throne in Italy, and reviving the impressive institutions of the Roman Empire—Otho found himself in presence of a violent insurrection. The Roman populace had never tolerated the dictation of their German masters; the dreams of Alberic and Crescentius had aroused in their hearts a spirit that had long been dormant; and they now besieged Otho in his palace, and fiercely demanded that he should resign the crown. From this danger he escaped by an adroit speech to the mob, in which he aroused their religious enthusiasm, and entirely changed their sentiments towards himself. In the following year he died, not without suspicion of poison, but probably from the effects of small-pox. He had to the last preserved his power as King of Italy and Emperor of the West; but he had not succeeded in creating anything like a permanent affection for Teutonic rule in the breasts of his Italian subjects. His successors were always received with unwillingness in the city of the Tiber. The armed followers of the German monarchs were regarded as a horde of barbarians, who had no right to cross the sacred barrier of the Alps; and their visits to Rome were frequently productive of riot and bloodshed.

Henry the Wrangler, Duke of Bavaria, was the successor of Otho III. in his numerous possessions; but it was not without a severe struggle that he was recognised in Germany, and it was as late as 1014, after three visits to Italy, when the Pope confirmed his title to the Empire. The Italians gave him much trouble, and he was at war also with the Poles and Bohemians; but, on the whole, the events of his reign were not remarkable. He died in 1024, and the Saxon dynasty with which he was connected came to a termination with his life. That dynasty had lasted rather more than a hundred years, and they had been years of great importance to Germany. On the accession of Henry the Fowler, in 919, the country was in a very disturbed and anarchical condition, divided against itself, and devastated by repeated inroads of the Hungarians. On the death of Henry the Wrangler, in 1024, Germany was a united and powerful kingdom, outraged no longer by any foreign enemy, and capable of maintaining its Imperial predominance in Italy. But the character of the age was almost wholly martial. The great ecclesiastics had more the character of soldiers than of churchmen; the monks were coarse and immoral in their lives; literature was but slightly cultivated, and native art could scarcely be said to exist. To the last statement, however, one exception must be made. The Germans showed some skill as architects, and the cathedral of Strasburg, founded in 1015 by Bishop Werner, shows one of the earliest departures of the Byzantine into the first Gothic style. But when princes and ecclesiastics desired to adorn the edifices which their piety had reared, they found it necessary to employ the Greek and Constantinopolitan artists who, on the marriage of Otho II. to the sister of the Emperor Basil II., had flocked to Germany in considerable numbers. Bells came into general use in the eleventh century, and the Germans now began to exhibit that aptitude for music which has since distinguished them above all other nations.

The Counts Palatine, of whom we hear so much in mediæval history, had their origin under the Saxon Emperors. Of these officers, one was appointed for the Saxons, and one for the Franks; others, of subordinate position, were established in several of the large duchies. Each of the two chief Palatines was independent of the other. Both acted under the authority of the Emperor, and decided cases of appeal, and all disputes between the princes of Germany and the vassals of the crown. These important officers were the hereditary governors of the lands and domains of the Emperor, and receivers-general of finance. It was necessary that persons of high position should be invested with such powers; for, as the German sovereigns sometimes held their court in one province, and sometimes in another, they had palaces in all the principal cities, and domains in all the provinces for their support while staying there. During their absence, the management of these

estates was one of the duties of the Counts Palatine, who to a certain extent represented the Emperor himself. Their power was gradually enhanced while the attention of the German monarchs was being diverted by fruitless expeditions into Italy, by interferences in the Papal succession. In their fortified castles, the Counts Palatine arrogated to themselves an almost regal power, and, when their interests seemed concerned, were never scrupulous as to appearing in arms against their sovereign lord. Yet the power of the German Emperors was far from inconsiderable, and their rights, though strictly defined, were broad and comprehensive. They had the privilege of conferring all the great benefices; of confirming or annulling the election of the Popes; of convoking councils with a view to the settlement of ecclesiastical affairs; of conferring the title of king on their vassals; of granting vacant fiefs; of receiving the Imperial revenues which accrued from the domains, tolls, gold and silver mines, tributes of the Jews, and fines; of disposing of Italy in their capacity as sovereigns of that land; of establishing fairs and cities, and conferring civic rights; of convoking Diets, and fixing their duration; of coining money, or deputing that privilege to others; and of causing justice to be administered over all the German territories.*

Taken altogether, the Germany of those days may be regarded as a species of Federal Republic, formed by the several States into which it was divided. In their collective capacity, those States formed the Diet; and it was this body which elected the Kings of Germany, appointed their guardians, made the laws, declared war, concluded peace, decided the disputes of individual States, and judged them when accused of crime and rebellion. So considerable were the powers of the States, that they could form alliances amongst themselves, send ambassadors to foreign princes, transmit their fiefs in regular succession, and cause their vassals to be tried by the provincial assemblies. The Emperors conferred upon the States many valuable privileges; but there can be no doubt that the latter were in a position to exact them by their own strength and resolution. The meeting of the Diets, which at first had been occasional, though frequent, became afterwards a regular feature of political life in Germany; and, even in the most violent and martial times, a



COLOGNE.

* Germany, by Bisset Hawkins, M.D. Oxon. 1838.

sentiment of freedom was preserved among the people by the periodical meetings of a species of Parliament, formed by the three branches or colleges of the Electors, the Princes, and the free and Imperial cities of Germany.

The German Electors were those feudatories who had the right of choosing the Roman Emperor. In the thirteenth century, the persons thus honoured were the King of Bohemia, the Duke of Saxony, the Margrave of Brandenburg, the Count Palatine of the Rhine, and the Archbishops of Mayence, Treves, and Cologne. These potentates formed the first branch of the legislature; the College of Princes and Prelates was the second; and the Commons were the third. It is evident from this sketch that Germany, even in the eleventh century, was not a mere unlimited despotism; at the same time, the power of the commonalty was obviously subordinated to that of the nobles, the military chieftains, and the ecclesiastics, to say nothing of the Emperor himself. Indeed, it is probable that the Emperor interfered less with the liberties of the people than the petty princes. He was sometimes regarded as the natural protector of his humble subjects against the pride and rapacity of a horde of inferior rulers who had less interest than himself in promoting the general welfare. The rugged independence of the Teutonic nature did not permit the establishment of an Oriental tyranny; but the want of practical genius in the people left them at the mercy of warlike counts and barons, who, sallying forth from their strongholds, were frequently able to inflict considerable sufferings on the peasants. The purely artificial connection of Germany with Italy was in every way a misfortune to both countries. It exasperated the Italians by the galling sense of subjection to a people who were far behind themselves in the arts of civilisation, and it distracted the minds of successive German sovereigns from a natural and salutary attention to the affairs of their own country. The Imperialism of Rome, though productive of some evil effects, was on the whole a benefit to the Western World, because it formed a centre from which laws, intellectual culture, and military organisation, radiated over a large part of the globe. But the Imperialism of Germany was the result of an accident, and, while strong enough to irritate, was powerless to effect any solid or lasting good.



SCANDINAVIAN VESSELS ASCENDING A RIVER.

CHAPTER XVI.

FRANCE, THE NORTHMEN, AND THE FEUDAL SYSTEM.

Want of a Common Centre in Mediæval History—Opening of many Divergent Paths—Consequences of the Separation of the German from the French Race—Division by Language—The Provincial Latin of Gaul—The "Langue d'Oc" and the "Langue d'Oil"—The Romance Tongues of Southern and Western Europe—Eudes, Count of Paris, and his French Dominions—Succession of Charles the Simple—Rise of the Normans—General Character of the Scandinavian Races—Their Sea-roving Habits, and First Appearance in North-western Europe—Warlike Training of the Scandinavians—The Religion of the North—Danish and Norwegian Vessels—Vast Extent of the Sea-Kings' Depredations—The Northmen in Southern Spain—Equipment of the Pirate Fleets—Terrible Character of their Attacks—Awakening of a Spirit of Resistance—Siege of Paris in 885-7—The Inroads of the Scandinavians Checked—Rollo the Norman—Cession to him of a Part of Neustria (afterwards called Normandy)—Colonies of Normans in Various Parts of France—Benefits resulting from the Admixture of Northern Blood—Rapid Civilisation of the Normans—Complete Establishment of Feudalism—Its Leading Characteristics—Vices of the System—Homage and Investiture—Deposition of Charles the Simple—State of Civil War—Reigns of Rodolph, Louis IV. (d'Outremer), Lothaire, and Louis V.—Cessation of the Line of Charlemagne—Causes of the Anarchy which prevailed in France during the Ninth and Tenth Centuries—Struggle between the Gallic and Teutonic Races—The Predominance of the Former Secured.

NOTHING marks the difference between Ancient and Modern History more strikingly than the absence from the latter—especially in its earlier phases—of any one great centre, round which events group themselves from many scattered quarters. From the primitive ages to the fall of the Western Empire, there is always some mighty dominion, or commanding race, which concentrates the attention of the student, and, so to speak, attracts to itself all the forces of mankind. Egypt, Assyria, Babylon, Persia, Greece, and Rome, pass magnificently over the stage, and for a time each is paramount, if not absolutely alone. But with the decline of Roman predominance the nations of Europe begin to arise, and for some ages all is anarchy. Constantinople still furnished a centre of some kind, but it was a centre which perpetually contracted before the advance of new and barbaric powers. The Empire of the Caliphs soon broke up into a number of separate States, and the Turk disputed with the Saracen for the monarchy of the East. France, Germany, England, Italy, Spain, Poland, Hungary, Russia, Servia, and Bulgaria, are only some among the divergent paths which now open before us. The Scandinavians sweep like a tempest over many lands. The Normans and the Moors have their distinct spheres of action. Tartary sends forth her conquering myriads; the vast, dark bulk of India begins to reflect some rays of historic light; and the Africa of Mohammedanism succeeds to the Africa of Greek and Roman influence. Nor is this all. Many of the European countries which, now obey a single government were in earlier times subdivided into several independent realms. In France and Germany, in Italy and Spain—even in England long after the arrival of the Angles and Saxons—various sovereignties pursued their different lines. Modern Europe was slowly and painfully taking shape, and the seething turmoil is sometimes difficult to follow.

The separation of Germany from France was one of the many revolutions of this transition period; but it tended in some degree to simplify matters. The people of Teutonic race, and the people of Romanised Gallic race, were far too antagonistic in their natures to live continually under one rule. The long domination of the Franks in Gaul had qualified the original Celtic blood with a stronger element; but the Celts were still the immense majority, and in the main their character prevailed, together with their language. Indeed, when the partition came, it was determined more by considerations of language than by geographical fitness. On merely territorial grounds, the Rhine would have been the most convenient frontier; and history also was in favour of that arrangement. The river was a palpable demarcation; it had been the dividing line under the Romans, and even from time immemorial. Now, however, a considerable stretch of land on the western side of the great stream was detached from France, because the German tongue of its inhabitants declared their German origin. By the Treaty of Verdun, in 843, Lothaire received all the country between the Rhine, the Scheldt, Meuse, and Saône, the North Sea, and the Mediterranean, as well as the Kingdom of Italy; and by the separation which followed the deposition of Charles the Fat, in 887, Lotharingia—subsequently called by the French Lorraine—remained in Teutonic

, and was united with the Imperial crown rmany. Its later annals as a duchy will r as we proceed.

e question of language is a very important or nothing is more influential in creating and rving the sentiment of nationality. The h of the Franks, so long as they remained tinct people, was German, not essentially ing from what is now written and spoken. people of Lorraine and of Eastern France the same tongue; but in the West and South rue French language was growing up. For ages the people of Gaul spoke Latin, which, the Roman dominion, supplanted the original speech of the primitive race. But it was s a corrupt form of Latin, and doubtless ie more so with the progress of time. The *ua Romana rustica*, as it was called, was on to all the subjugated provinces of Central e, and it is the root of several modern es. By slow degrees it was developed into h; but in the ninth century the people of e had two languages, according to their aphical position—a dialect of the old rustic , and the German of the Frankish tribes. It tremely probable that the former included words of the original Celtic language, which similar to that of ancient Britain and of rn Wales; and it may be that Teutonic ex- ons also had found a place in the hybrid h of Western Gaul. Thus we have the three onent parts of modern French—Latin as the ipal, Celtic and German as the subordinates. his early form of French was in itself divided wo branches. In Provence, and in the south ally, it was called the *Langue d'Oc;* in the , the *Langue d'Oil.* These appellations were n from the difference in pronouncing the alent of the modern French *oui;* but the istic distinctions were numerous, and the ern dialect bore a much greater resemblance the northern both to Latin and Italian. The and harmonious speech of Provence is asso- l with the poetry of the Troubadours; that e north, with the songs and romances of the rères. The river Loire formed the dividing

But the minstrelsy of Trouvères and Trou- rs belonged to a later period than the ninth ry, and the earliest approach to modern h cannot be dated farther back than the end of the tenth. Previously to that period, the *Langue d'Oc* and the *Langue d'Oil* were led under the general term of Romance es—*i.e.*, tongues of Roman or Latin origin; he word "Romance," in the sense of a wild and extravagant fiction, was so applied because such compositions were generally written in the languages of Latin derivation.

In the ninth century, what we now understand by France cannot be said to have existed. When Eudes, Count of Paris, was elected to the throne in 888, after the final separation of Germany from France, he ruled over a people who spoke, not French, but a kind of debased Latin, far removed from the speech of Cicero, but not yet moulded into modern forms. The limits of his realm, moreover, were very different from those of later times. His election was not recognised in Aquitaine; Brittany established its complete independence under Alan, Count of Vannes, who assumed the royal title in 890, and reigned seventeen years; indeed, the dominions of Eudes comprised little more than the older kingdom of Neustria. The enemies of that brave and capable prince were numerous, and the adherents of the dethroned dynasty set up a rival in the person of Charles, son of Louis II., the Stammerer. The person so advanced was a boy of fourteen; but on the 28th of January, 893, the conspirators crowned him King of France at Rheims. Eudes was absent at the time, but, quickly returning, he forced the malcontents to seek protection of the German king, Arnulf, and afterwards, with singular generosity, ceded to the youthful Charles all the territory between the Seine and the Meuse, and promised him the succession to the whole kingdom. The death of Eudes followed very soon, at the early age of forty; and, in the beginning of 898, Charles III., surnamed the Simple, ascended the throne of France.

The reign of this feeble though well-meaning ruler was chiefly distinguished by the increasing power of those Scandinavian tribes who subsequently received the title of Normans. Denmark, Norway, and Sweden, were the three countries comprised under the general appellation of Scandinavia. The people were of Gothic origin, and retained all the fierce and warlike qualities, all the wandering habits, all the ignorance and barbarism, of their ancestors. In the wild and sterile regions of the North, from which they had expelled the earlier race of the Finns, they found insufficient support for their increasing numbers, and we have already seen that, as Goths, they penetrated into Italy and Spain, and, as Varangians, at a much later date, established a dynasty in Russia. Their hardihood and courage, their contempt of death and suffering, their love of adventure, their passion for the sea (which they navigated in small, fast-sailing vessels, capable of entering every creek

and harbour), their hunger and rapacity, their warlike traditions, their very religion, which made Odin, the Northern Mars, the greatest of the gods, and perpetual fighting the highest joy of heaven,—all impelled them to range abroad, seeking sometimes for plunder, and sometimes for new settlements. This tendency was increased by political events happening in the ninth and tenth centuries, when Gorm the Old in Denmark, and Harold Härfager (the Fairhaired) in Norway, reduced several of the independent chieftains of their respective countries to subjection. The humiliated leaders and their adherents sailed out in numerous ships, colonised the distant shores of Iceland, and



SCANDINAVIAN VESSEL.

of the Shetland, Orkney, and Faröe Islands, and thence sallied forth in piratical expeditions against the lands they had quitted. But at a much earlier date the calling of a sea-rover had acquired a certain dignity, and the banditti of the sea became a power with which the monarchs of the land were forced to deal as best they could. The younger sons of the Scandinavian Yarls, or Earls, joined the crews of the Sea-Kings, as these buccaneers called themselves; for there was little to be got at home, and much to be won abroad. By the close of the eighth century, they had become a terror to the North-west of Europe, and the coasts both of England and France suffered from their lawless descents.

Against a people so strong, so valorous, and so resolute, it was almost impossible to struggle. Even in their earliest childhood, these Northmen were inured to the hardships of war, and educated to the worship of brute force. To them nothing was so disgraceful as to die peacefully in bed, or by the lingering effects of disease. The ambition of every man was to expire on the field of battle, and it was thought discreditable to a soldier to ore superior numbers. From a tender age, the Scandinavian boy was compelled to take fearful leaps, to climb up steep rocks, to fight with deadly weapons, and to wrestle with unsparing fury; so that long before he was out of his teens he had become an accomplished warrior. In battle, the men were animated by a fierce joy, wilder and more tumultuous than that of the Spartans, who sang and dressed their hair previous to encountering the enemy. Saxo Grammaticus, describing a single combat, relates that one of the champions "fell, laughed, and died"; and the perils of the battle-field seem really to have intoxicated these people with a species of demoniac exultation. This might, indeed, be set down for madness or hysteria, were it not that the Scandinavians were equally possessed of that cool and dauntless resolution which survives the spasm of excitement. In one of their encounters, a warrior was thrown upon his back by the opponent with whom he was wrestling. The victor was without arms, and the vanquished promised to wait, without changing his posture, while the other fetched a sword wherewith to kill him. It is added that he faithfully kept his word, and he would certainly have been disgraced in the eyes of his countrymen had he acted otherwise.

The religion of the Norse people taught them that the soul of a warrior slain in battle entered at once into Valhalla, or the Hall of Odin, in which the reward of the brave would consist of eternal feasting, varied by eternal fighting. The elements of this faith were brought from the remote regions of Central Asia, whence the progenitors of the race had issued. Doubtless there was an analogy between the religion of the Scandinavians and that of the Oriental tribes to whom they were distantly allied; but the former had acquired a peculiarly fierce, hard, and metallic character from the mountainous and savage regions in which it was developed. The terrible forces of Nature, their relentless power and destructiveness, are embodied in the religious system of the Northern races. The courage to resist such powers, whether natural or supernatural, is represented in many striking and some noble forms; a sense of justice and morality is not wanting; but of gentleness, forbearance, benevolence, and charity, we hear nothing. The sacred literature of the Scandinavians is a wonderful treasure-house of lurid, picturesque, and energetic poetry; but as a code of morals it is deficient, and as a system of faith it is absurd. No one, however, can thoroughly understand the character of the Danes, Norwegians, and Swedes, before their conversion to Christianity, without perusing the strange records of an ancient creed which are con-

d in the Eddas.* We shall there discover may be described as the spiritual or meta- ical sources of that furious courage which ed the Northmen from their frozen homes half Europe, and enabled them to subdue the itors of ancient civilisations, and the possessors ganised armies.

the earlier part of their conquering period, Scandinavians found their chief field of action e sea. Possessed of immense lines of coast, berless havens, great bays and estuaries, these le were accustomed to the lives of mariners, o all the moods and aspects of the illimitable . The fiercest tempests had no terrors for who knew little of Nature in her benignant ; the wildest stretch of waters, even though, ss daring mariners, it might appear without a , failed to daunt the hardy seamen who ged in their slight galleys from Denmark and way to the Faröes and Iceland, who discovered nland within the ice-bound Arctic circle, and are commonly supposed to have reached the nent of North America before the close of the century. At the commencement of their ry, the Scandinavians had not the means of pping large armies, or conducting elaborate ditions on shore. But they had innumerable , and inimitable skill in navigation ; their res inclined them to the free and adventurous f sailors ; and the sack of a coast-town would ly them with riches for half a life. In their and manageable vessels, they could easily distant regions, and their rapacity was soon n and feared on the shores of England, land, and Ireland, in Livonia, Courland, and rania. Gaining confidence with impunity, flamed over Lower Saxony, Friesland, Holland, lers, and the banks of the Rhine. Still ex- ing the scene of their operations, they pillaged burnt Paris, Amiens, Orleans, Poitiers, Bor- x, Toulouse, Saintes, Angoulême, Nantes, and s. Provence, and the Dauphiné as far as Valence, were devastated by their insatiable hordes. The former palace of Charlemagne at Aix-la-Chapelle was consumed by fire of their kindling. In 844, they plundered the coasts of Spain from the Tagus to the Guadalquivir, and, sailing up the latter stream, attacked and conquered Seville. Thus the Scandinavians from the extreme north of Europe came into contact with the Spanish Moors who had derived their origin from the burning deserts of Arabia, and the African coasts of the Mediterranean. On hearing what had happened, the Spanish-Arabian Caliph, Abderahman II., sent a flotilla manned with troops from Cordova, and, after a sanguinary action, in which the fanatical valour of each side was equalled by that of the other, the Northmen retreated down the Guadalquivir, carrying with them a large amount of spoil, and a great number of captives. They still continued for some time to cruise along the coast ; but the vigorous measures of Abderahman finally compelled them to retire. The Moors seem to have regarded the Scandinavians as a race of magicians : what the Scandinavians thought of the Moors is not recorded. This is believed to have been the first time that the Northmen encountered the Saracens ; but we shall see that it was not the last.

Such were some of the early doings of the Danish and Norwegian Vikings—a term often erroneously supposed to be the Northern equivalent of Sea-Kings. The word is in truth derived from the Scandinavian *Vik*, a bay ; and the sea-rovers were so called because their ships put off, not from the lawful harbours of the State, but from distant and lonely creeks, where the pirates could prepare their navies in secret. Of the three northern countries, Denmark probably supplied the greatest number of marine adventurers. Many, however, came from Norway, but comparatively few from Sweden, where a more settled state of society existed. The ships of the pirates were provided with stones, arrows, and cables, with the last of which they upset vessels smaller than their own. They had also grappling-irons for boarding, and all of the crew were expected to be skilful swimmers. At first, the pirate-ships were nothing more than twelve-oared boats ; but they were afterwards sufficiently large to accommodate a hundred and twenty men, and occasionally some would be constructed of extraordinary size. A serpent, or dragon, was often carved on the prow, and in a few special instances the poop was gilded.† Each band of freebooters had its own stations, ports, and maga-

* the literature of the North, there are two Eddas : the of Sæmund the Wise, a collection of very ancient tradi- y songs, made in the eleventh or twelfth century by an der ; and the Edda of Snorri Sturleson, another Icelander ut a century later. The second is sometimes called the Edda. When Christianity had thoroughly permeated orth, these books gradually fell into oblivion, and it was ntil 1643 that the compilation of Sæmund was brought the notice of European scholars by an Icelandic Bishop, ave to it the name of Edda, meaning literally "grand- r." The Snorra collection, though rather less ancient the other, was introduced to the modern world fifteen earlier—viz., in 1628. The Sagas of Scandinavian litera- ere historical and legendary tales, composed during the e Ages.

† Mallet's Northern Antiquities, chap. 9.

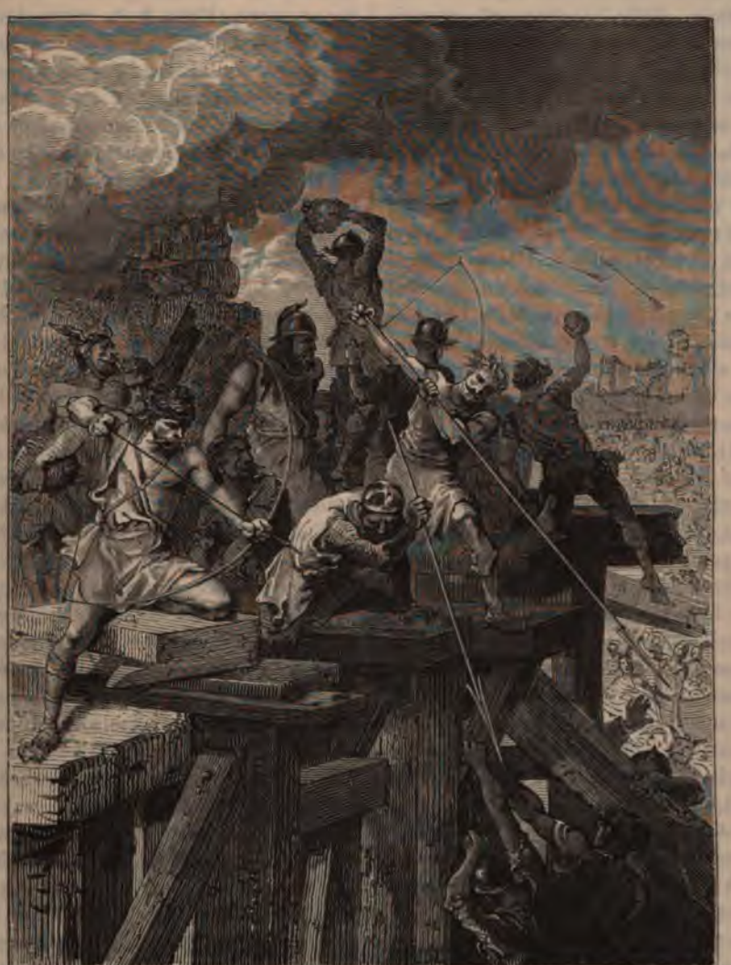
zines, and in many of the Northern cities such stores of riches were laid up that legitimate monarchs themselves countenanced the expeditions of pirates, for the sake of the profit they indirectly obtained. The appearance of the robber-fleets and Denmark leapt on shore as their keels grated the beach, burst like a cataract on undefended towns and cities, slaughtered all who opposed them, and, having laden themselves with pillage, set fire to the buildings, and regained their ships under the



SIEGE OF PARIS BY THE NORMANS.

on any peaceful coast was at once productive of the most extreme alarm, and that not without reason. The Northern warriors seemed almost superhuman in their powers, as they were diabolical in their cruelty. No turmoil of the elements could withhold them from their destined course. Their vessels came careering over the highest waves, and steady hands at the helm steered them inexorably into port. Shouting wild songs of battle and adventure, the freebooters from Norway light of conflagration and the smoke of sacrifice. Monasteries were favourite objects of attack, for the monasteries of the ninth century were well known to be centres of wealth. But many were the cities that suffered from these dreadful incursions. Hardly any part of Europe remained unvisited by the Northern fleets. The south of Italy, and even the Grecian isles, heard the war-songs of the Vikings, and felt the sharpness of the Scandinavian sword. The monkish calm and scholarly

repose which had settled over the Western world, and which had gone far to destroy all martial virtues, were rudely dissipated by a greater danger than had been known for centuries. Terror, amounting to panic, seized on the countries most frequently harassed by the worshippers of Odin. manly style, it began to diminish. The Emperor Charles the Bald, finding that many of his towns, even in the interior of France, were plundered by the Northmen, organised a plan of defence, which rested on the military efforts of the great barons and their dependents. This was one of the earliest



INCIDENT IN THE SIEGE OF PARIS: DEFENDING THE BRIDGE AND TOWER AGAINST THE NORMAN HOSTS.

Ecclesiastics inserted in the Litany a special petition to be delivered from the fury of the Northmen. The Church took spiritual measures against the danger, as if the freebooters had been devils, who could be exorcised. But still the inroads continued; and it was at length seen that nothing but courage and soldiership could avail against a peril which was simply human in its motives and its means.

When once the evil was encountered in this more developments of the Feudal system; and, whatever the vices of that system may have been, it had at any rate the good effect of arousing national spirit, awakening courage, and arresting the decay into which Europe seemed hastening. The Scandinavians at length discovered that there were men who could meet them at the sword's point on equal terms. In November, 885, the Northern pirates commenced a memorable siege of Paris, which had been assailed by their forces twice before. For the

last attack, indeed, they had much justification in the treacherous conduct of Charles the Fat to one of their number. But this was no reason why the Parisians should submit to an evil which, if it could not be repelled, would undoubtedly have carried with it the gravest consequences. The leader of the Northmen on this occasion was the celebrated chieftain, Rollo—a man of gigantic stature, of extraordinary courage and activity, and of commanding abilities. An army of 30,000 men assembled before the walls; but the defence was conducted with admirable heroism by Count Eudes, Bishop Gosselin, and the other great lords, who fortified the island of the Seine, held with obstinate courage a tower which guarded the bridge, and for eighteen months resisted the utmost efforts of the enemy. Charles the Fat, who had long delayed going to the relief of the city, concluded a disgraceful treaty with the Scandinavians in 887; but the Parisians, repudiating its terms, attacked the invaders as they attempted to recross the Seine, and compelled them to drag their galleys some way overland. These were the events which precipitated the deposition of Charles, the division of the Empire, and the choice of Eudes as King of France.

The partial success of 887 emboldened the French to resist the merciless pirates whenever they appeared upon their shores, or up their rivers. For several years longer, much damage continued to be done; but from time to time the marauders were checked, and even totally defeated. In 911, the Normans, as they were now called by the French, were routed with excessive slaughter before Chartres; whereupon, Rollo made preparations for a war of extermination. The danger was formidable, for the spirit of the barbarians was roused by the exasperation of defeat and the desire of vengeance. Under these circumstances, Robert, Duke of France, advised Charles the Simple to make a compromise with the enemy by granting him territorial possessions within the French kingdom. Charles therefore despatched the Archbishop of Rouen to the camp of Rollo, and offered him the hereditary lordship of lands situated between the Epte and Brittany, together with the hand of the Princess Gisèle in marriage. The conditions were, that he should become a Christian, and consent to live in peace and amity with the French people. These terms were accepted; but Rollo insisted on an extension of territory, and Charles granted him, in addition, the province of Brittany, which was at that time wholly independent. A meeting between the King and the chieftain took place at the village of St. Clair-sur-Epte, near Gisors, and the oath of fealty to his superior was taken by Rollo in the final days of 911. The territory thus ceded was a portion of the former Neustria; but it now acquired the name of Normandy, and as such it occupies a brilliant position in the history of Europe.

There can be no doubt that the advice of Duke Robert was wise and politic. In the first year of the century, Rollo had entrenched himself in Rouen, and his Northmen spread thence in many directions, and proved in several places the ancient hardihood and valour of their race. They were now beginning to lose something of their piratical character, and to assume the habits of regular warriors, and even of colonizers. Owing to the light build of their vessels, which in many instances were little more than canoes, they were enabled to thread the rivers of France almost to their sources, and to establish themselves in spots which to ordinary mariners might have appeared inaccessible. Whenever it answered their purpose, they would even quit their boats, haul them across large tracts of country, and launch them once more on some stream which offered superior attractions. The islets in the rivers were seized and fortified; pillage was collected in many places; camps were formed; and the Northmen obtained so firm a grip on France that the day of compromise had clearly arrived. On the other hand, the French were in a better position to offer terms than they had occupied half a century before. They had recovered their martial virtue; they had made the invaders understand that they were capable of an effective resistance, if too hardly pressed. Something like an equality had been established between the two belligerents, and it was therefore expedient to offer the strangers a province where they might gradually settle into peaceful ways. Although occasionally defeated, the Normans were successful on the whole, and they enjoyed all the benefits which success confers. Many of the French themselves had joined their ranks, either in the hope of plunder, or as a measure of self-protection. Not a few of the renegades even exchanged their Christian faith for the religion of the North; but their loss was to some extent supplied by Scandinavian converts to Christianity, who of course threw in their lot with the French, and adopted the manners of civilised and peaceful men. One of the most famous of the latter was a chieftain named Hastings, who, towards the close of the ninth century, had been defeated by the English King Alfred in a great naval encounter. Thus the population of France, already considerably mixed, was leavened by yet another quality, derived from the wilds of Scandinavia—a quality which contri-

buted not a little to strengthen the somewhat effete character of the people. A similar admixture took place in England about the same period; and in the course of a few generations the Danish cross was a distinct advantage to the English blood.

The people of Normandy are to the present day largely imbued with the Scandinavian element, and for many centuries the race was distinct from that of France. No doubt, the strangers mingled with the people they found; but, owing to internal commotions and feeble government, the inhabitants of Neustria had dwindled to a small number. Much of the land was uncultivated, for want of hands to till the soil; and the Northmen found themselves in possession of a country which they could mould to their own purposes, without much interference from others. Yet the influences of the higher civilisation soon made themselves felt. The people became devoted members of the Church nearly a century before their countrymen of Norway, Sweden, and Denmark adopted the Christian faith. The northern speech was quickly lost, though it qualified the French which the conquerors adopted. Their nobles and warriors became courtly in their manners, splendid in their surroundings, and punctilious in all the lofty ways of chivalry. The particular form of Gothic architecture associated with their name has been illustrated by many noble buildings, both in northern France and in England, not to speak of other countries where the race was less permanently settled; and Norman minstrelsy was undoubtedly one of the parents of the English Muse. These results were facilitated by the better qualities of Rollo, who was something more than a mere chieftain, and certainly far superior to a pirate. The vassal of Charles the Simple could lead men to battle and to victory; but he could do other things equally well. He could govern with firmness and equity, and his new subjects found they were the happier for his vigorous rule. It is said that he hung a bracelet of gold in an exposed situation, and that no one dared to touch it; and although the story may be apocryphal, and bears, indeed, a suspicious resemblance to many others, it shows at least the popular credit which Rollo had acquired for unflinching justice.

One of the most striking features of the period we are now considering was the complete establishment and more elaborate organisation of the Feudal system. This system had already existed for some ages, but it now acquired a deeper root, and spread with wider branches. The subject of Feudalism is one that has engaged the pens of many writers, and given birth to numerous conflicting theories. There is perhaps no subject, making an equally vivid impression on the popular mind, about which so little is known with certainty, or which presents so many difficulties to the student. The origin of the word "feudal" is so doubtful that it would not be worth while, in a work such as this, to examine the various etymologies that have been advanced. The rise of the custom itself is almost equally obscure. Nothing of the like nature existed in the Roman world, nor can more than its rudiments be discovered among the unconquered Germans. It appears from the testimony of Tacitus that the Teutonic chieftains loved to be surrounded by a band of youthful warriors, who were closely attached to their fortunes. The services of these combatants were repaid by presents of horses and weapons of war, and by the exercise of hospitality. This, however, was only a very distant approach to what was afterwards understood by the Feudal system; but a further step was taken when the power of the Franks was established in Gaul. The land was then distributed into portions corresponding to the rank of the occupant; and those which the Franks appropriated to themselves were called *allodial*, and were held independently of any superior, but on the understanding that military service was to be rendered to the king, in exchange for the right of occupying and cultivating the ground. The chieftains soon alienated portions of their vast estates, which, under the term *beneficia*, were held by persons bound to furnish military contingents to the great lords, as *they* were bound to furnish them to the king. As a matter of fact, these benefices were often revoked by the grantor at his mere will and pleasure; but, legally, the concession could be terminated only at the end of the specified lease, unless for some offence, or breach of faith. At first, the tenancy was for a term of years; afterwards it was for life; but in either case the vassal enjoyed nothing more than the usufruct or yearly produce of the estate. Louis I., the successor of Charlemagne, granted, though with some unwillingness, the right of hereditary possession; the practice became more frequent in succeeding times; and Charles the Bald, in the last year of his reign (877), issued an edict by which the hereditary transmission of benefices was expressly sanctioned and legalised. In this way, Feudalism acquired its maturity, and was formally recognised by the head of the State as a part of the social system then existing.

The first use of the term *fief* occurs in a capitulary of the reign of Charles the Fat, bearing date 884. The power to transmit land to his descend-

ants was of course a great improvement in the position of the vassal; but he still owed suit and service to the great lord, whom he was bound to assist in defending the country, and to accompany abroad when hostilities broke out with any other Power. After awhile, smaller fiefs were created out of the larger, by the process called *sub-infeudation*. In the feeble reigns which followed that of Charles the Bald, the feudal system became stronger and more firmly established, because the kings of France had in themselves little or no means to defend the country, or to vindicate its dignity. The military resources of the nation lay with the nobles and their dependents. The only other great power was that of the Church, the bishops and abbots of which had obtained possession of nearly half the land of France. The lay nobility and the clerical aristocracy were often at issue, and many of the humbler orders sided with the latter, since the priests were frequently men of their own class, were elected by themselves, and repaid their devotion by ample doles of food and drink. This obliged the great lords, who were the actual leaders of the nation, to seek every means of enlarging their own authority, that they might the more effectually resist the pressure of the clerical orders. The power of the Church was becoming so extreme that the whole State seemed likely to sink beneath a despotism, the head of which was a prelate who sat crowned at Rome. In the extension of the Feudal system, the military class found a weapon with which they could resist the assumptions of the churchmen. That system acquired new force in France from the invasion of the Scandinavians, and for centuries after it shaped and coloured the whole social state. Beneath the great barons, or chieftains, were the men who held their hereditary lands on the condition of furnishing military service; beneath those were the serfs who cultivated the soil.

The theory of the whole arrangement was that of mutual obligation. The lord was to give protection to his dependants—protection against foreign aggression, or even against the tyranny of the king, if the king were strong enough to be tyrannical. On the other hand, the vassal was bound to serve his lord in war, whatever the nature of the war might be; but the term of his service was limited to sixty, thirty, or even fewer days. In the field of battle, he was to give his horse to his superior, if the latter was dismounted, and to render himself up as a hostage if his lord should be taken by the enemy. He was to attend the seignorial [illegible] as a witness or a judge; was to pay a fine [illegible]ng, and another on alienating, his fief; and was to furnish money to redeem his lord from captivity. He was not to divulge his lord's counsel, nor was he to injure his person or fortune, or the honour of his family. The system had its advantages, even to the vassals; but there can be little doubt that the greater part of the benefit accrued to the superiors. The power of the nobles increased rapidly after the full establishment of feudalism, and, by gradual encroachments, the privileges of the great were augmented at the expense of the comparatively humble, many of whom were compelled to give up their allodial estates, or freeholds, and take them back as fiefs. The obligations of the dependants became increasingly onerous, and the barons of the Middle Ages acquired a power which, as a matter of fact, was often more considerable than that of the kings. Even the predominance of the Church was circumscribed, and after a while the rich abbeys found it advisable to choose an advocate in the person of some neighbouring lord, who, in exchange for certain privileges, undertook to defend the interests of his clients whenever they were questioned or attacked.

As the system became more confirmed by usage, the holders of fiefs usurped in perpetuity the official and administrative powers which in earlier ages had been granted to the counts and dukes, to be exercised by them at the royal pleasure, and not transmitted, as a matter of right, from father to son. At the accession of Hugh Capet, in 987, there were in France a hundred and fifty seigneurs who possessed the right to coin money, to make private war, to pass laws, to impose taxes, and to act in the capacity of judges. The personal estate of the king was certainly not larger than those of the great lords, and was therefore vastly inferior to the territorial possessions of the aristocracy taken altogether. Many of the Carolingian kings had parted with large portions of their lands to powerful barons, and much had been wrested from them in times of turbulence. No exposition is required to show how inevitably such a system led in time to insubordination as regards the central authority, and to despotism as regards the vassals. It had grown up out of the weakness of the monarchs, and doubtless it corrected some abuses which could not otherwise be met. But it created others which were at least as bad; and with the growth of a middle class, and of mercantile interests, its predominance was certain to be questioned, and in time destroyed. Meanwhile, the poorer classes were kept in a position of degrading, and often of unhappy, bondage. The holders of tributary lands—that is to say, lands cultivated by

persons not the owners, and for the use of which they paid a fixed rent to the feudal proprietor—lived in a position of extreme dependence, but were exempt from the obligation of serving in war. They were *adscripti glebæ*—persons attached to the soil which they dug and sowed, and from which they could not remove at will. Their social condition was described in the Middle Ages by the term *villenage*; and the opprobrious meaning attached to the modern word "villain," thence derived, shows the low estimation in which these people were always, though often unjustly, held. The serfs occupied the lowest position in the feudal scale. These miserable labourers were not greatly distinguished from the slaves of earlier times; but their condition was somewhat less abject, and in the tenth and eleventh centuries it was considerably ameliorated, owing principally to the efforts of the Church.

In receiving an estate from his seigneur, a vassal was compelled to do homage after a set form. He appeared in the hall of the great lord, bareheaded, and without belt, sword, or spurs. Kneeling before him, he then placed his hands in his, and repeated the words, "I become your man from this day forth, of life and limb, and will keep faith to you for the lands I claim to hold of you."* An engagement by oath was sometimes taken, and the lord then performed the act of investiture by delivering to his vassal a clod of turf, a handful of mould, a branch of a tree, or some other object which aptly symbolised possession of the land.

Soon after their settlement in France, the Normans adopted the system of feudalism which they found, and it added much to their military efficiency, now that they had become an acknowledged power in the world, and were no longer freebooters. Their readiness in adapting themselves to new conditions was a very remarkable feature in the race, and it was fortunate for Charles the Simple that he resolved on coming to terms with a people so active, and so variously gifted. The incapacity of that monarch was extreme, and it increased with time. Charles abandoned himself to the influence of his minister Harganon, who irritated the nobles by an extreme assertion of the royal prerogative. Being a man of great ability, he was enabled to retain his position for ten years; but in 920 the chief lords rose under the leadership of Robert, Duke of France, renounced their allegiance, and appeared in arms against the royal authority. Charles was besieged at Laon, and, on that city being taken, fled into Lorraine, which he had lately added to his dominions, owing to the death of Louis, son of the German Emperor Arnulf. This was practically an abdication of the French throne, and Duke Robert was crowned at Rheims in June, 922. But the throne which he had obtained was not so easily held. Harganon procured the assistance of the Normans, and attacked the forces of Robert at Soissons in 923. The new king was slain at the very commencement of the action, but his forces were promptly rallied, and, after a hard-fought action, won the day. Charles again fled into Lorraine, and the crown was now bestowed on Rodolph, or Ralph, Duke of Burgundy, and son-in-law of the deceased Robert. Herbert, Count of Vermandois, one of the principal leaders of the rebels, took offence at the disregard of his own claims, and entered into communication with Charles, of whose person he obtained possession, only, however, to imprison him in the stronghold of Château Thierry. The wife of Charles was the English princess Ogwina, sister of Athelstan, to whose court she fled, taking with her the legitimate heir to the French throne, a child three years old, who thus acquired the name of Louis d'Outremer. After a long course of capricious treatment, Charles the Simple died in the castle of Peronne, in October, 929. A state of civil war between Rodolph of Burgundy, and Herbert of Vermandois, continued for the next six years; but the latter gradually lost ground, and was at length compelled to seek the mediation of the German monarch, Henry the Fowler. A treaty of peace was concluded in 935; but Rodolph died childless in January of the following year.

At the instance of the great nobles—of whom the chief was Hugh Leblanc, Duke of France and Count of Paris—Louis d'Outremer was recalled from England; but when it became evident that the young monarch was disinclined to act as the mere creature of Hugh, that powerful chieftain formed an alliance with the German Emperor, Otho the Great, and assumed a position of direct antagonism to Louis IV. The feudatories, including William Longsword, Duke of Normandy (the son and successor of Rollo, who died in 932), cast off their allegiance to the French King, and declared themselves vassals of the German crown. Otho invaded France, and in 940 caused himself to be proclaimed at Attigny; but the strife was at length composed by Pope Stephen VIII., who enjoined the French nobles, under pain of excommunication, to return to their duty. Peace was restored in 942, but was soon broken again. The great lords once more rose in armed rebellion, and the forces of the King were frequently defeated, not

* See the Illustration on the first page of this Volume.

standing the courage and resolution with which he defended his cause. After the death of Louis, in 954, his eldest son Lothaire, a boy of fourteen, was crowned at Rheims. Hugh Leblanc died two years later, and his eldest son, Hugh Capet, ultimately founded a new dynasty in France. But a period of thirty years had yet to elapse before the first of the Capetian House ascended the throne. They were years of anarchy and misfortune, during which Otho invaded France with an immense force, and appeared before Paris, from which, however, he retired after remaining no longer than three days. This was in 978, and in 980 the two countries made peace, on the understanding that Lothaire should renounce the pretensions he had made to Lorraine. The French King died at Rheims in 986, and was succeeded by his son Louis V., whose surname, "le Fainéant," sufficiently indicates the position he occupied. His death, which occurred in 987, has been attributed to poison, administered by his wife, Blanche of Aquitaine. This feeble prince was the last of the direct descendants of Charlemagne who occupied the French throne; and, as he died without issue, should have passed by legal succession to his uncle, Charles, Duke of Lower Lorraine. The character of that prince, however, was such as to alienate most men from his cause, and, at an assembly of the nobles, held at Senlis, the Archbishop of Rheims urged the election of Hugh Capet, as the man best fitted to wield the powers of the State, and secure the general welfare. Hugh was accordingly declared King, and his coronation followed on the 1st of July. The dynasty thus established retained unbroken possession of the French throne until the revolution at the close of last century. It was restored after the fall of Bonaparte, and kept its position until 1848. Its representatives still lay claim to the French crown, and, in a changeful land like France, it is not impossible that another career may even yet lie before it.



THE TOWER OF LOUIS D'OUTREMER AT LAON (DESTROYED IN 1831).

When Charlemagne died, in all the plenitude of power, in the year 814, even the most observant could hardly have supposed that in less than two hundred years the splendid Empire he had founded would be so completely shattered. Yet, on an intelligent review of all the circumstances, it is not difficult to assign sufficient reasons for the fact. The Carolingian Empire was so purely

artificial in its structure, so framed of discordant parts, that only a master-genius could hold it together. Many of Charlemagne's successors were men of weak and frivolous character, and the Empire fell to pieces from the action of internal forces, which there was no grasp strong enough to restrain. The ineptitude of Charles the Fat caused the final separation of the Empire into the three great divisions of France, Germany, and Italy; but the mutual antagonism resulting from an ill-assorted union did not cease with the association which had caused it. The hatred of the Italians to German domination was a source of continual trouble to the Emperor; the contest of the Celtic and Teutonic races on the soil of France had much to do with that long anarchy which, with only a few brief periods of rest, extended from the death of Charlemagne to the accession of Hugh Capet. It was never forgotten by the true French people that their rulers were descendants of the Austrasian Charlemagne, and were therefore to some extent foreigners; and it is the opinion of M. Thierry that a constant struggle was kept up, with the object of expelling the Teutonic dynasty, and replacing it by a line of native princes. Count Eudes, who was elected to the throne after the death of Charles the Fat, was a genuine Frenchman, and as such was popular with the Romano-Gallic race; but he had to encounter the opposition of those who held by the former dynasty, and were therefore more German than French in their sympathies. The line of Charlemagne was restored in the person of Charles the Simple; but the former conflict was soon resumed. The great nobles of French race opposed Charles for the same reason that the advocates of Frankish domination resisted the rule of Eudes. It was a quarrel of nationalities; and each combatant wished to set his foot on the neck of his antagonist.



EGBERT, KING OF ENGLAND.

Had France been ruled from Germany, and had there been in that country a monarch of sufficient power to trample out the life of the French race, the struggle might have come to an early termination. But this was not the case. Germany and France had been severed from one another, and a

was simply a question whether the Teutonic minority in France itself, or the Gallic majority, should rule in the French house. The very conditions of the quarrel determined its issue, though not until after a long epoch of sanguinary contention. It was impossible that the rising genius of France should be permanently suppressed by a number of men belonging to a different stock, though born within the limits of the French territory. Where an alien race is greatly superior, in civilisation, in virtue, or in courage, to the nation that it subjugates, it may assert its predominance for an indefinite period, though sometimes, even then, at the cost of continual and painful effort. But, in the main, the Germans were *not* superior to the French; they had even less civilisation, and were not more advanced in the art and practice of political government. Greater physical power, and more sustained military force, had given them a temporary advantage; but there was nothing in the character of either nation which pointed it out as marked by Nature for the servant of the other. The French not unreasonably resented a subjection which hampered, while it did not destroy, their national life; and by their continued revolts against the Carolingian monarchs, and their final choice of Hugh Capet, they simply declared that they meant thenceforward to be masters in their own land. After the time of Hugh Capet, the Germanic element in the French people was completely absorbed in the common mass, as the Norman element in the English people was absorbed in the course of a few generations after the Conquest. It may be, indeed, that the anarchy existing in France during the ninth and tenth centuries was not owing entirely to antagonism of race. Other causes were at work, which contributed to the same end. The want of commanding ability in the kings, and the spread of feudalism among the nobles, by which every great lord became a species of sovereign within his own domain, tended to the disruption of the political state. But these influences would hardly have been so potent, had they not found in diversity of race a convenient field for their operation. Nothing is so fatal to the repose and prosperity of a country as the existence on its soil of two distinct nationalities, which are incapable of combination until the one is able to impose its will upon the other. Such was the condition of France before the time of Hugh Capet. A fresh career opened before the French people when the accession of a new dynasty gave means for the development of the national genius and spirit.

CHAPTER XVII.

EARLY ENGLISH HISTORY.

The Heptarchy—Northumbria, Mercia, and Wessex, the Three Chief Kingdoms—Reign of Offa in Mercia—The Welsh and the English—Accession of Egbert to the Throne of Wessex—Decline of Mercian Power—Conquests of Egbert, and Establishment of his Authority over the other Kingdoms—Real Nature of his Position—First Appearance of the Danes in England—Paganism of the Northmen—Co-operation of the Danes with the Welsh—Pillage and Slaughter—Formation of a Danish Kingdom in East Anglia—Invasion of Wessex—Succession of King Alfred to the West Saxon Throne—His Descent and Early Life—Desperate Conflicts with the Danes—Alfred in the Isle of Athelney—Crushing Defeat of the Northmen—A Period of Peace—Services of Alfred as a Legislator and Scholar—Renewed Invasion of Danes—Operations of Alfred and Ethelred against the Pirate Hastings—Death of Alfred—Brilliant Reign of Athelstan—Affairs in the North—Massacre of Danes by Ethelred II.—Conquest of England by Sweyn—Reign of Canute—Harold and Hardicanute—Edward the Confessor and Earl Godwin—Commencement of Norman Influence in England—Unfortunate Results of Edward's Reign—The Early English Constitution—The King, his Powers and Privileges—The Witenagemote—Political and Social State of the Country—Early English Authors and Scholars—Arts and Manners previous to the Conquest.

In comparison with the great deeds which agitated the continents of Europe and Asia from the seventh to the eleventh centuries, the affairs of England seem slight and trivial; but, though acted on a much smaller stage, and having little reference to the general course of history, they possess an interest and importance of their own.

[illegible] traced the progress of the country down to [illegible] e council of Whitby, it was decided that the English Church should be subordinate to that of Rome. Thenceforward, ecclesiastical questions occupied somewhat less attention, though the influence of religion was so strong amongst the people that we often find the kings quitting their thrones, in order to end their days either at Rome or in a monastery. The division of the country into a number of petty monarchies still continued: but there was always one more powerful than the

others. First it was Northumbria, then Mercia, last of all Wessex. Northumbria was originally divided into the two separate States of Bernicia and Deira, the former of which comprised the modern county of Northumberland, and all Scotland south of the Frith of Forth, while the latter included Durham, York, and Lancaster. Mercia, situated in the middle parts of England, was conquered by Northumbria about 660, but soon recovered its independence, and became so powerful a kingdom that before the end of the eighth century it had subdued and incorporated East Anglia and Kent. Wessex, the kingdom of the West Saxons, eventually obtained a supreme authority over all the rest of the country, and laid the foundations of the true English Monarchy. But, even before that result had been effected, the descendants of Angles, Saxons, and Jutes were creating the English people which was to become famous in history.

The older British race did not give up its possessions without a prolonged struggle. Much of the western side of the island retained its original population, mixed in some places with the later Teutonic stock. Not to speak of Wales, which has to this day the name and character of a distinct country, the posterity of the Britons long preserved their independence in Cornwall, and in the north-western kingdoms of Cumbria and Strathclyde. But their English rivals constantly gained on them, and the ultimate consolidation of the Heptarchy into one kingdom favoured the inevitable result. The quarrels and petty wars of the several monarchies are not sufficiently important to be detailed in a work of general history. The kings of early English times were little more than warlike chieftains; but in the annals of Mercia one figure stands out with the individuality of a living man, gifted with varying passions, capable of set purposes, and associated with actions that were not wholly fleeting. Offa, who succeeded to the throne of the Midlands in 757, was a man of activity and genius, bent on establishing the supremacy of his kingdom over all the surrounding States. He attacked Northumbria, and wrested from it the shire of Nottingham. Kent was entirely conquered in 774; Cenwulf, king of Wessex, sustained a defeat in the following year, and was obliged to yield up Oxfordshire and Gloucestershire. In the latter part of his life, Offa committed a crime for which there seems no sufficient reason, though the motive was the same desire of superiority which had prompted his other actions. Ethelbert, king of the East Angles, made proposals for the hand of the Mercian princess, Ethelrida. These being accepted, he was invited, together with several of his thanes, to the court of Offa, who treacherously slew him at a banquet. The nobles escaped, but East Anglia was added to the middle kingdom.

The chief actions of Offa, however, were on the borders of Wales, where the power of the English race was more fully established by the sword of the Mercian ruler. Shortly after the defeat of Cenwulf, Offa entered into an alliance with him for combined operations against the western Britons, whose frequent inroads into the English territory, which they not unnaturally regarded as their own, had become a cause of grave anxiety. The state of Wales was not such as to incline its inhabitants to peaceful lives, nor were the Welsh of a nature to submit quietly to their evil fortune. The poverty of the land, the absence of great towns, the want of regular industry, of commerce, and of trade, all tended to throw the people on wild and irregular adventures for the means of life; and the memory of former wrongs and ancient loss added bitterness to the sense of present misery. Small as their country was, it had split up into fourteen diminutive principalities, and the race gave no sign of powers such as might fit it to regain the old inheritance. Nevertheless, the Welsh were still capable of marauding, and the battle between the British and the English nationalities went on from generation to generation. Each devastated the territories of the other, and occasionally the Welsh found allies in some of the English kings who were glad of their assistance against others. But, on the whole, the Welsh receded before the more vigorous race, and the English pressed on towards the west, as if nothing but the sea would stop them. In the eighth century, however, the Welsh had to some extent recovered lost ground. The western borders of Mercia were harassed by perpetual attacks. Fire and slaughter raged along the boundary line; the wild Celts came pouring into the English settlements at every point; and Offa saw that he must give up some portion of his domain, or undertake offensive operations against the foe.

In the first place, the Mercian king, and his ally of Wessex, drove the Welsh out of Hereford; then, advancing into the little kingdom of Powys, they took the capital, and changed its British name, Pengwern, into the English name, Scrobbesbyryg, now Shrewsbury, meaning the Town in the Scrub, or Bush. Offa next made a settlement of Englishmen beyond the Severn, which until then had been the boundary between the two races, and dug a huge ditch (known as "Offa's Dyke") from the mouth of the river Dee, on the

north, to the river Wye, on the south—a distance of twenty-four miles. The ditch was strengthened by a rampart, and traces of both are yet to be seen. The Welsh who remained within the newly-settled territory were governed by a code of Mercian laws, which Offa drew up expressly for their guidance, and which Alfred afterwards adopted. So far as can be gathered from the obscure records of those times, the murder of Ethelbert of East Anglia took place after the subjugation of the Welsh; and in 794 Offa went to Rome to obtain a pardon from the Pope. This was granted on condition that he would be liberal to the churches and monasteries; and Offa made further provision for the English College at Rome, founded by Ina, king of the West Saxons. Before leaving the great city, he obtained from the Pope the canonisation of Alban, the supposed British martyr of the Diocletian persecution, whose bones, it was alleged, had been recently discovered at Verulam, or, as the early English called it, Werlamcester. On his return to England, he changed the name of the decayed old Roman *municipium* to St. Albans; built there, out of the cumbrous mass of ancient ruins, a stately monastery, of which the abbey-church (now a cathedral) yet remains; and endowed the establishment with a large revenue. Desirous of standing well with the Church, Offa gave a tenth of his goods to the ecclesiastics, and the see of Hereford (his principal city) benefited largely by his gifts. His friendship with Charlemagne was at one time intimate, and letters of the two sovereigns are preserved by Matthew of Paris; yet there was a moment when, owing to an appeal from the Kentish people, the great ruler of the Franks seemed disposed to attack the Mercian king. When Offa died, in 795, he was the most powerful monarch in England, partly by his conquests, and partly by the influence he had acquired through matrimonial alliances with other English princes. But the final supremacy was not to be with Mercia.

Egbert of Wessex was a man of larger powers, or of greater good fortune, than any other sovereign of the Heptarchy. He came of the race of Cerdic the Saxon, one of the leaders of the first immigration from Holstein, and the founder of the kingdom of Wessex. His father was Alcmund, who is said to have reigned in Kent, though this is far from certain. In any case, however, he was regarded as the representative of Cerdic; and when Brihtric became king of Wessex, in 786, he claimed the throne for himself, although then very

Brihtric appears to have made an attempt on his life; upon which he fled to the court of Offa, and afterwards to the Frankish dominions, where he was hospitably received by Charlemagne. On the death of Brihtric, in 800, Egbert was recalled, and elected to the throne of his ancestors; and a brilliant future now opened before him. William of Malmesbury says that he had served three years under Charlemagne, and had thus acquired a mastery of the art of war. At the period of his succession to the throne of Wessex, there were only three independent sovereignties in all England: viz., Wessex itself, Northumbria, and Mercia. Northumbria was torn to pieces by internal feuds, but Mercia, as we have seen, had been raised to a position of importance by the abilities of Offa. The throne of the middle kingdom was now occupied by Cenwulf, and the smaller kingdoms of Kent, Essex, and East Anglia were more or less incorporated with his dominions. Wessex had been aggrandised by Sussex, but as yet its power was not equal to that of Mercia. The first nine years of Egbert's reign were years of peace; but in 809 the ruler of Wessex began that career of conquest which ended by his obtaining a general supremacy over the English kingdoms. The remains of the British race existing in Cornwall and Devon were fiercely assailed, together with their brethren in South Wales; during the next five years all were reduced to at least temporary submission; and the English border in that direction was fixed at the Tamar, which now parts Devon from Cornwall.

The death of Cenwulf, in 819, was followed by dissensions which speedily reduced Mercia to a state of impotence. The military superiority of Wessex now became apparent. All England south of the Thames submitted to the arms of Egbert. A revolt of the East Anglians terminated in the defeat and death of the Mercian king, and the assistance of Egbert was given to the insurgents. Disputes as to the succession still further weakened the power of Mercia; and when Egbert marched into that distracted kingdom, in 827, he found no forces capable of offering him the least resistance. Wiglaf, the reigning king, made an ignominious submission, and was permitted to retain his dominions as a vassal. East Anglia passed under the immediate government of Egbert, who is said by Bede to have conquered all England as far as the Humber. He next marched into Northumbria, the king of which state met the southern conqueror in a spirit of conciliation, and acknowledged in him the rights and dignity of Bretwalda, now for the first time a position of considerable power. From this date (827), Egbert

is usually called the King of England, and not merely the ruler of a comparatively small realm along the southern coast. There is, indeed, an ancient charter of his reign, in which he is styled "Rex Anglorum"; but he does not appear to have generally regarded himself in that light, nor was he in truth the absolute sovereign of the whole country. For the most part, he continued, even to the last, to describe himself simply as King of the West Saxons. Neither Mercia nor Northumbria was actually incorporated in his dominions, though there can be no question that he exercised over both a species of supremacy. The reigning families of those kingdoms remained in possession of their respective lands, in subordination to the stronger power of Egbert. Even Alfred was really nothing more than the ruler of Wessex, with a controlling authority over other parts; but the tendency to union, which had commenced even before the days of Egbert, acquired additional force after his brilliant successes. Nevertheless, the power of the South was but weakly established in the North for some generations. The rulers of Northumbria retained the title of kings until 954. After that date, they were denominated Earls, and the old division of Deira and Bernicia was revived under the names of Yorkshire, Northumberland, and Lothian. Northumberland was not wholly subdued until some time after the Norman Conquest; but the rest of England acknowledged a central authority at a much earlier date.

It might reasonably have been supposed that after the submission of so many territories to the will of a single ruler, and that ruler a man of martial capacity like Egbert, the land would have enjoyed a degree of peace unequalled in previous times. But a new trouble was at hand, and, in the last years of this successful reign, a body of Northern pirates appeared upon the English coasts. These sea-rovers are always mentioned in English history by the name of Danes; but they were probably Danes, Norwegians, and Swedes, united in that confederacy of plunder which has been previously described. Probably, however, the Danes predominated, and the dynasty afterwards established in England was certainly of Danish origin. In 832, a body of Northmen ravaged the Isle of Sheppey; in the following year, they sailed with five-and-thirty vessels into the river Dart, and, on landing, defeated a force which Egbert had sent against them. In 835 they made a descent on Cornwall, and found some allies among the British population of that western peninsula. Egbert advanced against them in person, and overthrew their irregular hordes, more accustomed to sea-fighting than to the tactics of armies. But the English king died in 836, and the attacks of the Danes became more serious after his removal. A few years later, some Scandinavian pirates descended on the coast of Northumbria, and pillaged a monastery, but were exterminated by the people. At first, their numbers were not great, and it seemed as if the forces of English society were abundantly able to meet the danger. But with successive years the hordes from beyond sea became more formidable, more frequent in their visits, and more cruel in their acts. It must be recollected that the Northmen were still heathens, and that religious animosity was added to the desire of plunder. The Danes and their companions believed in Odin, in Thor, and in Friga: they knew that the ancestors of the English, when first they landed on the shores of Britain, paid worship to the same deities; and they regarded their Christian descendants as a set of renegades, to whom no mercy should be shown. But it is a curious feature of the struggle that the invaders belonged to the same general family as the invaded. It was from the southern part of the Danish peninsula, and the adjacent regions, that the Angles, Saxons, and Jutes had proceeded in earlier times; and the only difference between those tribes and the Danes themselves, was that the former belonged to the Germanic division of the Teutonic race, and the latter to the Scandinavian.

Under Ethelwulf, the son and successor of Egbert, the Danes continued their ravages with greater daring. After three years, the English monarch bestowed upon his son the kingdoms of Kent, Essex, and Sussex, reserving to himself the kingdom of Wessex, and the supremacy over the other States. The visits of the Northmen were now annual, and in 852 they sailed up the Thames, and landed near London, which they pillaged. They then proceeded to Canterbury, and, having treated that city in the same unsparing fashion, marched northwards into Mercia. Ethelwulf and Athelstan shortly afterwards went against them, and the Danes, once more entering the south, encountered the English army at Ockley in Surrey, where they experienced a crushing defeat. But the relief was only temporary; for the Danes were not only warlike in themselves, but they had obtained the alliance of men whose ancient quarrel with the English made them glad of any opportunity to avenge their sufferings. All the Welsh populations, whether in Wales itself, or in those western counties which are now reckoned as parts of England,

co-operated with the Northmen, and harassed the English wherever they could find a vulnerable point. Thus assisted, the Danes perpetually returned to the assault, and inflicted terrible miseries on the population. The clergy, seeing how seriously the Christian faith itself was threatened by the heathen pirates, aided the secular power, not merely by exhorting others to fight in defence of their country and their creed, but, in some instances, by entering the field themselves. Another victory over the Danes was gained at the mouth of the Parret, in Somersetshire, and for several years the land enjoyed peace.



GREAT PORTAL, CROWLAND ABBEY.

The next attack of importance was in 866, when the Danes landed in East Anglia, and made preparations for a more systematic invasion than v had hitherto attempted. In the spring, they marched on York, the capital of the Northumbrian kingdom. The land was at that time, as on many previous occasions, distracted by civil strife, and two claimants to the throne, who united their forces to resist the common danger, were overthrown before the walls of the chief city. Northumbria submitted to the invaders, and Mercia would probably have followed, had not Ethelred of Wessex marched hastily to its aid. In 868, peace was concluded at Nottingham between the Danes and the southern English; but the former marched into East Anglia, which was speedily overrun. Edmund, the last king of East Anglia, was seized by the Danes, bound to a tree, and shot to death with arrows. In virtue of this cruel fate at the hands of pagans, King Edmund was afterwards canonised, and the abbey of Bury

St. Edmunds was erected in memory of his martyrdom. Guthrum, the leader of the Danes, assumed the crown, and, for the first time, an actual Danish kingdom was established on English soil. The great abbeys of Peterborough, Crowland, and Ely, were fired, with the slaughter of many monks; and Mercia, fearing for itself, acknowledged the Danish monarch Guthrum as its superior, and even paid him tribute.



KING ALFRED.

It was next the turn of Wessex. Resolving to attack the south, after their rapid successes in the north and in the midlands, the Danes sailed up the Thames to Reading, and landed on the narrow territory between the Thames and the Kennet. The Wessexians resisted with far greater spirit than the Northumbrians, the East Anglians, or the Mercians. Four desperate battles, of an indecisive nature, were fought by King Ethelred; but the English monarch died while the struggle was still raging, and the sceptre then passed into the youthful but resolute hands of the illustrious Alfred. This noble prince and truly admirable man was born in 849 at Wannating in Berkshire—a place usually identified with the village of Wantage, which was then a royal town, and had at one time been a Roman station. He was the son of Ethelwulf, the grandson of Egbert, and the brother of Ethelred. On his mother's side, he was descended from Cerdic the West Saxon, and it appears to have been from his mother that he derived some of the best features of his character. In very early life he went twice to Rome, and, on the first of these occasions, in 853, Pope Leo IV. bestowed on him the royal unction, and adopted him as his son. On succeeding to the throne, in 871, Alfred was only two-and-twenty years of age, and he entered on a terrible inheritance. His biographer, Asser, says that he accepted the crown with reluctance, being doubtful of his own ability to sustain the conflict with the Danish invaders. His despondency was not surprising, for, to say nothing of the natural diffidence of a very young

man, placed in opposition to a remorseless and generally successful enemy, Alfred suffered from some malady, the exact nature of which is not known, but which afflicted him with a kind of hypochondria. The first attack occurred three years earlier, during the festivities which followed his marriage with Elswitha, the daughter of a Mercian nobleman; and these terrible visitations continued from day to day until his forty-fourth year, if indeed they ceased then. Alfred knew only too well his own infirmities; his genius he as yet knew not; but he was too good a patriot to shrink from the duty which events had committed to his charge.

The early years of Alfred's reign are very obscure, and it is impossible to say what were the first steps taken by the youthful monarch to stem the torrent of invasion. We can dimly see, however, that the struggle proceeded, that the English of Wessex spared no efforts to resist the strangers, but that on the whole they were worsted. After a time, Alfred made peace with the Danes, on condition that they should quit Wessex; possibly he bribed them with a sum of money. They then turned their forces, augmented by fresh arrivals from the continent, towards Mercia and Northumbria, and, undisturbed by Alfred, pushed their conquests as far as the British kingdom of Strathclyde. It was not until 876 that they again appeared in Wessex. Alfred drove them from Wareham into Exeter, where they formed an alliance with the Welsh, still numerous in that part of the country. The western city, however, was invested by the English King in the spring of 877, and starved into surrender. The Danes once more undertook to leave Wessex; but they reappeared at Chippenham in January, 878. Relying on their promises, Alfred had disbanded his forces, and was unable for a while to offer any resistance. It was then that, with a small band of followers, he threw himself into the Isle of Athelney, in Somersetshire, separated from the surrounding country by the marshes of the Parret and the Tone, which there unite. The position was protected by a fort, and by the difficulties of the ground: there could be no better situation for watching the movements of an enemy. The prospect, however, was desperate, for many of the English had fled beyond the seas, while the rest, seeing the hopelessness of resistance, had given in their submission to the Danes. Before finding a refuge in the Isle of Athelney, Alfred had been a mere fugitive in the woods and desert places, and he was even now in a most precarious position. There is reason to believe that he had at this period lost the goodwill of the nobility, and that his conduct was in some respects marked by very different characteristics to those which he afterwards exhibited. However this may have been—and it is possible that he momentarily yielded to the promptings of despondency—it is certain that he made good use of his time in the little marshy isle. His followers were disciplined into a small but highly effective force, and frequent incursions were conducted into the neighbouring country, with the double object of harassing the enemy, and supplying the garrison with food. At the same time, the insular territory was so well defended by artificial works that the Danes, had they made any attack, would probably have been foiled.

When at length Alfred considered himself strong enough to take the offensive, he quitted his place of refuge, and gathered a number of adherents about him at a place called Egbert's Stone, in Selwood Forest. The Danes were at that time encamped on Bratton Hill, between Edington and Westbury, in Wiltshire; and Alfred took up a position on a neighbouring eminence, from which he could scan the movements of his enemy. It was while stationed here that the English King, according to a romantic legend which at any rate is not impossible, entered the Danish camp in the disguise of a harper, and played before Guthrum. His object, of course, was to obtain an intimate knowledge of the adversary's numbers, resources, and position; and, supposing the event to have really taken place, it doubtless contributed to the victory of the following day. The battle of Edington was fought early in May, 878, and the discomfiture of the Danes was so great that they retired within their fortified camp, which surrendered after a siege of fourteen days. Guthrum was then baptized as a Christian, and, by an arrangement concluded at Wedmore, solemnly bound himself to quit Wessex, and keep the peace towards its inhabitants. On the other side, Alfred undertook to leave the Danes in possession of East Anglia, the western boundary of which was fixed at the ancient Roman way called Watling Street. The peace thus concluded remained unbroken for several years, during which Alfred directed his vast energies and great mental powers to the reorganisation of his kingdom. At first, his sway was almost entirely confined to Wessex, but it afterwards extended, in a greater or less degree, over Mercia, Northumbria, and East Anglia. From about 894, he appears to have really had some claim to be considered the sovereign of all England, though doubtless his rule was more directly and absolutely exercised in Wessex than in the remoter parts of the country.

d was not merely a Wessexian; he was an shman in the widest sense of the term. All fforts were directed to the advantage and ness of the English race, whether in the south, orth, or the east; and this result he effected s self-respect, his industry, his virtue, and his erful powers of organisation.

e country was in a state of general disruption, quent on many years of foreign invasion and stic jealousy. The people were ignorant, and ny respects barbarous; but they had in them apabilities of a noble future, and it was the s of Alfred which, to a very large extent, the England of later days. It was by him uined cities and castles were rebuilt; that the was redivided into hundreds and tithings, a view to internal government, and to defence st attack; that a navy was created for the ime in our history; that the laws of Ina and were codified and amended; that the habit of te revenge was restrained; and that the tion of justice was rendered at once more firm more humane. Trade and industry were raged by this noble prince, whose personal ty, in everything that could concern the good s people, or his own moral and intellectual ncement, was unresting. He established ls, encouraged the cultivation of the English e, sent forth explorers to examine the White nd the coast of Esthonia, and brought learned from abroad, to instruct the people in various hes of education. He was himself an author, translated into the English of his native ex the Latin writings of Boëthius, of Orosius, f Bede, whose productions he enriched by entaries of his own. Alfred was the earliest r of English prose. England had already ced several distinguished scholars; but the age in which they wrote was Latin. Cædmon, l, expressed himself in his mother tongue; is compositions were in verse, and the other s of really English character were little else battle-songs. Thenceforward, the Wessexian of English—the English, that is to say, of the western Saxons—was the predominant form, f which modern English has mainly arisen.

e peace of Wedmore lasted until about 893, a fresh invasion of Northmen, under the ship of Hastings, brought renewed trouble England. Hastings and his pirates had ly desolated various parts of France, and now appeared upon the English coast in two one of which, under the command of the freebooter himself, sailed up the Thames, and e passed into the East Swale. The forces of Hastings disembarked at Milton, near Sittingbourne; the other array took up a position on the coast of Kent, near Romney Marsh. This new danger was encountered by the joint operations of Alfred and his son-in-law Ethelred, the ruler whom the King had set over Mercia. The two Danish armies endeavoured to effect a junction, but were defeated, and compelled to take refuge in the island of Mersey, at the mouth of the Colne. Here they were blockaded by Alfred; but the Danes of East Anglia rose in aid of their countrymen, and, making their approaches by the southern coast, endeavoured to rouse the British population of the West. Another Danish fleet set sail from Northumbria, passed round the northern extremity of Scotland, and, turning south, reached the Bristol Channel. The danger was now most threatening, for that part of the island was mainly in the hands of tribes whose British race inclined them to league with any strangers who were the enemies of Englishmen. Alfred at once broke up the blockade which he had established on the coast of Essex, and marched across the country to Exeter, which he soon relieved of its assailants. But the peril, subdued in one direction, became all the greater in another. Hastings, having no longer any important foe to encounter in the east, passed up the Thames, and fell with unresisted fury upon Mercia. Quickly following on his steps, Ethelred shut him up in a fortress on the Severn, from which his men vainly endeavoured to cut their way out. Vast numbers were slain; but Hastings and a small band got back to Essex, and shortly afterwards, when reinforced, started on a fresh expedition. Chester was seized in 895, and part of North Wales ravaged; but Ethelred drove the Danes from their positions, and incessantly harassed their rear as they retreated to the Lea by the circuitous route of Northumbria and East Anglia. Here they were once more watched by Alfred; but in 896, after several months of inaction, the invaders poured through Mercia, and took up a position at Bridgenorth, in Shropshire. Hastings had by this time lost heart, and returned to France; and in 897 the war was terminated by a naval action on the coast of Wessex. The death of Alfred followed in 901; Ethelred expired about the same time; but a series of successful operations against the Danes of Mercia was conducted by Ethelfleda, the heroic daughter of Alfred and widow of Ethelred.

Edward the Elder, the successor of Alfred, followed up the victories of that great monarch, subdued East Anglia and Essex, and was acknowledged by Northumbria, Strathclyde, and the

neighbouring Scots, as their superior lord. Dying in 925, Edward was succeeded by Athelstan, one of the greatest princes of early English times. The Celts were driven by him from Exeter; Scotland was invaded with success; the Welsh were compelled to pay tribute; and, by a great battle in the North, fought in 937 at a place called by the early chroniclers Brunanburgh, Athelstan entirely defeated a formidable combination against his power. It is probable that this warlike sovereign hoped to establish his authority over the whole of Britain, even including what we now understand as Scotland; but, sustained as was his energy, remarkable as were his soldierly abilities, he was confronted by too many foes to effect so large a design. Nevertheless, the fame of Athelstan reached even to the continent, and the alliance of the English monarch was valued by sovereigns whose territories were greater than his own. He revised and enlarged the code of laws compiled by Alfred, and seems to have made some public provision for the destitute. Monasteries were erected in various quarters, and the translation of the Scriptures into English was systematically encouraged. Athelstan died in 940, after a reign of only fifteen years, during which much had been accomplished, and much left undone.

A large portion of the north-east was now Danish, owing to the immense numbers of Northmen who had settled within its bounds. The territory went under the general name of the Danelagh (that is, the land subject to Danish law), and was a centre of frequent intrigues against the more English part of the country, though the strangers were beginning to renounce their Paganism for Christianity. Northumbria, in particular, gave continual trouble. In the ensuing reigns of Edmund I., Edred, and Edwy, extending from 940 to 958, the Danes recovered a good deal of their power, but were held in check by the able administration of the celebrated Abbot Dunstan, who ultimately became Archbishop of Canterbury. Northumbria was divided into three portions, the most northern of which, extending from the Tweed to the Frith of Forth, was granted to the Scotch King Kenneth, who had already received Cumberland as a part of his domain. It was then that Edinburgh—originally an English town, founded by, and named after, the Northumbrian King Edwin—became the capital of Scotland; but the English blood remained predominant in the south-eastern parts of that kingdom. Edgar, who succeeded to the throne of England in 958, and reigned till 975, raised his country to a high pe of prosperity. A statesman and a legislator, he secured the realm against foreign attack, compelled the Danes of Ireland to acknowledge the English supremacy, and, with the assistance of Dunstan, reformed the laws of his predecessors. Eight vassal kings, it is said, rowed him in his boat over the Dee, relating the story of Brutus the Trojan; but symptons of disorganisation broke out during the brief reign of his successor, Edward the Martyr, who was murdered in 979. England again suffered from disunion; the Danes, who at any rate acted with singleness of purpose, gathered force from the dissensions of their antagonists; and, in the latter part of the tenth century, Ethelred II., called the Unready, from the hesitating weakness of his character, compounded with them for peace. This ill-advised concession was followed, in 1002, by an atrocious act which speedily brought its punishment. It is stated that, on the 13th of November in that year, all the Danes in England were treacherously massacred. Though it is scarcely possible that the crime can have been carried out to this extent, the slaughter was undoubtedly very considerable, and the Danes beyond the seas determined on revenge. In the following year, their ruler, Sweyn, appeared off the coast of England with a large fleet. After a long and futile struggle, Ethelred fled into Normandy, and the whole of England was reduced by Sweyn, who died in 1014. The Danes, however, must subsequently have receded from the southern parts of England, for Ethelred returned, and reigned feebly at London until his death in 1016.

On the decease of Sweyn, the kingship of the Danes in England passed into the hands of his son, the celebrated Canute, and the sovereignty of England was for a time shared between that prince and the heroic Edmund Ironside. This agreement had been preceded by a short but obstinate war, in which neither was able to obtain any decided success over the other. Whether peace could have been long maintained between them is extremely doubtful, for both were brave and warlike; but Edmund Ironside had not been in quiet possession of his realm many months ere he was murdered, possibly at the instigation of Canute, who certainly removed some of his antagonists by assassination. The character of the Danish monarch appears to have altered very strangely in the course of his reign. He began as a merciless and unscrupulous tyrant; he ended as a wise and benevolent ruler. Such, at least, are the accounts left us by the early chroniclers, and it may be that, having established his power beyond dispute, he was discreet enough to use it well. England was now really united under one sceptre, but it was the sceptre of an alien.

reign of Canute as sole King of England ded from 1017, after the death of Edmund ide, to 1035, when his own life came to an

During the whole of that period, the country t peace. and Canute, though he was the ruler enmark too, always dwelt in his insular . The English, no less than the Danes, ted the justice of his sway. The laws of r were restored, and the provincial independ- of the four chief divisions of England—viz., ia, Northumberland, Wessex, and East Anglia s secured by the creation of four Earldoms, nevertheless were subordinate to the supreme rity of the crown. Canute severely repressed apacious exactions, and his piety, though cterised by the usual superstitions of his time, apparently sincere. The hackneyed story of eproof he administered to his courtiers for flattery, is doubtless a monkish legend; but, it shows the estimation in which he was held e priests.

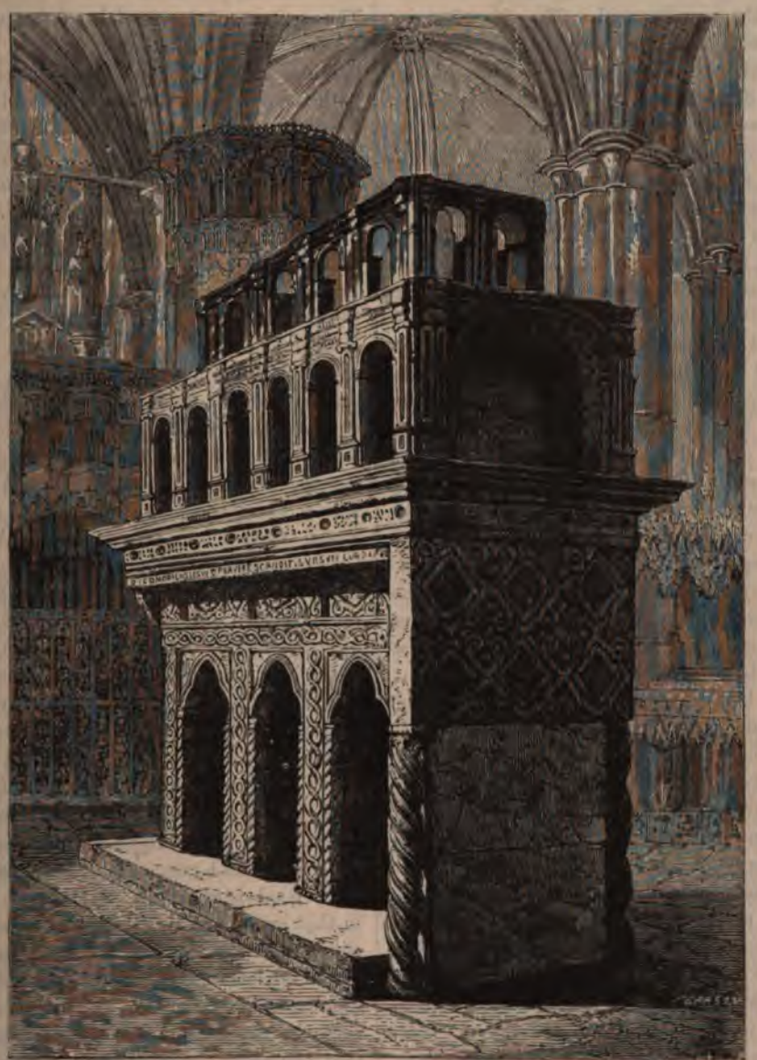
e death of Canute was succeeded by a time isturbance, for his two sons by different ers, Harold and Hardicanute, disputed the ssion of the throne. Civil war, however, averted by an agreement that Hardicanute d succeed to the kingdom of Wessex, and that e rest of England, including London, should be ortion of Harold. Afterwards, on the death arold, Hardicanute reunited the whole country r his single rule. His own death, in 1042, led estoration of the English line in the person lward the Confessor, son of Ethelred II. by a, daughter of Richard I., Duke of Nor- y. Edward was born in England, but, only nine years of age, had been carried over ormandy in consequence of the successes of Danish leader Sweyn, who had put Ethelred ght. There he remained, with the exception few visits to England, until the accession of licanute to the undivided kingdom. Hardi- e was his half-brother, being the son of a by her second husband, Canute; and it rs to have been understood that he would ed to the throne at the next vacancy. The ish were doubtless glad to receive once more ng of their own race; but Edward was by and education a Norman, and he filled Eng- with Norman officials. The language of strangers was what Edward himself usually oyed, and the way was thus prepared for the n dominion afterwards established by the l of William the Conqueror. The English , nevertheless, was not devoid of powerful ort. The King had married Editha, daughter of Godwin, the powerful Earl of Wessex—a man of humble origin, but of great ability and resolution. The influence of Godwin was always given in favour of his own countrymen, and the power of the Normans was held in check. Strange to say, Edward the Confessor was popular with the English people, notwithstanding his foreign surroundings, and in spite of a cold and unsympathetic nature, which he decked, rather than animated, with the habits of devotion and the observances of the cloister. In after ages, the name of Edward the Confessor was regarded with a veneration amounting to worship; but his celebrated code of laws, often appealed to in the early Norman times as the standard of perfection, was really the work of Godwin, rather than of himself. His piety, however sincere, was sheer monkery of the lowest type, and he has been accused of actual cruelty to his own relations. His reign was for the most part quiet and prosperous; but the banishment of the Godwin family, in 1051, when the long-standing jealousy of the English and the Normans had broken out into an open broil, led to a species of civil war, which ended in the restoration of the Earl and his party to greater power than before. Some other feuds occurred from time to time, but, on the whole, England enjoyed an interval of repose under the sceptre of her priestly king. Edward died on the 5th of January, 1066, in the twenty-fourth year of his reign, and was buried the following day in the Abbey of Westminster, which had been consecrated about a week before. He was canonized by Pope Alexander III. a century after his death, and it was in the Bull of canonization that the title of Confessor was first bestowed on him. The use of the Great Seal was introduced during the reign of Edward, and he is said to have been the first of our monarchs who touched for the king's evil. From a national point of view, his reign must be considered unfortunate and ominous. When Earl Godwin returned from exile, at the head of an armed force, he compelled the King to dismiss all his Normans from England; but the way was none the less prepared for what afterwards ensued. It is a singular fact that William of Normandy, then a very young man, came over to England, with a powerful fleet, in 1051, when Edward was engaged in resisting the dictation of Godwin; and that he then offered to give the English King any help he might require in the assertion of his supremacy. This, of course, meant the further establishment of Norman predominance in the counsels of England; so that the virtual subjection of the country by William might have been



ALFRED THE GREAT, DISGUISED AS A HARPER, PLAYING BEFORE GUTHRUM.

cted fifteen years before its actual conquest, l it not been for the sudden return of Godwin l Harold from abroad, with military power ficient to make good their cause.

What is generally called Anglo-Saxon history



SHRINE OF EDWARD THE CONFESSOR, WESTMINSTER ABBEY.

ough the term Anglo-Saxon is a modern com- nd, unknown to the early English themselves) y be said to terminate with the death of Edward Confessor; for the brief struggle of Harold to intain his power was but the prelude to the rman Conquest. The main characteristics of t history are the efforts of the English race, t to wrest the land from the possession of its Celtic occupiers, and next to defend their own acquisitions from the hordes of Danes and Norwegians. It is a wild story of battle and destruction, varied by the rise of new political and social forms, and by the spread of Christianity among the pagan Saxons and Angles, and afterwards among the pagan Danes. On the whole, the English race prevailed, and it did so by virtue of its prowess, its determination, and its good sense. The English constitution of those days has often been ascribed to Alfred; but, whatever that great man may have done in the way of organisation and improvement, the elements of the political state were derived from

the Teutonic ancestors of the tribes which conquered Britain. The King was simply the warlike chieftain of warlike men, and, in primitive times, was not associated with the land itself. At that period, the office was elective; later on, it became hereditary, though still with a certain pretence of ascertaining the popular will. The life of every man was assessed at a fixed price, which was paid as a fine by any one who should kill him; and to this rule the King himself was no exception, only the fine in his case was higher than in any other. It is interesting to find the Parliamentary system existing from the first in England. The Witenagemote, as the great national council was called, was an assemblage of the chief ecclesiastics, the Ealdormen of shires, and the principal landed proprietors. The literal meaning of the word is "an assemblage of wise men"—of men who knew, or were supposed to know, what the country required. Each of the seven or eight early kingdoms had its own Witenagemote before the partial union of all under the supremacy of Edgar; afterwards there was but one for the whole of England. This assembly had the right of withholding its recognition of the King, and even of deposing him. The making of new laws and treaties was among its prerogatives; taxes were levied by its consent; it had a voice in the regulation of military and ecclesiastical affairs; and it was the supreme court of justice in all matters, whether civil or criminal. The King had no power to raise forces, either by sea or land, without its sanction; nor, when it had once met, could he dismiss the assembly by his own will.

We have here a genuine Parliament of very extensive powers, and the root of English liberty may be discovered in the Witenagemote of our ancestors. But the system had this grave defect—that there was no election of delegates, so that the freeman had to appear in person, or not at all. As long as the small kingdoms of the Heptarchy existed, this was a comparatively easy matter; but when all were united, and yet there was but one Parliament for the whole, the poorer sort, who lived hundreds of miles away from London or Winchester (where the West-Saxon kings generally held their court), were practically disfranchised. Before the era of the Conquest, the national council had become little more than a gathering of great lords, eminent ecclesiastics, and powerful officers of State. With the creation of this political oligarchy, a species of feudalism took the place of the older freedom, and the peasants became, to some extent, the serfs of the landed proprietors. The system of territorial subdivision by which England was distributed into shires, hundreds, and tithings, existed in the Anglo-Saxon times, and both the shire and the hundred had local courts for the discussion and settlement of their local questions. Trial by jury was until recently supposed to be an Anglo-Saxon institution, and at one time it was usual to attribute it to King Alfred. But a more precise examination of ancient records has shown that nothing beyond the rudiments of the system existed in times before the Conquest.

We are accustomed to speak of the early English as a species of barbarians in all matters of scholarship and art; but this is very far from being the truth. The names of Cædmon the poet, Winifrid (or Boniface), the Christian missionary, Alcuin, the confidant and adviser of Charlemagne, Bede, the ecclesiastical historian, King Alfred himself, Asser, his biographer, the authors of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicles, Dunstan, the Archbishop of Canterbury, St. Cuthbert, and others, are sufficient to show that even in those days England could produce men of great intellectual power and acquirements. The poetry of the early English—in which the verse was alliterative, and only in the later ages made any approach to rhyme—was distinguished by energy, vividness, and rhetorical effect; and it has often been remarked that Cædmon, in his religious poem on the Fall of Man, anticipated in some degree the conceptions of Milton. The architecture of the Anglo-Saxons was characterised by a large and rugged grandeur, and the people were good workers in metal, and not deficient in that artistic skill which is more commonly associated with the Normans. The dress of an Anglo-Saxon nobleman, and of his wife, was almost Greek in its simplicity and grace. But it must be admitted that the manners of the people were coarse, and that the violent passions and gross enjoyments of the Scandinavian North still clung to the founders of the English race.

CHAPTER XVIII.

SCOTLAND, ENGLAND, AND THE NORMAN CONQUEST.

The Picts, the Earliest Inhabitants of Scotland—Their Geographical Position and Primitive History—Decline of the Pictish Kingdom—Increasing Power of the Caledonian Scots—Succession of Kenneth to the Pictish Throne—Alleged Extermination of the Picts—Union of the Eastern and Western Parts of North Britain under the Name of Scotland—Division of the Ancient Province of Valentia into Lodonia, Strathclyde, and Galloway—The Norwegians in the Orkneys and Caithness—Reigns of Duncan and Macbeth—Succession of Malcolm Canmore—Spread of English Influence in Scotland—Resistance of the Celts—Beneficent Reign of David I.—Development of Civilisation in Scotland—Friendly Relations between that Country and England—Affairs in the South—Alleged Bequest of the English Crown by Edward the Confessor to William of Normandy—Position of Harold towards Duke William—Succession of Harold to the Throne—Revolt of Tostig, and Battle of Stamford Bridge—Preparations of William for the Invasion of England—Norman History during the Previous Century and a Half—Character and Actions of Duke William—Landing of the Normans near Pevensey—The Battle of Hastings, or Senlac—Immediate Submission of the South of England—Revolt in the North—Repeated Insurrections against the Norman Despot—Measures of Terrible Severity—The Rising of 1071, aided by Malcolm Canmore—Hereward in the Isle of Ely—Treatment of England as a Conquered Country—The Better Features of William's Rule—Suppression of the Great Earldoms—Domesday Book—Years of Disturbance—Revolt of Duke Robert—Death of William I.—Troubled Reign of William Rufus, and Death in the New Forest.

WHILE the early English were establishing themselves in Southern Britain, another nationality was growing up in the Northern part of the island, which was destined to distinguish itself in future times. The earliest inhabitants of Scotland, as the country is now called, were the Picti of the Romans—the Picts of modern writers: a people whose name is thought to have been derived from the habit of painting their bodies, and who were probably allied to the Britons. These, however, were not the true Scots, and by the Romans the country was called, not Scotia, but Caledonia, and confined to those regions which lay north of a line drawn from the mouth of the Clyde to the Frith of Forth. The Scotia of those early days was Ireland, otherwise called Hibernia; and it was from Ireland, as we have previously related,* that the Scots invaded Caledonia. Whether the Picts were exactly the race described by Latin writers under the name of Caledonians, is a question open to doubt; but, even if there was some little difference, it is probable that both were Celts. The Scots also belonged to the same immense race; but it must be recollected that the Celts were subdivided into numerous bodies, the progenitors of distinct nationalities. The latter end of the fifth century seems to have been the period when the Irish Scots crossed over from the western island to the coast of Argyle. Establishing themselves on that side of Caledonia, they drove the natives before them towards the east; and it was at this time that the latter began to be generally known as Picts. Everything about these people is obscure: their origin, the extent of their power, and their ultimate fate, are alike involved in uncertainty, and have given rise to much heated discussion. It is now, however, generally admitted that they were a Celtic race, though at one time their Teutonic lineage was maintained by distinguished antiquarians. The southern boundary of the Picts was the wall of Antoninus; but it is impossible to indicate the line of demarcation between their territory and that of the Scots, which extended along the western coast from the Frith of Clyde to the modern Ross-shire. Thus, no portion of what is now the south of Scotland was included in Caledonia. During the Roman domination, the province between the walls of Hadrian and Antoninus was called Valentia. A period of wild disorder and contention followed, in which the Picts rather harassed the ancient Valentia than conquered it; but early in the seventh century the eastern half of this territory was included in Northumbria, while the western half formed the British kingdom of Strathclyde, south of which, and therefore occupying the north-western part of modern England, was the dominion of Cumbria, also a possession of the struggling Britons.

The country of the Picts, small as it was, came in a little while to be divided into two portions, one south and the other north of the Grampians. These portions were sometimes governed by different princes, at others were subjected to a single rule. Lists of the early Pictish kings have been preserved; but in many respects their authenticity is doubtful, and the records of these petty chieftains are unimportant and uninteresting. As the power of the Northumbrian English increased, it gradually extended into Pictavia, and in 685 Egfrid, the monarch of Northumbria, made an

* See p. 33 of this volume.

attempt to subdue the whole country. Accompanied by a powerful army, he crossed the Frith of Tay, and encountered the Picts at a place called Nechtansmere, probably in the district of Angus. The result was the utter rout of the invaders, with the death of their king; and the Picts not only recovered the ground they had lost, but for a time conquered a portion of Northumbria itself. After this event, the Pictish sovereigns held a position of some little consequence. Civilisation made progress in their realm, and the Pictish Church was assimilated to the English. But, on the death of Hungus, in 760, the kingdom began to decline. Various claimants to the crown arose, and the country was broken up into a number of small principalities. All this while, the Scots of the west were steadily advancing, and they were now to establish their predominance over the whole land. Much of the early history of this race is fabulous, though enthusiasts have been found to assert its truth. Accounts have been given of Scottish kings reigning as far back as the time of Alexander the Great, and old chronicles allege that in the year 330 B.C. an Irish Scot, named Fergus, conquered Caledonia, and established a monarchy which lasted until 357 of the Christian era, when Eugenius I., son of Fincormachus, was slain in battle by the Romans and Picts under Maximus. But these sovereigns belong apparently to the same shadowy and doubtful land as that in which we encounter the figures of Brutus the Trojan, King Lear, King Lud, and other worthies of early British times.* The Scots from Ireland, according to the more critical authorities of modern days, did not enter Caledonia much before the close of the fifth century; but, by the early part of the ninth, they had acquired a considerable power. Their career during the intervening period of rather more than three hundred years had been one of almost continual warfare. They had to struggle against the Picts of the east, the Britons of Strathclyde, and the English of Northumbria; and it would seem that for a time they were under some degree of subjection to the last-named. The defeat of Egfrid by the Picts in 685 relieved them from foreign domination, and they then made rapid progress.

On the death of the Pictish monarch Hungus, the most powerful candidate for the vacant throne was Kenneth, son of Alpin, King of the Scots, who, on his mother's side, was descended from the Pictish sovereigns. It is not improbable that, by the peculiar laws of succession existing among the Picts, Kenneth was the true heir; at any rate, he obtained the crown in 843, and began to reign at Forteviot, in Stratherne, the capital of the Pictish kingdom. The dominion of the Scots had hitherto been called Dalriada, probably after one of the Scottish chieftains; but this realm was united with Pictavia under the general appellation of Albany—a name doubtless derived from Albion, or Albin, by which the whole of Britain had been known in very primitive ages. It was now that the Picts, as a separate nation, disappeared from view, and so much were they overshadowed, shortly after the accession of Kenneth, that many writers, misled by a passage in Henry of Huntingdon, who wrote in the twelfth century, have supposed they were completely exterminated. This apparent vanishing from the historic stage has been described by a modern writer in a very striking passage. "The Pictish vessel," he observes, "is seen in the distant horizon; she approaches rapidly, till you clearly distinguish the crew upon the deck; but before you are near enough to hear their voices, she sinks, the waters close over her, and the wreck never can be raised. The total extinction of the Pictish language renders any further inquiry impossible. The acumen and criticism of the nineteenth century cannot advance beyond the homely wisdom of the twelfth."†

It appears, however, to be entirely erroneous to suppose that the Picts were blotted out of existence at the period to which we are referring, or at any other. A Scottish prince, indeed, succeeded to the Pictish throne, and in time the Dalriadic Scots became the dominant race; but the Pictish blood continued in that part of Caledonia, and forms an element in the people of modern Scotland. The union of the two races—as, in England, the union of the English with the Danes—was facilitated by the fact that they were really near relations. As Danes and English were simply two branches of the great Teutonic stock, so Scots and Picts were only two members of the Celtic family. In the main, they spoke the same language, though with certain dialectical differences; so that in a little while the two nations, if they may be so called, melted into one, and a homogeneous Celtic sovereignty was established from the Friths of Forth and Clyde to the extreme north of the island. It was not until the tenth century that the united kingdom of the Picts and Scots was

* The chief authorities for the Scottish narrations are Hector Boece, whose "History of Scotland" was published in [illegible] and George Buchanan, who issued a similar work in 1582. [illegible]ediates the fanciful tales of his predecessors.

† Sir Francis Palgrave's History of Normandy and England, Vol. IV.

by the general name of Scotia, or Scotland. tinguish it from Ireland, the true and original , the land of Kenneth and his descendants metimes called Scotia Nova, or New Scot- But in time the name entirely disappeared Ireland, and was confined to the northern f Britain.

this period, the country south of the Forth lyde—the Valentia of the Romans—formed t of Scotland. It was divided into three ts: Lodonia, Strathclyde, and Galloway. rst of these, which included the Lothians, er with some other counties, belonged, as we already said, to the English kingdom of ia, which afterwards formed part of the Northumbrian realm. The population was English; but in 971 the land was formally dered by Edgar to Kenneth III. Strath- maintained its independence until the defeat king, Dunwallon, in 973. The Scottish , who reigned from 1098 to 1107, bequeathed clyde to his youngest brother, David, so that e more acquired a species of independence, not under one of its own princes. But on cession of David to the kingdom of Scotland, 24, Strathclyde was permanently united to ealm, and now forms the counties of Lanark enfrew, with other parts of the south-west. pital was the fortress-town of Alclyde, or arton—a city romantically situated, and ding in historic legend. The annals of vay are particularly obscure; but it ap- to have been a Pictish country, though subjected to Northumbrian influences. The kingdom of Cumbria, lying within the h borders, was made over to the Scottish ign, Malcolm I., by Edmund I. in 946, and ld as an English fief down to 1072.

h were the mingled English and Celtic elements made up the Scotland of those early days. ere was another element also, which was de- from Norway. In the latter part of the century, the Orkney and Western Islands seized by Norwegian pirates, and in 894 l, Earl of Orkney, and Thorstein the Red, overned in the Western Isles, joined their for a descent on the mainland. Quickly ing Caithness, Sutherland, Ross, and Moray, ny rate, the greater portion of those districts, stablished there a principality, which resisted acks for about a hundred years. The descen- of these Norwegians were subdued by a in of Moray, who afterwards succeeded to ottish throne under the title of Malcolm II. Norwegians, however, recovered their power a few years later, and a long war between Malcolm II. and Thorfinn, the son of Sigurd, terminated, in 1034, in the complete discomfiture of the Scots, and the death of their king. The whole country, from the extreme north to the Frith of Tay, was subdued by the Norwegians, who founded a kingdom which lasted thirty years. On the death of Malcolm II., the southern part of Scotland passed under the rule of his grandson Duncan, who, on his father's side, is believed to have been a Pict. In 1040, this prince, taking advantage of the temporary absence of Thorfinn from Caithness, led an expedition against his dominions, but, on reaching Moray, was encountered by Macbeth, the petty chieftain of that territory, who defeated Duncan near Elgin, slew him, and assumed the royal diadem of Scotland.

It will be seen that the story of Duncan and Macbeth, as set forth in Shakspeare's drama, bears very little relation to the facts. The quarrel was really a contention between Duncan as a Pict, and Macbeth as a Gael, or Scot. The dominions of Macbeth were confined to the southern part of Scotland, where he is said to have reigned with wisdom and equity. The northern part was still ruled over by Thorfinn, whose Norwegian countrymen were firmly established in Caithness. Macbeth, however, was always regarded as an usurper, and in 1054 he was attacked by an English force under Siward, Earl of Northumberland, whose expedition had been sanctioned by Edward the Confessor. Duncan's eldest son, Malcolm, had taken refuge at the English court after the death of his father, and it was doubtless owing to his representations that an English army was despatched against Macbeth, who was soon driven out of the country lying south of the Forth and Clyde. The sovereignty of this small dominion was immediately assumed by Malcolm, who has been distinguished by the surname of Canmore, or Great Head. Macbeth continued for four years longer to reign in that part of Scotland stretching from the Forth and Clyde on the south to the Tay on the north; but in 1058 he was again attacked by the English, and, being driven to Lumphanan, in Aberdeenshire, was there killed in battle. Thorfinn the Norwegian died in 1064, and the northern districts he had ruled were slowly brought back beneath the sceptre of the Scottish kings.

The reign of Malcolm III. lasted until 1093, and was productive of some very important events in Scotland. Having dwelt for a long time in England, where he married the sister of Edgar Atheling, his sympathies became almost entirely English, as those of Edward the Confessor had

become chiefly Norman. On returning to Scotland, he introduced English customs, the English language, and an English population, into parts of the country which had previously been far more Celtic than Teutonic. After the conquest of England by William of Normandy, a still further immigration from the south poured into the northern kingdom, and the character of the Lowlands, so far as population was concerned, underwent a considerable and permanent modification from that time forth. The death of Malcolm, however, was followed by a desperate attempt on the part of the Celtic population to recover their old ascendency. They refused to admit the claim of Duncan, the son of Malcolm III., to succeed his father on the Scottish throne, and gave their support to Malcolm's brother, Donald Bane; vindicating their choice by the law of succession which had existed among the Dalriadic Scots, who brought it with them from Ireland. Entering into an alliance with the Norwegian King, Magnus Barefoot, who then ruled in the Western Islands, Donald at first prevailed over his antagonist; but Duncan soon afterwards provided himself with an English army, by the help of which he drove back the forces of Donald. The war, however, did not end here; for Duncan had to contend, not merely with the armed forces of Donald, but with the prejudices of his own Celtic subjects against the population of the south. Ultimately, another English army, commanded by Edgar Atheling, inflicted an overwhelming defeat on Donald, and bestowed the crown on Edgar, a brother of Duncan.



EDINBURGH CASTLE, AS IT WAS BEFORE THE SIEGE OF 1573.

The supremacy of the English party was now secured in southern Scotland; and although the Celtic blood, together with the Celtic speech, was still predominant in the Highlands, the superior civilisation of the Lowlands gave the final stamp to Scottish history. Edinburgh (originally, as we have shown, an English town) became the principal Scottish city, though not as yet the capital; and the English-speaking part of Scotland was thenceforth the seat of all those higher influences which finally determined the character of the people.

The prevailing tendency had a powerful friend in the new King, Edgar, whose English name, and English origin on the mother's side, were in harmony with his whole conduct on the Scottish throne. His reign, however, was but short, extending only from 1098 to 1107; and his brother, Alexander I., who succeeded him, died in 1124. The next King of Scotland, David I., also a brother of Edgar, was one of the greatest of the Scottish monarchs. The previous connection of this sovereign with the principality of Cumbria, and, through his wife, with the Earldoms of Northumberland, Northampton, and Huntingdon, increased his original disposition to the English alliance. But his championship of the cause of Matilda, as heir to the English crown, brought him into conflict with the supporters of Stephen, and in 1138 he was defeated, near Northallerton, in what is called the Battle of the Standard, from the circumstance of the Archbishop of York having displayed a consecrated banner at a critical moment, when the English were being hotly pressed by their opponents. The glory of David was not in his warlike achievements, but in those peaceful acts



THE CASTLE OF FALAISE AND FOUNTAIN OF ARLETTE.

by which he advanced the civilisation and prosperity of his realm. In the first half of the twelfth century, the condition of England was much more advanced than that of Scotland. The clans of the extreme north were little better than savages, and the population of the Lowlands, which, as we have seen, was partly of English, partly of British origin, had to maintain a perpetual contest with the Celtic tribes, who from time to time burst upon peaceful fields and homesteads, carrying desolation wherever they came. To strengthen his power as a border sovereign, King David invited several Anglo-Norman knights into Scotland, and by their assistance prevailed over the wild marauders of the hills and moors. He then erected a large number of castles, by which the malcontents were held in awe; founded boroughs, promoted trade, shipping, and manufactures, and, while supporting the legitimate claims of the Church, opposed any undue assertion of its power. Norman, English, and Flemish colonies were planted along the eastern coast. A code of laws, which ultimately displaced the traditionary usages of the Celts, must also be reckoned among the beneficent labours of this vigorous, intelligent, and amiable prince. David died at Carlisle on the 24th of May, 1153, and was succeeded by his grandson, Malcolm IV., who reigned twelve years. The three following reigns—those of William the Lion, Alexander II., and Alexander III.—cover a period of remarkable prosperity, during which the southern part of Scotland advanced rapidly in civilisation, and became more and more assimilated to the English character. Henry II. of England created for a time some feeling of ill-will by requiring the Scottish monarchs to do homage for their whole kingdom, instead of simply for Cumberland, which they held of the English crown; but the claim was happily abandoned by Richard I., and a sentiment of amity and mutual respect sprang up between the two chief divisions of Britain. The wild chieftains of the north maintained a species of independence; but, on the whole, the power of the Scottish kings continued to increase, and, by a treaty with Norway, Alexander III. added to his dominions both the Isle of Man and the Western Islands. The death of Alexander III., in 1286, brings us to the threshold of those wars with England which we cannot here anticipate.

By a remarkable dispensation, the influence of the English race began to decline in England itself at the very period when it was making progress in Scotland. The unlucky preference of Edward the Confessor for all things Norman [illegible] a desolating invasion on his country, and subjected the true English people to some ages of servitude. William of Normandy, as he afterwards asserted, received from Edward the Confessor, on the occasion of his visit to England, a promise of succession to the throne. It is probable enough that such a promise was really made by the monkish King who then feebly swayed the sceptre of England; but, even if so, it was entirely valueless, unless confirmed by the national assembly of the Witenagemote. William himself seems to have been uneasy about the matter, and to have dreaded the opposition of Harold, the son of Godwin. Harold had already given proof of his military prowess in operations against the Welsh, whom, for a while, he reduced to entire submission. Some time during the year 1065, he was shipwrecked on the coast of Ponthieu, and, being afterwards sent to the court of William, was compelled by him to take a solemn oath, in presence of the Norman barons, and, as it is said, over a collection of saintly relics which were not revealed until after the words had been pronounced, that on the death of Edward he would use all his influence to secure the Duke's succession to the English crown. It was well known to many that Harold always regarded himself as the future king; and certainly there was no Englishman of that time better fitted for such a position. He returned to England, and was soon engaged in composing some disturbances in Northumberland, where the people had risen against the tyranny of his younger brother, Earl Tostig. Harold, making terms with the insurgents, deprived Tostig of the earldom; and, in little more than a month, the death of Edward the Confessor placed the royal power at his disposal.

Whether or not the late King, after promising the English crown to William of Normandy, conferred it on Harold, there can be no doubt that the accession of the latter was generally popular. A slight movement among the Northumbrians was speedily and quietly suppressed, and for more than half a year Harold reigned in peace. But Tostig, on being deprived of his earldom, swore to be revenged on his brother, and, having formed an alliance with Harold Hardrada, King of Norway, made a descent on the Isle of Wight, where he levied contributions from the people. He then sailed to the mouth of the Tyne, and was joined, about the beginning of September, 1066, by the Norwegian monarch, who brought with him a navy of three hundred ships. The invaders quickly made themselves masters of the whole province of York, but, on the 25th of the same month, were attacked by Harold at Stamford Bridge, on the

ent. Tostig and Hardrada were defeated and ; but a much greater peril was at hand. days after the battle of Stamford Bridge, am of Normandy landed at a place called rhithe, between Pevensey and Hastings, and red to do battle for the crown. Nearly nine hs having elapsed since the death of Edward onfessor, without any apparent movement on art of William, Harold may well have sup- that all menace from that quarter was at nd. But the wary Duke had been secretly ting a vast army for his contemplated ex- ion; and this army was now successfully d upon English soil.

om the establishment of the Northmen in tria to the invasion of England, a hundred fifty-five years had elapsed, and the country red by Rollo from Charles the Simple had ily increased in power and importance. The ary character of the Dukes, and of their ba- l and knightly followers, continued unabated, from time to time the race was reinforced resh arrivals from the North. Occasionally led by the jealousy of the French, and at time threatened by a movement of the Celtic ntry, who in 997 endeavoured to obtain hemselves a position of equality with their uerors, the Normans nevertheless maintained predominance, and defeated all attempts at ersion. The first connection between Normandy England resulted, in 1002, from the marriage thelred II. with Emma, the sister of Duke ard II.; but next year hostilities broke out een the two countries, and an English force an ineffectual attempt to ravage the Norman ory. The extraordinary adventures of the nans in Southern Italy and Sicily will be d further on: here, we can simply follow the e of affairs in Normandy itself. Richard II. succeeded, about 1027, by his eldest son, ard III., and he by Duke Robert, conspicuous gendary tales by the name of Robert the l—a man of violent passions, supposed to obtained his position by poisoning his brother ard, who died suddenly after a banquet to a he had been invited by Robert, and whose was shut up in prison. Robert was one of most powerful princes of his time. In 1030 stored Baldwin of Flanders to his dominions, in the following year assisted Henry I. of e to obtain the throne. Turning his atten- to England, he despatched a fleet with the tion of restoring the English line to the e usurped by Canute. But the ships were n back by a tempest, and Robert afterwards sent them into Brittany, and obliged the ruler of that duchy to pay him homage. His death took place in 1035 at Nicæa, in Bithynia, on his return from a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, where he had gone to do penance for his sins.

Robert left behind him an illegitimate son, named William, whose mother, Arlette, has been described as the child of a tanner of Falaise, and as the daughter of an officer in the Duke's household. On the death of his father, he was not more than eight years old, having been born in 1027 at the castle of Falaise, the ruins of which still remain. He succeeded to a realm full of turbulent elements, and requiring the hand of a strong man to restrain the anarchical tendencies of the barons, to whom it seemed disgraceful that a child, and he of base birth, should attain to power in a country which had but recently been directed by the force and genius of Robert. Civil war broke out, although William had the countenance of the French King, Henry I. For many years these disturbances continued; but in 1047 the insurgents were defeated at Val-des-Dunes, between Caen and Argentan. On this occasion, Henry I. of France (who in later years turned against the Norman ruler, until compelled, by two serious defeats, to desist from all interference in the duchy) supported his vassal with a force of three thousand men, whom he commanded in person; but the overthrow of the chief rebel, Guido of Macon, who carried with him nearly all the Norman nobility, was mainly due to the extraordinary heroism of William himself. Though only twenty years of age at the time the battle was fought, the Duke was a man of gigantic stature and enormous strength. His lance bore down all before it on the desperate field of Val-des-Dunes, and it was afterwards admitted by his enemies that, as a valiant knight, his peer was not to be found. His furious valour, his calm self-possession, his enthusiasm, his judgment, his readiness to share the utmost hardships with his soldiers, the terrible severity with which he maintained discipline, his grim determination when stern work was to be done, and his festive gaiety after it had been accomplished, combined to make him the most remarkable figure of his time. The savage expression of his countenance struck terror into all who had any occasion to dread his anger; and, although he acted sometimes in the spirit of justice, his cruelty knew no bounds whenever his wrath was kindled. He was a perfect specimen of the Northern warrior—one in whom the old Scandinavian blood beat strongly, and who, Christian though he was, might have been recognised by t

worshippers of Odin as fit for the rewards of their Valhalla.

While Harold was vainly supposing that William had forgotten the oath he had sworn to help him to the English crown, or had not spirit enough to make good his alleged claim, the Norman Duke was taking efficient measures to accomplish his end. On hearing that Harold had ascended the throne, his passion was so extreme that for a long while he spoke not a word, nor did any man dare to address him. But he brought together an immense company of knights and soldiers, the hardiest and best in the world. The rumour of his contemplated expedition was noised abroad, and warriors came flocking to his standard from regions far beyond Normandy. The expedition set sail from St. Valery-sur-Somme, and reached the shores of England on the 28th of September, 1066. Harold, as we have seen, was flushed with his success over the forces of Tostig and Hardrada at Stamford Bridge; but that very triumph had thinned and wearied his forces, and, before he could encounter his new enemy, he had to march all the way from Yorkshire to the coast of Sussex. In the meanwhile, William ravaged the open country, and did all he could to provoke his antagonist into an engagement. Arriving in the south, Harold entrenched himself on the hill of Senlac, not far from Hastings, and William saw that he must give battle at once, or lose his opportunity. The English position was formidable, and the bodyguard of Harold, who were grouped about the standard of the King, were stalwart warriors, clad in full armour, and wielding heavy battle-axes. But a large part of the defending army consisted of hasty levies, ill-armed, and unaccustomed to the shock of mortal conflict.

The combat was opened by a charge of the Norman foot, headed by the minstrel Taillefer, who tossed his sword into the air, and caught it in its descent, while he chanted the song of Roland. His death came quickly, but not before he had struck the first blow of that memorable fight. The strength of the English position baffled the enemy's attack again and again. Some Breton troops, on the left of the Norman line, broke and fled. A wild cry arose that the Duke himself was slain; but William shouted to the field that he lived, and would yet conquer. At the head of his most valorous followers, he rode straight up to the English standard, and engaged in a savage affray. The stockade was broken, but the linked shields of its defenders still resisted the fiercest onslaughts. At length, William made a pretence of flight; a number of the English, believing the day to be theirs, started in disorderly pursuit; and the Normans turned round upon their straggling ranks, and slew large numbers. As evening came on, a considerable part of the battle-field had been won by the assailants; but the fight still raged fiercely round the royal standard. A little after six o'clock, a multitudinous flight of arrows poured into the English ranks. One of them pierced Harold's right eye; he fell dead or dying among the crush of armed men; and from that moment the day was lost. The English scattered in tumultuous rout as darkness fell over the scene; and the victor pitched his tent on the spot where his rival had fallen, and where afterwards the high altar of Battle Abbey commemorated the great event.

The signal triumph at Hastings, or, more strictly speaking, at Senlac, assured the ultimate success of the invader. But a representative of the old royal family of England was at that time in London, and a faint attempt was made to rally the national forces round him. The eldest of Edmund Ironside's children, finding himself unable to resist Canute, had fled to Hungary, where a son was born to him, named Edgar Atheling—that is, Edgar of the Blood Royal. This son had been brought over to England when quite young, and he was still a boy when Harold was slain in his encounter with the Norman Duke. He was now chosen King; but there was no heart in the national resistance. Winchester was at once given up to the terrible William; London surrendered when it was seen that Southwark was in flames, and that the Earls of Mercia and Northumberland were unable or unwilling to take the field. A deputation of the Londoners, with Edgar Atheling as their chief, offered the crown to William, and at Christmas it was placed on his head at Westminster by Archbishop Ealdred, amidst acclamations which could scarcely have been sincere. A large part of Mercia, and the whole of Northumberland, stood aloof; but, for the present, William contented himself with consolidating his power in the south-east. He made no attempt to alter the ancient laws of the country, but ruled at first with justice and moderation. The land seemed tranquil, and in March, 1067, William returned to Normandy, leaving the affairs of England in the hands of his brother Odo, Bishop of Bayeux, and of his minister, William Fitz-Osbern. But the tyranny of Odo provoked a revolt, and William, hurrying back to his insular possessions in December, found himself compelled to march northwards against the great Earls who had at last ventured to dispute his power. Strange to say, he did this at the head of an English force, for the South was never heartily

united with the North, and the Earls were apparently regarded with even greater distrust than the Norman Duke. Central England was soon reduced to submission, and a rising in the old kingdom of Northumbria, in 1068, was terminated by the occupation of York.

But the most difficult part of the conquest had yet to come. Sweyn, King of Denmark, conceived that he had a better title to England than the Norman Duke, and in 1069 made preparations for a descent on the eastern coast. His fleet appeared in the Humber, and the nation at once rose to help him. Edgar Atheling returned from Scotland, where he had taken refuge; an insurrection broke out in the western counties; York was captured, with the slaughter of its Norman garrison; and William himself was staggered when he learned the extent and gravity of the movement. His measures, however, were soon matured. In the first place, he negotiated with the Danish fleet, and purchased its withdrawal by a heavy bribe. He then struck westward, and rapidly quelled the insurrection along the Welsh border. Returning to the north-east, he ravaged the whole country, and drove many of its inhabitants across the Scottish border. So terrible was the devastation that a famine ensued, which is said to have destroyed more than a hundred thousand victims; and it is added that half a century later the land was still waste and tenantless for sixty miles north of York. After committing these execrable acts,—which should seriously affect our judgment of William the Conqueror, and of the whole system of brutal force which he represented,—the Norman army again faced towards the west, and, struggling with snow-drifts, rain, and swollen torrents (for it was now winter), penetrated to Chester and the surrounding country. The contingents from Anjou and Brittany lost heart before the inclemency of the season, and the difficulties of a rugged and almost pathless land. William dismissed them with scorn, and toiled on with his Normans, whom no perils or hardships could disconcert. Numerous castles were erected, as fortresses to keep the open country in subjection; and for two years the peace of exhaustion and terror prevailed over the whole of England. The last effort of the unhappy people was in 1071, when Edwin and Morcar, the Earls of Mercia and Northumberland, headed a new revolt, probably instigated by Malcolm Canmore of Scotland, who had married the sister of Edgar Atheling. But the movement was wholly futile. Edwin was killed in an encounter on the Scottish border, and Morcar, finding that he could make no impression on the stubborn ranks of the Normans, sought refuge in the eastern counties, where a brave leader, named Hereward, had entrenched himself amidst the fens of the Isle of Ely. Hereward and his companions made a long and heroic stand in this dismal retreat; but William constructed a causeway, two miles long, across the marshes, and Ely speedily surrendered. The Conqueror invaded Scotland in 1072, and, reaching the shores of the Tay, received the submission of Malcolm, who saw that further resistance was impossible when the English themselves could do little or nothing in their own defence.

The result of William's success was that England was treated as a conquered country, and subjected to all the pains and humiliations of military occupation. The native owners of the soil were dispossessed, and the great estates conferred on Norman or other foreign lords. The feudal system of the Continent, to which in England there had been only a comparatively slight approach, was now introduced with all the rigour of an alien custom. The judicial and administrative organisation of the kingdom was, indeed, preserved, and, in a capitulary drawn up about the year 1070, the old English laws, as revised by Canute the Great, were in the main re-enacted. But where a land is dominated by a large force of military adventurers, belonging to a different race, law is frequently over-ridden by the mere arrogance of power. In some respects, however, William the Norman was a wise and even considerate ruler. Notwithstanding his merciless ferocity in the battle-field, and in the revenging of private wrongs, he is said to have felt so great an aversion to the deliberate punishment of death by process of law that only one execution, in the ordinary sense of the phrase, took place during his reign. It is to his honour that he abolished the slave-trade, at that time carried on in the port of Bristol. His introduction of Jewish traders into England, with due provision for their religious freedom, was a benefit to the country from a financial, and perhaps also from an intellectual, point of view. He gave a higher character to English architecture; and, after the first convulsions of war and insurrection had passed away, the prosperity of the people increased under the Norman line of kings. But Englishmen must be utterly false to themselves if they ever pardon the memory of William the Conqueror for his unjustifiable invasion of their country; for the ruthless spirit in which he maintained his power; for the desolation of large tracts of land; for the cruelty with which he destroyed thousands of homesteads, that he might have a lordly hunting-ground in the New Forest; and for

his deliberate attempts to transform the national character, and to crush the national spirit.

The Earldoms of Wessex, Mercia, and Northumberland were abolished by William, and sheriffs were nominated for the government of the shires. As regards the Church, the Norman Conqueror showed his foreign leanings as much as in the disposition of the great estates. Lanfranc, an Italian who had already occupied high ecclesiastical positions in Normandy, was now brought over to England, and made Archbishop of Canterbury; and most of the English prelates and abbots gave place to foreigners. The well-known survey of the country, preserved in what is entitled "Domesday Book," and completed in the year 1086, was undertaken with a view to ascertaining what were the dues to the crown with which the several manors were burthened, and what was the exact value of each man's property. To effect this result, commissioners were sent into every county, and a jury, empanelled in each hundred, declared on oath what was the state of the lands coming within their immediate knowledge. "So very strictly," says the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, "did William cause the survey to be made, that there was not a single hide, nor a yardland of ground, nor an ox, a cow, or a pig, that was not set down in the accounts; and then all these writings were brought to him." The enumeration of the cattle and swine was omitted from the final record, though such details are to be found in some of the original returns made by the Conqueror's commissioners. The ultimate object of the inquiry was to serve as a basis for taxation and military



STATUE OF WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR, FALAISE.



HAROLD AT THE BATTLE OF HASTINGS.

service, and the term by which the record is known appears to have some reference to the "doom," or judgment, which was to be formed upon the facts brought out by the investigation. The value of this survey can hardly be over-rated from the historic point of view. The report gives a very exact account of the condition of England in the eleventh century, and nothing of the same nature is to be found in any other country.

The violent character of William the Norman and his times affected nearly all the events of his reign. The northern counties were more than once invaded by the Scottish King. On the Welsh border, fighting was almost incessant. Several of the Anglo-Norman barons conspired against the King while he was absent on the Continent in 1075, and were not put down without hard fighting. Ten years later, the Danish sovereign, Canute, the son of Sweyn, prepared a great armament for the invasion of England, but was ultimately compelled to relinquish his design. Finally, the mighty victor over Harold met his death in a way which combines the extreme of piratical ferocity with the ignominy of a petty accident. William had provoked his eldest son, Robert, by refusing to resign to him the ancestral duchy, in violation of a promise which he had made to that effect. Robert appeared at the head of an insurrection in Normandy, but after a time was reconciled to his father; and while these events were proceeding, Philip I. of France, who had taken the part of Robert, exasperated William by an insulting speech while he was lying ill in bed. The fiery Norman vowed that, as soon as he was able to move, he would set all France in a blaze. He did not fall short of his word when the time for action came. The towns and hamlets on the French borders were speedily burnt to ashes; but, on the 10th of August, 1087, as William was contemplating the flames in which he had involved the city of Mantes, his horse, stumbling among the hot embers, threw him forward on the pommel of his saddle, inflicting injuries of which he died on the morning of September 9th, at about sixty years of age, nearly twenty-one years after his conquest of England.

The successor of William I. was his second son, William Rufus, "the red-haired," though the more correct term would have been Ruber, "the ruddy." To the eldest son, Robert, Normandy was left; but, dissatisfied with this position, he made an attempt on England, at the instigation of Odo, Bishop of Bayeux. The claims of Robert were upheld by most of the Norman barons, and Rufus, with great sagacity, threw himself on the support of his English subjects, though only to betray them when the danger had passed. The movement suddenly collapsed, and William invaded Normandy in 1091, where he would probably have made war on his brother, had not the quarrel been composed by the mediation of the French King, Philip. The feud broke out again in 1094, but led to no actual hostilities. The attention of William was in truth frequently diverted from the affairs of the duchy by the necessity of defending his English possessions against repeated attacks by the Scots and Welsh, and even, on one occasion, against the insubordination of his Norman barons. When at length Robert consented to put him in possession of Normandy for the sum of 10,000 marks, in order that he himself might join the first Crusade, William obtained the necessary amount by cruel exactions. His furious tyranny was on several occasions nobly opposed by the new Archbishop of Canterbury, Anselm, an Italian like Lanfranc; yet the people gained little by his advocacy. One portion of Normandy resisted the proposed transfer; but the insurrection came to an end directly the King appeared among the disaffected. He shortly afterwards returned to England, and, on the 2nd of August, 1100, was killed, while hunting in the New Forest, by an arrow, which may have been purposely directed against him by Sir Walter Tyrrell, a malcontent knight, or may have pierced him by a simple accident. Richard, an elder brother of William II., had some years before been gored to death by a stag in the same forest; and those who hated the memory of the Conqueror saw in these casualties a providential judgment on the posterity of him who had made his hunting-ground out of the ruin and misery of many unoffending families.

CHAPTER XIX.

THE NORMANS IN ITALY; THE GREEK EMPIRE; AND FRANCE.

State of Southern Italy in the Eleventh Century—First Appearance of the Normans there—Aid rendered by them to the Patriotic Party in Bari—Employment of Norman Warriors by Italian Princes—Foundation of the City of Aversa for their Legions—Military Services in Sicily—Quarrel with the Greek Governor of Southern Italy—The Normans Established in Apulia—Their Dealings with the Greek Maniaces—Mode of Government, and Conduct to the Natives—League of the Eastern and Western Emperors, and of the Pope, against the Normans—Defeat of a Papal Force by the Knights—Agreement with Pope Leo IX.—Counts Drogo and Humphrey—Early Life of Robert Guiscard—His Appointment by Pope Nicholas II. to the Dukedom of Apulia—War with the Greeks, Longobardians, and Saracens—Personal Heroism and Brilliant Successes of Robert—Conquest of Sicily by Roger Guiscard—His Tolerant and Liberal Rule—Expedition of Robert Guiscard against the Eastern Empire—Siege of Dyrrachium—Invasion of Albania and Thessaly—Return of Robert to Italy, and Prosecution of the War by his Son Bohemond—Abandonment of the Expedition—Assistance rendered to the Byzantine Empire by the Republic of Venice—Robert Guiscard at Rome—His Death during a Second Eastern Expedition—Reign of Roger, the First Norman King of Sicily—His Numerous Conquests, and War with the Greek Empire—Eastern Emperors from Isaac I. to Manuel I.—Affairs in France—Reigns of Hugh Capet, Robert the Pious, and Henry I.—Famine at the Beginning of the Eleventh Century—The "Truce of God"—Philip I. and Pope Gregory VII.

FIFTY years before their conquest of England, the Normans opened for themselves a fresh career of adventure in some of the most beautiful lands of the South. For these achievements they found an opportunity in the divided and tumultuous condition of that part of Italy where the Lombard princes of Benevento, the Greek Emperors, and the Saracenic lords of Sicily, had long contended for dominion. After the Eastern Empire had obtained the predominance in Southern Italy, the German Emperors of the tenth century more than once invaded the Theme of Longobardia, as the Greeks called that province, and endeavoured to reduce it to the Western government and faith. But ill-success attended their efforts, and the sovereigns of Constantinople retained their hold on the disputed territory. The absence of a national administration, however, and the want of harmony on religious grounds between the people and their rulers, created a weakness in the social state, of which the enterprising Normans took advantage. Their appearance in Italy was preceded by the visit of a small band of forty Scandinavians, who, in 1006, started on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, but turned aside from their journey to help the people of Salerno in resisting a Saracenic attack. Having contributed in no small degree to the success ultimately obtained, they received a reward which excited the cupidity of their countrymen; and the attractions of Italy were soon noised all over the North. But it was reserved for the Normans of France to establish a regal and military power in Apulia, in Calabria, and in Sicily.

It happened that in the year 1016 some Normans, who had visited Rome, and were on their way to Palestine, explored the cavern of Mount Garganus, in Apulia—a spot sanctified, in the opinion of the pious, by a miraculous appearance of the Archangel Michael. While there, they were addressed by a stranger, who, in spite of his Greek habit, declared himself a bitter enemy of the Byzantine rule. He was a citizen of Bari, and a person of good family, who had headed a revolt against the Imperial power, but had found the enthusiasm of his followers ineffectual against the disciplined troops of his antagonist. Seeing possible allies in the large-limbed foreigners, he solicited their aid; and, returning to Normandy, they brought together a band of warriors, who in 1017 crossed the Alps by different roads, and in the guise of pilgrims. Melo, the leader of the malcontents of Bari, met them in the vicinity of Rome, supplied the poorer members of the troop with arms and horses, and conducted them into the territory he sought to deliver. A little temporary success was followed by persistent failure. The Normans retreated in good order, and afterwards disposed of their services to the princes of Capua, Benevento, Salerno, and Naples, who were glad of their aid in the petty quarrels of the day. Their camp in the marshes of Campania was a recruiting ground where hardy and experienced soldiers were always to be obtained for a money payment; but in 1029 the Duke of Naples built for them the town of Aversa, situated in a fruitful and pleasant country, and fortified so as to be an effectual bulwark against Capua. Here the first adventurers were joined by many others, and the whole body was commanded by the warlike Count Rainulf.

The condition of Sicily offered another opportunity for the prowess of the Normans. That beautiful island had been under the dominion of the Saracens for about two hundred years; but the power of the intruders was now weakened by dis-

sensions, and the Byzantine Emperor, Michael IV., considered the time favourable for attempting to regain a possession the loss of which had always been felt as a disgrace to the Eastern Empire. The Sicilian Mohammedans were in revolt against their Emir; the Emir himself was in revolt against his suzerain, the Sultan of Tunis, and in alliance with the Greek Emperor, who had conferred on him the title of Magistros; his brother endeavoured to snatch the supremacy; and the factions were almost as numerous as the cities. Ostensibly in order to support the Emir, but actually to reassert the power of the Empire in Sicily, Maniaces, the Governor of Longobardia, enrolled five hundred Norman knights in his service, and despatched them to the island in 1038. The early successes of the war (due in a large measure to the valour and constancy of the Normans), and its ultimate failure, have been related on an earlier page;* but it must here be added that Maniaces provoked the resentment of his allies by insolently refusing them any reward for their labours, their perils, and their fidelity. Soon afterwards, Maniaces was imprisoned at Constantinople for insubordination and contemplated rebellion; and it was not until the death of Michael IV., at the close of 1041, that he was released, and reappointed to the command of the Greek possessions in Italy. The grievance of the Normans, however, remained unredressed, and, on returning to Aversa, in 1040, they obtained the support of their fellow-countrymen, and seized Apulia in satisfaction of the debt. Their numbers were not more than twelve hundred, horse and foot; yet they defeated the Imperial troops in two battles, took the Duke of Longobardia prisoner, and completely established their authority in the disputed province. The only towns retained by the Greeks were Bari, Otranto, Brundusium (now Brindisi), and Tarentum.

The territory thus detached from the Empire was divided amongst twelve Counts, who were chosen by the suffrages of the Norman settlers. Each had his own district, and each erected a fortress for the defence of his small domain. The metropolis of the whole was Melfi, and the affairs of the commonwealth were regulated by a military senate, formed of the ruling Counts, the president and chief of whom was called the Count of Apulia. The first occupant of this position was a doughty warrior named William of the Iron Arm; and of him it is recorded that he was "a lion in battle, a lamb in society, and an angel in council."† As a matter of form and prudence, the Counts accepted the investiture of their lands, sometimes from the Greek and sometimes from the German Emperor, according as either was the stronger; but in fact they held their possessions by the power of the sword, and neither of the great potentates whose dominions bordered on the Norman province cared at present to dispute with them the occupation of what their valour had won. They found a powerful enemy, however, in Maniaces, who, in 1042—the first year of the Byzantine Emperor, Constantine X.—rose in rebellion against his sovereign, and at the same time attacked the Normans, whom he defeated in a hard-fought battle between Monopoli and Matera. Subsequently making common cause with the strangers, he routed the Byzantine troops sent against him, and, crossing from Otranto to the opposite coast, landed at Dyrrachium in the early part of 1043. Soon afterwards he was slain while fighting at the head of his troops, and the Norman mercenaries entered the service of Constantine, where they greatly distinguished themselves.

The political state established by the Normans in Apulia had all the vices of the race which created it. Nothing could exceed the tyranny with which the conquered were treated by the conquerors, unless it was the bitterness with which the latter sometimes quarrelled amongst themselves. The successor of Count William, his brother Drogo, was a man of vehement temper. Under his sovereignty, the violence of the knights increased without restraint, and the sufferings of the people at length became so extreme that Constantine X. determined to attempt their release. To effect this purpose without appealing to the hazard of war, Argyrus, the son of the patriot Melo, who had first called the Normans into Southern Italy, was entrusted with a large sum of money, with which it was hoped he would be able to bribe the conquerors of Apulia into taking service under the Empire for a war with Persia. Argyrus had been allowed to assume the title of Prince of Bari and Duke of Apulia, and, as a semi-independent ruler, had often had occasion to negotiate with the Normans in his wars with Guaimar, Prince of Salerno. But his suggestions were rejected, and in 1049 Constantine proposed an alliance with the Pope and the Western Emperor, for combined operations against the intruders. Leo IX., then occupying the throne of St. Peter, disliked the Normans, who had intercepted the payment of tithes, and appropriated to themselves the dues of the Church. He was therefore very willing to join the contemplated league, and, being a German, had the less difficulty in persuading the Emperor Henry III. into some degree of compli-

* p. 152 of this volume.

† Gibbon, quoting a contemporary account.

ance. Yet it was only a small contingent of Swabians and Lorrainers which Germany contributed to the expedition. The Emperor Constantine, moreover, could furnish but little aid to an enterprise which he or his representative had originated.

Under these circumstances, the Pope himself was the chief agent in the prosecution of the war. He collected a disorderly rout of Italians of the lowest class, and in person led them against the Normans of Apulia in 1053. Priests mingled with hastily-enlisted volunteers in the ranks of the army, and the spirits of the Normans were daunted by the dread of sacrilege. The natives of the province had refused to furnish them with supplies, and they were nearly starving. Submission to their spiritual father seemed fitting in men who, though rebellious in certain respects, were yet sons of the Church. They accordingly knelt before the Pope, and besought his clemency. But when told that they must accept either death, or banishment from the land they had made their own, they determined on immediate action. The Papal forces were encamped in a plain below the hill of Civitella; their adversaries were not far off. Dividing themselves into three bodies, the Normans attacked the ill-disciplined and feebly-commanded levies of the Church, who were speedily broken by the impetuosity and suddenness of the onslaught. The only troops on the side of Leo who made a determined stand were the German auxiliaries. These men were armed with huge, two-handed swords, and, forming their scanty numbers into a strong phalanx, they fought with desperate resolution until overpowered and slain. Astounded by the misfortune of the day, Pope Leo fled to Civitella, the gates of which were closed against him; but the victorious Normans implored his pardon for an act of resistance which he had himself compelled, and, by the united influence of their submission and their success, obtained from the Pontiff a ratification of all past and future conquests. The Apulia of the Normans became a fief of the Holy See; and the two parties to the agreement undertook to support one another by the sword of the flesh and the weapon of the faith.

The head of the Norman Apulians, at the date of this victory, was Count Humphrey, a younger brother of Drogo, who, in 1051, had been murdered in a church at the instigation of Argyrus. That emissary of the Greek Empire, on finding his proposals rejected, had suborned a number of Italians to act with the secret dagger of the assassin, but, on being detected, had been driven, wounded and disgraced, into the fortress of Bari. Count Humphrey soon proved that he had courage and capacity equal to the exigencies of the time, and the great success of 1053 advanced his reputation with his countrymen. But the battle of Civitella also served to bring out the heroism of one who was soon to become famous. The centre of the Norman line on that occasion was commanded by Robert Guiscard, the scion of a noble house established at Coutances, in Lower Normandy. The castle of Hauteville was their seat, and Tancred, the father of Robert, held a conspicuous position in the ducal court. The three first Counts of Apulia —William, Drogo, and Humphrey—were his half-brothers by the same father, and the martial qualities of the race were developed in him even more highly than in his relatives. Of the twelve sons of Tancred by his two wives, ten departed for Italy, in that spirit of adventure which characterised the age. All found employment for their valour among their fellow-countrymen of Apulia, and Robert attracted general commendation by the splendour of his person, and the perfection of his knightly virtues. His ruddy complexion, flaxen hair and beard, and broad shoulders, betrayed his Scandinavian origin, and the name Guiscard appears to have been derived from the Northern word *wiscard*, signifying a wise man.

On first entering Southern Italy, Robert engaged in irregular operations against the people of Calabria, whom he attacked and plundered with the rapacity and unscrupulousness of a brigand chief; and, having gathered about him a body of native followers, who assumed the name of Normans, he acquired a power which excited the jealousy of his brethren, and even for a time endangered his life. After the death of Count Humphrey, in 1054, Guiscard was lifted on a shield by his fellow-knights, and saluted Count of Apulia. He then resumed his desultory operations against Calabria, but with the evident intention of making a permanent conquest of that mountainous land. An alliance with Pope Nicholas II., by whom he had previously been excommunicated for some act of sacrilege, led to an important increase in his dignity and power. Robert made a humble submission, and the Pope conferred on him the ducal title, together with the investiture of Apulia, Calabria, and all other lands which he could seize from the Greeks or the Saracens. The final rupture with the Greek Church had taken place but recently, and the professors of that form of Christianity were regarded by the Romanists with almost as much horror as the Mohammedans themselves. The ruin of the Byzantine fortunes in Southern Italy was doubtless owing in a large

degree to the detestation of the Greeks, as heretics, entertained by the population generally.

His appointment to the dukedom was concealed by Robert Guiscard from his fellows until he had confirmed his power by additional successes; and it was only in 1060 that he ventured to request a ratification of the dignity which the Pope had already bestowed. The other Counts not unnaturally disliked an elevation which diminished their own importance; but all took the oath of fidelity, and Robert thereupon called himself, "By the grace of God and St. Peter, Duke of Apulia, Calabria, and hereafter of Sicily." The accomplishment of his projects, however, proved less easy than he may have anticipated. He had to carry on his military operations with but a small body of Normans, and the service of the barons was sometimes grudgingly rendered, if not altogether refused. The twelve Counts were jealous of superior authority, and the sons of Humphrey considered that they had been unjustly set aside by the ambition of their uncle. Robert was embarrassed by repeated plots, which he suppressed with rigour, and punished with severity. Yet, ...r all these circumstances, he pursued his designs with unshaken resolution; again and again defeated the Greeks, Longobardians, and Saracens in the open field; and forced them to take refuge in the strong cities of the coast. The Normans were ill-provided with the necessary apparatus for conducting a siege, and their knightly ranks were often delayed before the ramparts of the enemy. Salerno detained them more than eight months, and Bari nearly four years. But, in the end, success was always on the side of the assailants, and the personal heroism of Robert endeared him to his soldiers, whose toils and hardships he shared in equal measure with the meanest. Nearly the whole of Southern Italy was at length subdued; but three districts still remained apart. The city and territory of Benevento had some time before been transferred by the German Emperor to the Pope of Rome, and was now left unconquered. The small state of Capua was held by Aversa; and the duchy of Naples retained a species of independence under the suzerainty of Constantinople.



THE RUFUS STONE IN THE NEW FOREST.

It was during the progress of these events that Robert was joined in Italy by the youngest of his brothers, Roger. The attractive looks and elegant



LANDING OF ROGER GUISCARD IN SICILY.

manners of this youth made him a general favourite; but his means of life were so insufficient that, like Robert himself on his first arrival in Italy, he was obliged to support himself by the acts of a common robber. His valour and his adventurous spirit, however, soon pointed him out for enterprises of a more regular nature, and, with his brother's sanction, he undertook the conquest of Sicily. The failure of the Byzantine attempt to subdue that island had left it in possession of the Saracens, so that its reduction by a body of Christian knights was regarded as a service to religion. Roger crossed the straits in an open boat, and landed with only sixty companions. The Saracens were driven back upon Messina, and the Normans, having pillaged the neighbouring country, returned in triumph with their spoils. The fortress of Trani was attacked on a subsequent occasion, and, if we are to credit the accounts which he gave in the garrulity of age, Roger must have passed through as many adventures as a champion of romance or poetry. The Mahommedans are described as having fled in vast numbers before a handful of men; but their habitual valour in the field discountenances such extravagant relations. The probability is, that the Norman knights were supported by the Christian population of the island, who were delighted at the opportunity of regaining their freedom. In the siege of Palermo, moreover, the invaders were assisted by a fleet from Pisa. On the other hand, the Saracens received help from Africa, and it is probable that the superiority of numbers was considerably on their side. Nothing, however, could avail against the courage and enterprise of the Normans and their allies, aided by the natural desire of the Sicilian Christians to be delivered from a yoke which oppressed their consciences. The war lasted from 1060 to 1090, and ended in Roger obtaining the title of Count of Sicily, with the undisputed possession of a noble and historic island. His administration was usually distinguished by a greater liberality than might have been expected of one who had begun life as a brigand. The Moslems were allowed full enjoyment of their religion; their property was undisturbed; their scientific acquirements were munificently fostered; and a learned Arabian of Mazara, belonging to the race of Mohammed, enjoyed the patronage of Roger. The interests of the Roman Church were of course promoted by so faithful a son; but the rights of the civil magistrate were also maintained, and Gibbon observes that "the supremacy of the Crown was secured and enlarged by the singular Bull which declares the princes of Sicily hereditary and perpetual legates of the Holy See."

Emboldened by repeated successes, the elder Guiscard determined to attack the Eastern Empire itself. One of the daughters of Robert by his second wife, a princess of Salerno, was betrothed to Constantine, the son and heir of the Emperor Michael VII. When that monarch was set aside by a revolution, Robert considered himself justified in supporting his cause, or rather in using that cause as the excuse for an attack upon the Greek dominions. Such an expedition, however, was far more serious than any that the Normans of Southern Italy had yet attempted; and Robert consumed two years in making preparations which were certainly not in excess of what the campaign required. Large numbers of unwilling recruits were pressed into the service by every device of despotism, and the authority of the Church was invoked to sanction an attack which was prompted by little else than boundless and insatiable ambition. In June, 1081, shortly after Alexius I. had ascended the throne of Byzantium, Robert Guiscard sailed from Brundusium with a fleet of a hundred and fifty ships, carrying an army of 30,000 men. With startling rapidity, he seized the island of Corcyra (now Corfu), and three ports on the mainland. He then advanced to Dyrrachium, and laid siege to that important fortress, the capital of Byzantine Illyria, more recently known as Durazzo. But it was not long ere the perils of the expedition made themselves felt. Part of the Norman fleet, which had been supplied by the Republic of Ragusa, was destroyed by a tempest; the rest was damaged by the Greek fire from which, in previous ages, the Saracens had suffered so disastrously. A pestilence devastated the camp; five hundred, out of the thirteen hundred Norman knights who formed the flower of the army, perished by a premature death; and altogether ten thousand persons were buried before the walls of Dyrrachium. But the courage of Guiscard never failed, and with his shattered forces he drove back a Byzantine army which the Emperor Alexius led in person against him, and which was strengthened by numerous auxiliaries—by Varangians from Russia, by fugitives from England, then smarting under the tyranny of William the Conqueror, by Italians from Apulia, by Paulicians from Thrace and Bulgaria, and by Turks from Asia.

Yet, notwithstanding this success, the situation was little short of desperate. The destruction of the fleet had severed the communications of the invaders with their base in Italy, and the strength of the fortifications became increasingly apparent

very attempt to shatter or surmount them. normous blocks of stone, forming the founda- of the outer walls, were those which had laid by the ancient Greeks who colonised nnus in the seventh century before Christ. ıpper portion, which was more modern, ted so great a breadth that four horsemen ride abreast along the whole line; and here ıere lofty towers arose, from which missiles be showered down on the assailants. The vas at first defended by George Palæologus, the best soldiers of the time, and, after his al, by a Venetian commander, who might ıeen equally successful, had not the city been ed by one of his countrymen, who, under of night, dropped several rope-ladders from alls, and furnished the besiegers with the of entrance. Even then, however, the were defended for three days, and it was til the 8th of February, 1082, seven months he investment, that Dyrrachium was fully in ower of Robert Guiscard. The conqueror enetrated into the heart of Albania, and, ching Thessalonica by the mountains, struck into Constantinople. But by this time he st two-thirds of his army, and reports from nformed him of revolts among the cities and of Apulia. He therefore recrossed the sea ngle brigantine, leaving the command in the of his son Bohemond, who distinguished f by a valour and capacity that rivalled those father. He attacked the forces of the ror on two occasions, and on both was sful; then, descending into the plain of ly, he besieged Larissa, where the Byzantine had stored their treasure and their magazines. sistance of Alexius, however, was prolonged pirited, and his army was now strengthened ne Moldavian tribes, and by a reinforcement en thousand Turks. The camp of Bohemond illaged by a stratagem; some of the Norman deserted; and Larissa proved impregnable. evident that the whole expedition must be oned; and Bohemond returned to Italy, ng with him the reputation of a brave r, and the reproach of an unsuccessful al.

ore the commencement of the war, Alexius ught aid of the German monarch, Henry IV., om he sent a number of valuable presents. Henry was too much occupied by his contest Gregory VII. to render assistance to the tine sovereign; and, after the return of t Guiscard to Italy, the advance of that less soldier induced a precipitate retreat from Rome. A popular tumult, shortly after the arrival of Robert in 1084, gave occasion for a massacre, in which the subjects of the Pope were slaughtered by the Saracenic auxiliaries of his ally, and which terminated in a whole quarter of the city being destroyed by fire. In the October of the same year, Robert Guiscard began a second attack on the Eastern Empire. Alexius, anticipating that he would be again assailed, had formed an alliance with Venice, and obtained the assistance of a powerful fleet. The Normans, however, contrived to cross the Adriatic in safety, and Robert, having landed his troops, proceeded to attack the ships of his foe. Three desperate engagements took place off the island of Corcyra, in two of which the Normans were defeated, while the third proved favourable to their arms. In the following spring, Robert attacked Cephalonia, but speedily succumbed to the effects of an epidemic. On the 17th of July, 1085, the great leader of the Normans expired in his tent at about seventy years of age, even then not worn out by years and labour, nor struck down in the fierce turmoil of battle, but destroyed by a disease which might equally have visited a civilian, and which was so subtle in its operation as to excite the usual suspicion of poison. So much did the army depend on his long experience, his dauntless valour, his perfect coolness under every circumstance of sudden danger, and the endless resources of his military genius, that immediately after his death his followers withdrew in ignominious haste. They did not even wait to be attacked, but retreated with a precipitation that bore all the marks of panic. Dyrrachium was soon afterwards recovered, with the assistance of the Venetian and other foreign merchants established there. The ultimate success of the Greek Emperor was partly attributable to the assistance rendered by the Venetian fleet, and Alexius showed his gratitude by conceding to the citizens of the maritime Republic many commercial privileges of great value. From that time forth, the Doge of Venice was allowed to style himself "Lord of the Kingdoms of Dalmatia and Croatia." But the Venetians themselves were greatly mortified at the defeat inflicted by the Normans on their naval forces.

The extensive realm of Guiscard broke up after his decease; but his younger brother, Roger, retained possession of Sicily, which he transmitted to a line of kings. The conqueror of that famous island died in 1101, at which time his son and successor, bearing the same name as himself, was only four years old. He was of Sicilian birth, and succeeded to an inheritance which was not likely to be

challenged. But so contracted a territory was insufficient to satisfy his ambition, and, on the death of his cousin William, Duke of Apulia, in 1127, he sailed to Salerno, and exacted an oath of fidelity from the inhabitants of that city. At Reggio he was proclaimed Duke of Apulia and Calabria; but his application to Pope Honorius II., for the investiture of the Duchies, was sternly denied. With the assistance of some disaffected barons, the Pontiff opposed Roger by force of arms, but at length, entering into an arrangement of mutual convenience, conferred the investiture which he had at first refused. Roger, however, coveted the rank of king, and, taking advantage of a schism in the Papal See, persuaded the Anti-pope, Anacletus (his wife's brother), to dignify him with the royal title. In the Christmas of 1130, he assembled his barons at Palermo, and, in the midst of great pomp, received the royal crown of Sicily from the hands of a cardinal delegated for that purpose. The principality of Capua, and the dukedom of Naples, were at the same time formally conferred on him; but his Italian subjects rose against his authority, and compelled him to fly. When the Anti-pope was superseded by his rival, Innocent II., in 1131, a powerful combination was directed against the pretensions of Roger. Years of varying fortune succeeded; but the Sicilian ruler ultimately made good his claims, not merely to the royal title, but to the sovereignty of those Italian lands which had successfully resisted his first approaches. Possessing all the native vigour of his race, he reduced the island of Malta, crossed over to the shores of Africa, and made himself master of Tripoli, Safax, Tunis, Capsia, Bona, and an extensive tract of sea-coast, reaching as far as Morocco.

His next exploit was an attack on the Eastern Empire, the sovereign of which had exasperated him by the contemptuous treatment of his ambassadors, when sent to Constantinople to request the hand of a Greek princess. The fleet of Roger took the island of Corfu in 1146, ravaged the coasts of the Peloponnesus, or Morea, and attacked several of the Grecian cities. The suburbs of Constantinople itself were pillaged and burned; but the Greek Emperor, Manuel I., pursued the Sicilian fleet on its return, and, aided by the Venetians, destroyed a considerable part. Corfu was recovered; but Roger was probably satisfied by the assertion of his power, and the vindication of his dignity. One interesting result of the Sicilian expedition was that a number of silk-manufacturers were carried off from Corinth, and transported to Sicily and Apulia, where they introduced an art til that time unknown to Western Europe. The health of Roger was now declining, and in the early part of 1154 he expired at Palermo, in the fifty-eighth year of his age. Tolerant, even to indifference, in matters of religion, he enforced the most implicit obedience to the laws, which, however, were conceived in a spirit of equity, and ensured the repose and well-being of the State. His court was the most magnificent in Europe, and was probably tinged with the setting splendours of Arabian rule. The church of San Giovanni degli Eremiti, at Palermo, built by King Roger in 1132, is strongly marked by Saracenic characteristics.

Since the deposition of Michael VI., in 1057, the Byzantine Empire had pursued its course under princes of different race. Isaac, the first of the Comneni, did not reign more than two years, and, resigning the crown in 1059, owing to ill-health, was succeeded by a friend named Constantine Ducas, the eleventh of those who bore the illustrious name of the first Christian Emperor. Thus, the sway of the Comnenian house was interrupted almost as soon as it had commenced; but the line was resumed further on, and enjoyed the Imperial dignity for more than a hundred years. The reign of Constantine XI. was unenviably distinguished by the progress of the Seljukian Turks; and this continued with increasing impetus during the time of Romanus IV. (Diogenes), whose heroic resistance to the invaders, and overwhelming misfortune in 1071, have already been detailed. When released from captivity by the Turkish Khan, Alp Arslan, the Emperor found that his own subjects had turned against him. His wife Eudocia—the widow of Constantine XI.—had been forced into a nunnery, and, by a hard and unsparing application of the civil law, it was declared, with respect to Romanus himself, that a prisoner in the hands of the enemy was dead to all the public and private rights of a citizen. On approaching the frontier, he was proclaimed as a foe, and vanquished in two engagements. Receiving an assurance of honourable treatment, the unhappy monarch gave himself up to his enemies, who, in violation of their pledge, put out his eyes, and left him to die of his injuries. The blood-stained annals of Constantinople hardly exhibit another crime so base.

For a time, however, it was successful, as Michael VII., son of Constantine XI., retained seven years the throne to which he had succeeded on the deposition of Romanus. At the end of that period, he was deposed by an insurrection, to which his weakness, his tyranny, and the ill-success of his arms, had conduced. The brief reign of Nicephorus

III. (Botaniates), a commander of little ability and discreditable character, was troubled by continual rebellions. It extended from 1078 to 1081, when Alexius I., seizing Constantinople, terminated a fifth rebellion, and restored in his own person the line of the Comneni. The dealings of Alexius with the Normans of Southern Italy have just been related; other circumstances of his reign will fall elsewhere into the general current of events. This conspicuous sovereign, the true founder of the Comnenian dynasty, was fortunate in having a daughter of great literary abilities, Anna Comnena, whose biography of her father is one of the authorities for the facts of that time. Alexius I. died in 1118, and was succeeded by his son John II., ironically entitled John the Handsome—a prince of exemplary character and active virtue, who bravely struggled against the fury of the Turks, and the decline of his own Empire. On his death in 1143, he was followed by his youngest son, Manuel I.—the hero of the war with Roger of Sicily, whose soldierly achievements in other directions will engage our attention further on.

The development of modern France, as distinguished from the semi-German State which arose out of the dissolving Empire of Charlemagne, was contemporaneous with some of these events. In choosing Hugh Capet for their king, in 987, the French nobles placed the crown on the head of one of their own order—one who was the possessor of the greatest fief in the country. But Hugh did not enjoy his dignity without opposition, for Charles of Lorraine marched from Cambrai in May, 988, took possession of Laon, and in the same year gained to his side the cities of Rheims and Soissons. Hugh tried in vain to detach these places from their allegiance to the excluded heir of the Carolingians, and, fearing the result of a pitched battle, had recourse to treachery to destroy his rival. He found a ready tool for this design in the person of the unprincipled Adalberon, Bishop of Laon, who undertook to betray the invader into the hands of Hugh Capet. Charles and his young wife, Agnes of Vermandois, were taken prisoners, and confined in the castle of Orleans, where the prince died in 992. He left three sons, the eldest of whom succeeded to the duchy of Lower Lorraine, while the other two escaped into Germany, where their posterity became Landgraves of Thuringia. Finally, in 1248, the race became extinct by the death of the last direct descendant.

Hugh now turned his attention towards conciliating and benefiting the Church. He obtained considerable credit, and no little popularity, by relinquishing those rich hereditary possessions of his family, the great abbeys of St. Denis, St. Germain des Prés, St. Riquier, and St. Valery. Except on the single occasion of his coronation, it is said that Hugh Capet never wore the crown, but contented himself with the ecclesiastical cope (*cappetus*) denoting his quality as lay-abbot of St. Martin of Tours. The appellation of Capet is by some writers ascribed to this circumstance; others suppose it to refer to the large size of the monarch's head. While still at the height of power, Hugh gave his son Robert a share in the government, and even caused him to be crowned at Orleans, thus assuring the undisputed succession, and firmly establishing the dynasty of the Capetians. The King died at Paris (once more the capital of France) on the 24th of October, 996, at the early age of fifty-seven. Robert, surnamed the Pious, was a benevolent recluse. His pursuits were peaceful, scholarly, and religious, and his time was spent in acts of devotion, in charity, and in the composition of church music. But, notwithstanding this gentleness of nature, Robert had a stormy and turbulent reign. By his marriage he incurred the censure of Pope Gregory V., and the arrogant Pontiff did not fail to visit all the terrors of the Church upon the head of the offending monarch. In 995, he had contracted a union with Bertha, daughter of Conrad the Pacific, King of Arles and Burgundy, and widow of Eudes, Count of Blois and Tours. This marriage, according to the laws then in force, was doubly uncanonical, for the parties were cousins in the fourth degree, and had answered at the font for the same god-child. In 988, therefore, King Robert and Queen Bertha were ordered to separate, on pain of excommunication; and, although Robert stood out for several years against the will of the Church, he gave way at last (after suffering the prolonged miseries of an interdict) and sorrowfully parted from a companion whom he never ceased bitterly to regret. His second wife, Constance, daughter of the Count of Toulouse and Quercy, was a woman of an overbearing temper, and Robert endured much from her tyranny and violence. With the new Queen there came to the French court a crowd of strangers from Aquitaine—people, according to the monkish chroniclers, of dissolute and frivolous habits, addicted to extravagance in manners and in dress; though it may be that they simply brought with them a higher civilisation, which the rugged barons of the North mistook for vicious effeminacy.

It was at this time, when the tenth was passing into the eleventh century, that Gothic architecture, in its most distinctive and glorious characteristics, began in France. As we have before related,

it was believed that the end of the world was at hand; and although, when the dreaded time had passed, and still the world remained unmoved, men's minds resumed their former tone, an impression had been made, of which the clergy did not omit to take advantage, in order to establish their ascendency, and enrich the Church by the munificence of the devout. Thus, in a few years, many of the places of worship throughout France were restored, enlarged, and adorned. From the reign of Robert the Pious date the foundations of the abbey of St. Martin at Tours, the cathedrals of Perigueux, Angoulême, and Cahors, and the magnificent church of Aignan at Orleans: later in the century were added the splendid abbeys of Cluny, Vezelai, and St. Sernin at Toulouse. To the earlier epoch (about 1016) belongs a terrible persecution of the Jews, followed, a few years later, by that of some sects professing doctrines similar to those of the Paulicians. Many of these people were tortured and burnt at the stake. Robert himself, forgetting his benevolence in his bigotry, personally superintended the worst acts of cruelty directed against the Jews; and Queen Constance was foremost in denouncing and punishing the so-called heretics, among whom was Stephen, her former confessor, one of whose eyes she is said to have dashed out with her own hand as he was being led to execution.



THE CATHEDRAL, RHEIMS.

King Robert's declining years were far from

peaceful. His sons rose in rebellion, and he was subsequently forced to march against them. After a lengthened and bloody campaign in Burgundy, he reduced them to submission; but his spirit broke under the pressure of this heart-rending conflict, and soon after the restoration of peace he died in the castle of Melun, on the 20th of July, 1031, at the age of sixty. His excellent qualities had endeared him to all his subjects, and his memory still lives in many beautiful hymns retained in the services of the Church. Prince Henry, the eldest son of Robert, was not allowed to take peaceable possession of the throne, for his mother Constance intrigued with some of the great nobles to win the crown for her favourite son, Robert. She was supported by Eudes, Count of Blois, Chartres, and Champagne, and the league became so formidable that Henry found himself obliged to seek the aid of Robert, Duke of Normandy, the son and successor of Richard *sans peur*, who had died in 1028. He did not appeal to his kinsman in vain, for Robert raised a large force, and defeated Count Eudes in three pitched battles. The extraordinary courage and daring of the Duke of Normandy in this campaign inspired such general terror that he received the name of Robert the Devil, by which appellation he is popularly known. With the help of Robert, Henry was able to subdue the rebellious nobles, and Constance was glad to make peace with her son. Henry allowed his brother Robert to retain the duchy of Burgundy, of which province his descendants remained in possession for upwards of three centuries. Constance died soon after, and in 1032 Henry was acknowledged throughout the whole kingdom.



ST. SERNIN, TOULOUSE.

France was at this time afflicted with a terrible famine. For three years in succession the harvest had failed; the price of food became unparalleled, and the poorer part of the population were driven to resources which it is almost an offence to reveal. An innkeeper near Macon is said to have been burnt alive for having massacred a large number of wayfarers, whose bodies were afterwards devoured. Human flesh was undisguisedly exposed for sale in the market of Tournus. Numbers of bodies were left unburied, and attracted multitudes of wolves from the forests, which attacked both the living and the dead, and depopulated

whole districts. A brighter season, however, dawned with the year 1034, when the earth again became fruitful, and produced so abundant a harvest as to surpass the crops of three ordinary years. This fearful visitation left its mark upon mankind. In the days of terror and anguish, men fled to the Church for comfort and protection; the Church, on the other hand, demanded of the world some sacrifice of its destructive passions. Synods were held in different parts of the country, and the result was one of the most singular institutions of the middle ages—an institution which began in France, but spread also into Germany. A decree was passed for the repression of acts of violence, and for the protection of life and property: this was called the Peace of God, and was at first accepted with enthusiasm. With the return of prosperity, however, men forgot their sufferings, their crimes, and their repentance, and acts of violence, of rapine, and of oppression once more prevailed. In 1041, five years after the establishment of the Holy Peace, the Bishops again met in council, and, instead of abolishing war altogether—a task which, as men of the world, they knew to be impossible—confined themselves to a modification of its horrors. They limited the God's Truce (as it was now called) to the week-days specially consecrated by the memory of the Passion and the Resurrection—that is, to the time intervening between the sunset of Wednesday and the sunrise of Monday; and ordered that during that period all hostilities, whether public or private, should be suspended. The same decree was renewed at Narbonne in 1054, and at Troyes in 1093. At Clermont, in 1095, it was extended to the interval between Advent and the Epiphany, and from Lent to Pentecost. Other festivals were added; and, although these enactments were often disregarded, there can be no doubt that they did much towards mitigating the evils against which they were directed. But in later ages the institution fell into disuse, and it was finally abolished by the law of the Western Empire.

Henry I. was three times married, but had only two sons by his last wife, Anne, daughter of Yaroslaf, Grand Duke of Kief. The eldest of these was named Philip, after the father of Alexander the Great, from whom his mother claimed descent. He was barely eight years old when his father died in 1060; but for the next seven years the kingdom was administered by his guardian, Baldwin V., who discharged his duties with integrity and good sense. Left to his own guidance at the age of fifteen, Philip quickly ...d the vices of his character. A life of debauchery brought him into debt, and his necessities induced him to sell bishoprics and other ecclesiastical preferments to the highest bidder. The reigning Pope, Gregory VII., was, not unnaturally, indignant at this outrageous act, and in 1073—the year of his accession—sent to one of the French Bishops a letter of remonstrance and menace. An address to the French prelates collectively, in the following year, contained the uncompromising phrase that their King, "or rather their tyrant," had caused all their calamities by yielding to the seductions of the devil. Philip was threatened with the terrors of the Church if he did not amend his ways; and an easy promise of repentance was speedily followed by more cautious sinning.

That Philip would really be reformed by the admonitions of Gregory was from the first extremely improbable; and in 1092 he committed an act of deliberate cruelty towards his wife Bertha, whom he confined in the castle of Montreuil, that he might the more freely indulge his passion for Bertrade de Montfort, wife of the Count of Anjou—a woman of extraordinary beauty, who had conceived the ambition of being Queen of France. Forsaking her husband, she joined the King at Orleans, where two Bishops were persuaded to go through the ceremony of marriage with the adulterous pair. This scandalous act provoked a rebellion on the part of the Count of Anjou, and of Robert of Flanders, stepfather of Bertha; but their united arms could effect little against the forces of the monarchy. The voice of the Church was not much more powerful. A Council was held at Autun in 1094, when the Papal Legate formally excommunicated both offenders, and forbade Philip to use the insignia of royalty until he had separated from Bertrade, and done penance for his wrongful act. The King, indeed, made a pretence of submission, laid aside his crown and sceptre, and sought forgiveness of the Pope. But the unreality of his repentance is shown by the fact that he still clung to Bertrade; and in 1095 he was again excommunicated. Urban II. was then the reigning Pontiff; and at the Council of Clermont an interdict was laid on all places where the sovereign and his paramour should sojourn. Philip once more temporised, and virtually defied the Pope; for Bertrade was crowned at Troyes, enjoyed the title of Queen, and had four children by Philip, who, however, were never acknowledged as legitimate. Bertha died in her prison at Montreuil; but the attention of the world was soon directed from such personal matters to the momentous and all-absorbing question of the Crusades.

CHAPTER XX.

CENTRAL ASIA AND HINDOOSTAN: THE GHAZNEVIDES.

Creation of a New Sovereignty in Central Asia—Mahmoud the Ghaznevide, and his Invasions of India—Religions of India previous to the Introduction of the Mohammedan Faith—Brahminism, Buddhism, and Fire-worship—The Institution of Caste—Aims and Characteristics of Mahmoud—Expeditions against the Rajahs Jeipal and Bal—Question as to whether Firearms were used in the Eleventh Century—Destruction of Idols and Temples—Conquest of Cashmere—Attack on the City of Kanouje—Capitulation of other Cities—The Treasures of Mathura—Adornment of Ghizni with the Spoils of India—The Caliph and the Sultan—Sack of the Great Temple of Somnauth by Mahmoud and his Troops—Extraordinary Splendours—The Perils of the Desert—Operations against Moultan—Destruction of an Indian Fleet—Last Days and Death of Mahmoud—His Patronage of Literature—Military Power of the Turkomans—Their Defeat of Mussaood, the Son and Successor of Mahmoud—Rapid Decline in the Fortunes of the Ghaznevide Sultans—Rise of the Ghûri—Expulsion of Behram Shah from Ghizni—Khosru Malek, the Last of the Ghaznevide Dynasty.

WHEN the Seljukian Turks were becoming the predominant race in Western Asia, Alepteghin, a lieutenant of the Samanides who ruled over Transoxiana and Khorassan with some pretence of allegiance to the Saracenic Caliphs, aspired to complete independence, both of the Imperial power at Baghdad, and of the Bokharan Emir, his immediate superior. His revolt was successful, and one of his slaves, named Sebuctecin, or Sebuktajee, showed so much valour and intelligence in the conduct of his master's affairs that he obtained a position of authority and command. Alepteghin himself had been a slave before he was appointed to the Governorship of Khorassan; for the East (excepting where caste prevails) recognises little distinction of rank, and the servile menial of to-day may be a general, a Vizier, or a Prince to-morrow, if the tide of fortune or of favour sets that way. For fifteen years, ranging from 961 to 976, the leader of the revolt withstood the whole power of the Samanian rulers; and, on his death, Sebuctecin, already his son-in-law, was chosen as his successor. The seat of the new dominion was at Ghizni, or Ghazni, in the country now called Afghanistan; and Mahmoud, the son of Sebuctecin, who succeeded in 998, extended his realm to the neighbourhood of Ispahan in one direction, and the line of the Indus in another. A part of Khorassan still remaining to the Samanides was conquered in 999, and Mahmoud now directed his standards towards that populous land beyond the Indus, which until then had been brought so little in contact with more western countries, although its teeming cities and prodigal riches might well have invited numerous conquerors besides Alexander the Great.

Mahmoud had many good qualities. He was usually just in his dealings, and special mention is made of his generosity to the poor. But he was a fanatical Mohammedan, and his frequent invasions of India, which were attended by great slaughter, and by numerous miseries to the cities he attacked, were prompted by an overweening desire to propagate the faith. He declared that he was bound by the most solemn vows to destroy idolatry wherever his sword could reach; and there is no reason to doubt his sincerity. In the immense regions of Hindoostan, he had abundant opportunities for the exercise of his zeal. The ancient Egyptians themselves were not greater worshippers of idols than the people of the vast peninsula striking southward from the Himalayas. Their places of worship abounded in images, often monstrous and gigantic, to which the superstitious attached peculiar powers; and an enthusiastic Moslem might reasonably believe that here was a noble field for missionary enterprise.

The chief religion of India at that time was Brahminism—a faith so ancient that it is impossible to fix the date at which it arose. Yet we can go back even farther than its earliest manifestation, and find the germs of the later system in the original creed of the Aryan race, which was the worship of the elements, and of the heavenly bodies.* The name Brahma, according as it is pronounced with a short or a long *a* at the end, denotes either the essence of the Supreme Being in the abstract, without any element of personality, or the first of the three gods constituting the Hindoo Trinity. Brahma in the abstract is an object, not of worship, but of devout contemplation. He is addressed as Om or Aum, and is regarded with such profound veneration that no pious Hindoo will venture to utter the sacred name aloud. Brahma, thus considered, is the source from which the visible universe, and all the subordinate deities, have sprung, and into which they will return. The

* See the Volume of this series on "Early and Greek History," p. 212.

human soul, according to this system, is a portion of the Divine Mind, as a spark is a portion of the fire. Its ultimate fate is to be re-absorbed, absolutely and completely, in that which sent it forth; but, except in a few instances, where wisdom has been attained even in this life, the soul has to pass through many transmigrations, of a probationary nature, before its sublime destination is reached. As a personal deity, Brahma seems to have been at first a purely monotheistical conception, though the idea afterwards branched out into the three distinct beings—Brahma the Creator, Vishnu the Preserver and Sustainer, and Siva the Destroyer. In still later developments of the religion, Vishnu (or Krishna), and Siva, acquire the character of independent deities, and the Persian idea of a good and a bad Spirit, in perpetual conflict, rises up. Then other gods are added to the triad, of which some are descendants of the first three, while others are avatars (that is, incarnations) of Brahma. In idols and pictorial representations, Brahma is generally shown with four heads, which may possibly be typical of the four quarters of the earth. We are still, however, somewhat in the dark as to the inner meaning of these strange symbolisms; but much light has recently been thrown on Hindoo systems of faith by an attentive study of Sanskrit literature. Our chief sources of information are the Vedas, the Râmâyana, the Mahâbhârata, the Purânas, and the Tantras,—sacred or poetical writings, of different dates, which exhibit successive phases of the popular belief. The latest development of Brahminism may perhaps be described as a Polytheistic system, having a basis of Pantheism. The Hindoo believes in a number of deities, possessing great and mysterious powers; but beyond these beings is the impersonal, divine substance—eternal, self-existent, all-containing—out of which the gods themselves have issued, and on which they depend.

Buddhism was another of the religions of India existing in the time of Mahmoud the Ghaznevide, though rather as a persecuted sect than as a flourishing organisation. This remarkable system sprang up in the northern parts of the peninsula during the early years of the sixth century B.C., and the founder is described in Buddhist writings as a prince named Siddhartha, whose father was the monarch of a country on the borders of Oude and Nepaul. He is sometimes called Sakya, from the family name, and sometimes Gautama, from the great race of which his more immediate family was a branch. Whether this person ever had any real existence, or whether he is not rather to be regarded as an allegorical myth, is a question which has divided Orientalists; but the most commonly received opinion is that Siddhartha is a true historic character, though the accumulation of legend round the nucleus of fact has been immense. The story is, that the young prince, profoundly impressed with a melancholy view of life, and finding that the Brahmins (the priests of the older faith) could teach him nothing satisfactory, devoted six years to rigorous asceticism, without arriving at any better conclusion. Afterwards, by a long course of meditation, he formed the opinion that birth is the cause of all evils; that ignorance is the cause of birth; and that, with the removal of ignorance, the supreme misery of existence would be annihilated. The world, he taught, had issued out of Non-Entity; and the only satisfaction possible was a return to that condition. The one refuge from the storms of life was the state called Nirvâna—a word meaning, literally, "blown out," and therefore signifying absolute annihilation. The feeling of the Buddhist is the very opposite of that entertained by the ancient Greeks, who had so extreme a dislike of extinction that they preferred an eternity of pain to the cessation of existence. To the state of Nirvâna some approach may be made, even in this life, by the entire suppression of the passions and the affections, by indifference to hope and fear, desire and regret, by the practice of asceticism, and by that habit of intense and prolonged meditation which produces trance or ecstacy. But the perfect Nirvâna is to be attained by nothing short of complete annihilation.

It will thus be seen that the Buddhistical view of the universe is profoundly sad. Buddhism, indeed, is the voice of an infinite, an inconsolable, despair. The system offers but one relief—the salvation of Non-Entity; but the most terrible element of the creed is that this immunity from suffering does not necessarily result from death, being granted at once to only a few noble natures. Accepting the Brahminical doctrine of the transmigration of souls, the Buddhist teaches that the spirit of a man, immediately after his death, passes into another form, which may be that of an inanimate object, of some inferior creature, of another human being, or of a god. But all these existences are liable to suffering and death, with this distinction—that the virtuous enter into a state of comparative happiness, while the vicious are punished by ignoble and painful experiences, and, in special cases, by torture in one of the hundred and thirty-six graduated hells situated in the interior of the earth. The state of extreme condemnation may last millions of years—the blissful state, billions; but it would seem that, in any case, the boon of extinction will

eventually be reached. The "gods" of Buddhism, it should be observed, are simply glorified human beings. Of a supreme and creative Deity, the system takes not the slightest cognisance. Yet it is essentially a moral system, singularly tolerant and charitable, abounding in commandments of benevolence and self-restraint. To us, its lamentable outlook, without hope or consolation, is chilling and repellent in the last degree; but it is fitting to recollect that this cheerless creed satisfies, in some strange way, the spiritual wants of more than four hundred and fifty millions of our fellow-creatures.

When Siddhartha or Sakya (sometimes called Sakya-muni, that is, the Solitary) had attained to the perfection of his ethical system, he became what is termed "the Buddha,"—the possessor of intelligence, or of complete knowledge. He now began to teach his principles to others, and it was at Benares that he first revealed his doctrines to the world. During forty years, he travelled over the greater part of Northern India, making numerous converts from Brahminism. His death is said to have taken place, in 543 B.C., at Kusinagara, in Oude, when he had attained the age of eighty; and the remains of his body, which was burned, were distributed amongst the most eminent of his disciples, who erected over them monumental tumuli, which in India are called *topes*. Like the founders of most other religions, Buddha wrote nothing himself, and the authoritative exposition of his doctrines was settled after his death by three councils, of which the two latter were apparently not held until some centuries after the decease of the great teacher. These, however, were probably concerned more with revision and commentary than with the actual declaration of principles. The Buddhist religion spread in time into Ceylon, China, and other countries of the extreme East, where it still exists in great power and esteem; but, after the lapse of many centuries, it declined in India, owing either to persecution, or to some incompatibility with the Hindoo temperament. In the twelfth century of our era, it had almost entirely vanished from its native land; and when Mahmoud the Ghaznevide entered Hindoostan, at the beginning of the eleventh century, it had already receded, to a great extent, before the stronger force of Brahminism. When beginning to be overpowered, about the fifth century of our era, the Buddhists retired from the great cities into the solitary hills of the west, where they constructed a large number of cave-temples—vast in size, and often magnificent in their architectural forms—which exist to our own time in the Presidency of Bombay.

Both Brahminism and Buddhism were idolatrous in their practices, and consequently provoked the antagonism of a Mohammedan fanatic like Mahmoud; nor was he any the less outraged by the fire-worship of the Zoroastrians. There were also other Indian institutions which to Mahmoud must have seemed irreconcilable with a proper religious, or even political, condition. In that mysterious and almost unexplored land, he saw forms of asceticism and self-torture which he may rightly have regarded as offences no less against reason than against the will of the Divine Being. He found, moreover, the strange institution of caste, by which the people were divided into four distinct classes, whose avocations were hereditary, and incapable of being transferred from any one class to any other. These were the Sacerdotal class (consisting of the Brahmins, or priests), the Military class, the Mercantile class, and the Servile class, each of which, in the popular belief, proceeded from some different part of the person of Brahma. Caste was, indeed, a Brahminical institution: the Buddhists, without absolutely annulling it, acted entirely in contravention of its principle. But in the eleventh century the followers of Brahminism formed the immense majority of the Hindoo population, and it was chiefly from their opinions and practices that Mahmoud derived his impressions of the moral and social government of India. The spirit of Mohammedanism was certainly quite opposed to the ideas involved in caste; but it was principally the religious offences of the Hindoos which excited the zeal of the Ghaznevide. Mohammed himself was not more passionate in his hatred of idolatry,—the earliest of the Caliphs were not more determined to spread the faith of Islam by the argument of the sword,—than was this sovereign of a later day. It must, indeed, be added that he went far beyond his predecessors in the rage and cruelty of fanaticism. He appears to have done very little towards planting his own faith in Hindoostan. He simply slaughtered and pillaged, broke idols into fragments, and left temples in a state of ruin. The generosity and tolerance which characterised many of the earlier Mohammedans were entirely wanting in him; and, although his sincerity cannot be questioned, it would have been more to his credit had the satisfaction of his conscience turned less to the advantage of his treasury.

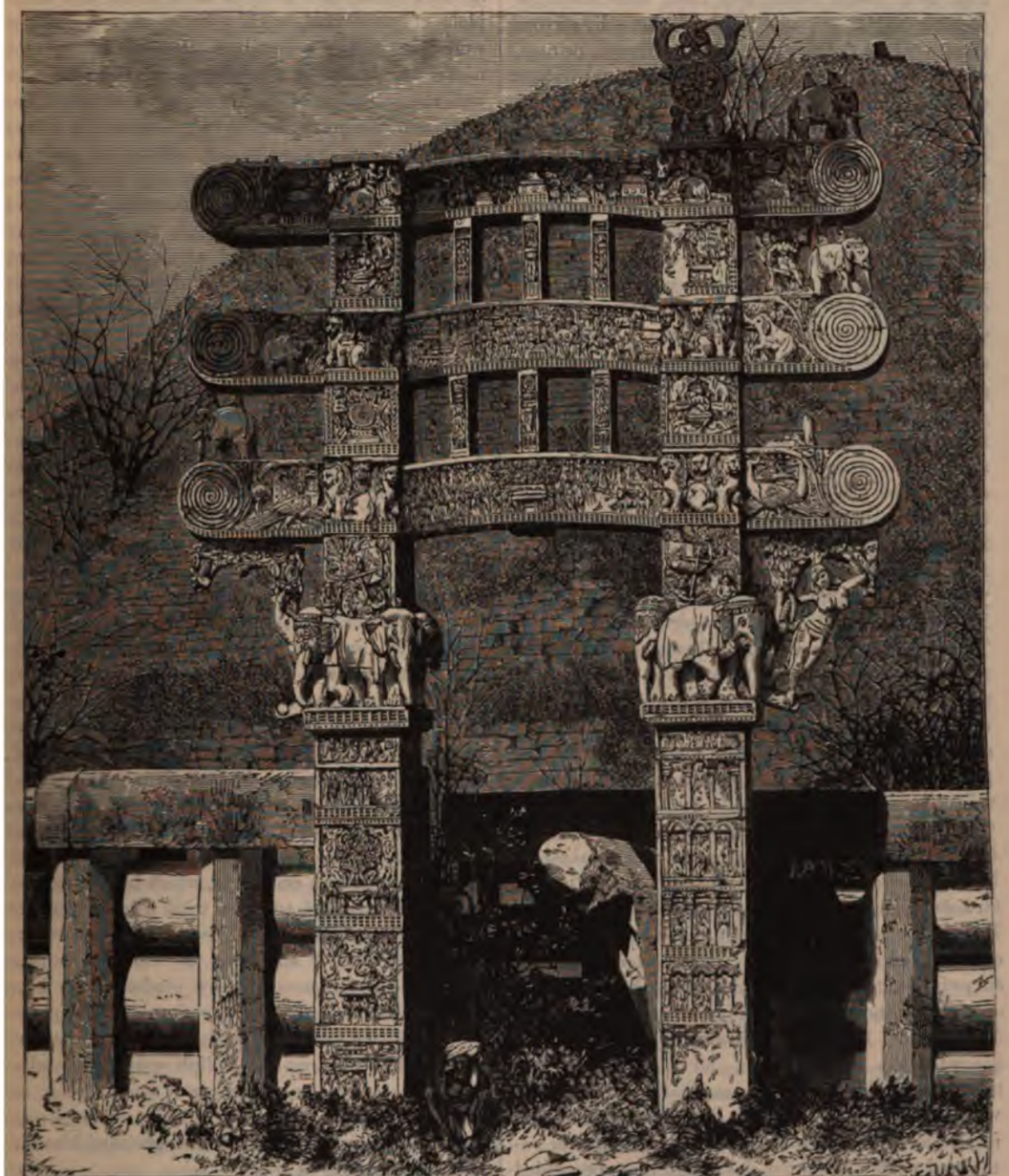
The first entry of Mahmoud the Ghaznevide into India was in the year 1001. His expeditions beyond the Indus appear to have been fourteen in all, and they were conducted in a remorseless spirit towards the prevalent forms of idolatry.

The open country was devastated, the cities were plundered, and large numbers of persons were put to the sword. The booty brought away on these occasions was enormous in its total amount; but it seems to have been applied to the furtherance of ends which Mahmoud regarded as of paramount importance, rather than to self-indulgence, or personal ostentation. The first invasion was directed against Jeipal, the Rajah of Lahore, who, despairing of success, resigned the crown to his son, and consumed himself with fire. In consequence of this victory, Mahmoud was permitted by the Caliph Kader to assume the title of Sultan. A subsequent expedition, in 1009, resulted in the defeat of Bal, a powerful ruler, from whom Mahmoud acquired vast treasures. The victory, however, was purchased at an immense cost, for Bal was supported by all the Hindoo princes west of the Ganges, and the encounter, which took place on the plains of Peshawur, was attended by great slaughter on the side of the Moslems, before an accidental panic among the Hindoos gave the victory to their assailants. The Mohammedan historian, Ferishta, who lived at the Mogul court in the seventeenth century, says that the elephant of the Hindoo generalissimo was alarmed by the report of some firearms, and that the mass of the combatants inferred from this circumstance that the Rajah was in full flight. That there may have been some sudden disorder, owing to the uncontrollable movements of an elephant, is probable enough; and that this may have been due to the cause alleged is not impossible, for there is every reason to believe that gunpowder was known to the nations of the East from a remote antiquity. Yet the statement in the writings of Ferishta is, perhaps, the result of some corruption of the text. The passage is differently written in different manuscripts, and it would seem from one that the elephant was scared by an arrow wound round with blazing tow, which had been soaked in naphtha.



ENTRANCE OF CAVE AT ELEPHANTA (BOMBAY PRESIDENCY).

When, having completed his victory, Mahmoud returned to his own dominions, he gave a magnificent festival of three days, during which he displayed the spoils of Hindoostan on tables of gold and silver; and a large portion of his gains was afterwards distributed among the poor, and the ministers of the Mohammedan faith. In the following year, the conqueror again entered India,



EAST GATE OF THE GREAT TOPE OF SANCHI.

and struck general terror by the mere presence of his armies, and the fierceness with which he attacked all forms of idolatry. It was probably in this expedition that he destroyed the celebrated temple

of Tanasar, about seventy miles north of Delhi, when he carried off the great idol, Jug-Sóom. He also took Delhi itself, and then, once more returning to Ghizni, was followed there by envoys from the chief sovereign of the Hindoo princes, who offered to purchase peace by an annual tribute of fifty elephants, besides specie and precious stuffs. The result is said to have been the establishment, or renewal, of commercial intercourse between the two nations; but this did not prevent subsequent expeditions into the idolatrous land. The life of Mahmoud was one of continual warfare; but his contentions with the neighbouring Turkish and Afghan tribes need not be here detailed. His invasions of India are more important, because they were nearly the first of those fiery assaults on Hindoo idolatry which must rank amongst the greatest achievements of Mohammedanism.

Cashmere was subdued in 1012 and the next few years, and Mahmoud then determined to march against the great city of Kanouje, thought by some to be the Palibothra of the ancient Greeks, though the identification is open to doubt. According to Ferishta, this city had not been visited by a foreign enemy for many centuries; but in the year 1018 Mahmoud advanced towards it with a hundred thousand horse, and thirty thousand foot. The distance from Ghizni to Kanouje is stated at three months' march, and seven great rivers crossed the route by which the invaders approached their destination. The passage of the mountains was attended with much difficulty, but, on entering the plains of Hindoostan, the Sultan drove all opposition before him, and quickly arrived at Kanouje. "He there," says Ferishta, in the hyperbolical language of the East, "saw a city which raised its head to the skies, and which, in strength and structure, might justly boast to have no equal." Korra, the prince of this city, lived in great pomp and splendour; but the invasion took him by surprise, and, being devoid of sufficient means of defence, he submitted himself to the mercy of Mahmoud. By some authors it is alleged that he accepted the Moslem faith, and at any rate it does not appear that the victorious Sultan treated him with his usual severity. Notwithstanding the attractions of so splendid a city, Mahmoud remained there only three days, and then proceeded to Meerut, in the Doab, which, being deserted by its prince, soon capitulated. Several other places were afterwards taken by the resistless invader, who sometimes prevailed by the mere terror of his name, and sometimes overcame his opponents by hard fighting in the open field. Wherever he went, Mahmoud pillaged the temples of the idolaters, and the riches he obtained are almost incredible. In the sacred city of Mathura, on the east bank of the Jumna, he is said to have found five large idols of pure gold, with eyes of rubies. There were also above a hundred idols of silver, and numerous camels were laden with the bullion. It was the intention of Mahmoud to destroy all the temples of Mathura; but he refrained on beholding the marvellous beauty of the edifices, or was deterred by the difficulty of casting down structures of such extraordinary massiveness, size, and strength. He found it, indeed, no easy matter even to remove the vast amount of treasure accumulated during his successful expedition, or to convey the numerous prisoners whom he designed to grace his return to Ghizni.

Arriving at his own capital, Mahmoud revealed his treasures to the astonished eyes of the people. Gold, silver, jewels, pearls, and other priceless commodities, were poured forth in dazzling profusion. Three hundred and fifty elephants displayed their enormous bulk, and 53,000 captives provided the people with slaves, at a price not higher than four shillings and sevenpence a head. Ghizni was beautified by the spoils of India. Baths, palaces, bazaars, and aqueducts sprang up in every direction. Numerous mosques attracted the faithful, and one in particular was so splendid, in the affluence of its marble, its granite, and its other adornments, that it received the title of the Celestial Bride. A university, endowed with funds for the maintenance of professors and students, and furnished with an immense library, containing books in various languages, was also founded by Mahmoud, who, desirous of acquiring a reputation for literary skill, wrote a poetical account of his own conquests, which he sent to the Caliph of Baghdad, together with a large number of magnificent presents. The Arabian sovereign, who had always exhibited a friendly feeling towards the Ghaznevide, now conferred on him several titles of high honour, and ordered his poem to be read at a great public festival. As head of the Moslem religion, the Caliph would naturally have the same regard for so great a propagator of the faith as the Pope might feel towards any Catholic sovereign who had distinguished himself in the extirpation of heresy.

Further expeditions into India took place in the years 1024 and 1025; on the second of which occasions, Mahmoud destroyed the famous temple of Somnauth, in the Kattiwar district of Gujerat. This temple was dedicated to the god Soma, who, according to the religious ideas of the Hindoos, determined, in respect of each departed soul, the

with which it should be next associated. The
in question seems to have been connected
the Sabian worship of early times; for
ita states that, whenever there was an eclipse,
forty or fifty thousand devotees used to
the temple of this planetary god.* The
s of Somnauth accounted for the misfor-
of Delhi and Kanouje by supposing that
had been merited by numerous sins; but,
ng the existence of similar offences on their
part, they boasted that, when Mahmoud
d approach their sanctuary, his forces would be
ly consumed by the blast of divine vengeance.
ese threatenings were known to Mahmoud,
exercised no influence on his conduct. Ac-
anied by 30,000 cavalry, he started from
i in the middle of October, 1024, arrived at
tan a month later, and then skirted the
t to Ajmere, which he sacked, according to
sual custom. Next advancing to Neherwâla,
ncient capital of Gujerat, he laid siege to that
and, three days later, sustained the furious
ught of a Hindoo army of relief. The
mmedans were nearly overwhelmed, and it
nly the desperate valour and burning fana-
of Mahmoud that saved the invaders from a
ing reverse. The idolaters were at length
ted; the garrison of Somnauth mingled in
eneral flight; and early in 1025 the city lay
to the Moslem. The temple of Somnauth was
ed on a promontory, protected on three sides
e ocean, and on the fourth by artificial de-
s which crossed the narrow isthmus. Its
vment was derived from the revenues of two
and villages; and the services of the deity
conducted by an equal number of priests,
very morning and evening washed the great
vith water from the sacred Ganges, although
stream flows through another and distant
of India. Three hundred musicians, three
red barbers, and five hundred dancing girls
istinguished birth and eminent beauty, com-
l the establishment of this splendid seat of
ip, which the surrounding populations re-
d with the mingled affection and veneration
faith transmitted through many ages.

e sacred spot had been abandoned by its
ders, who escaped in their boats; but the
r on the land side had still to be surmounted.
s scaled with all the enthusiasm of fanatical
ion, and the soldiers of Mohammed burst into
the sanctuary of Soma. On entering the temple, Mahmoud found himself in a spacious hall, the roof of which was supported by fifty-six pillars, plated with gold, and glittering with precious stones. A pendent lamp lit the vast enclosure, and was reflected by the innumerable jewels which shone from every part. Small images in gold and silver, so numerous that they counted many hundreds, stood around the temple, and in the centre was the chief idol itself, gigantic in size, hewn out of one block of marble, and partly sunk beneath the floor. With a blow of his iron mace, Mahmoud struck off a portion of the idol's head, and then gave orders that the rest should be broken into pieces. The priests offered immense sums of gold to redeem their god out of the hands of the iconoclast, and some of the Mohammedans ventured to suggest to their master that the mere destruction of an image would not change the faith of its worshippers, and that the sum offered might be turned to many useful and religious purposes. Mahmoud indignantly replied that he would never appear in the eyes of posterity as a merchant of idols. With the fury of a zealot, he repeated his blows, and was rewarded by the discovery, in the interior parts of the figure, of many pearls and rubies, which added greatly to the value of the spoil. This included a chain of gold, hanging from the top of the edifice, and supporting a great bell. The total amount of booty carried away by Mahmoud has been computed at more than nine millions sterling. But Soma had to mourn, not merely the loss of his treasures, but the lives of 50,000 of his worshippers, who are said to have fallen beneath the Moslem sword. The fragments of the idol were sent as trophies to Ghizni, to Mecca, and to Medina; and the Caliph bestowed on the invincible Sultan the title of "Guardian of the Faith of Mohammed."

Mahmoud remained some time in the chief city of Gujerat, with which he was so much delighted that he thought of making it his capital, especially as he now meditated fitting out a fleet for the conquest of Ceylon and Pegu. But these projects were opposed by his chief commanders, and he returned to Ghizni. On the route, his army nearly perished in some sandy and waterless deserts, into which they had been betrayed by a guide who was in truth one of the priests of Somnauth. The Sultan extricated them with much difficulty, and, after a prolonged absence, the great champion of Mohammedanism found himself once more in the dominions he had inherited from his father. But his restless nature could not be satisfied with inaction, and in 1027 he led an expedition against

the earliest religion of the Aryan race, the god Soma
ntified with Intoxication, and worshipped with absolute
nness.

the tribes of Moultan which had harassed his retreat. The territory was intersected by several streams, and, to overcome these obstacles, Mahmoud built and equipped fourteen hundred war-boats, each furnished with beaks of iron, and manned with twenty archers, provided with Greek fire, or with some combustible of a similar nature To this fleet the Indians opposed a much more numerous force of vessels; but their ships were run down by the rams of their opponents, and consumed by the quenchless flames projected on to their decks. The object of Mahmoud being thus attained, he returned once more to his capital, and, after some further successes, including the conquest of a portion of Irak Ajami, found his health declining. In those final days, he was seized with that overwhelming melancholy which seems to be the natural penalty of power too mighty, of success too little shadowed by the common reverses of the world. He wept in the midst of his treasures and of his countless hosts, and a formidable rebellion of Turkomans added to the anxiety of approaching death. He expired on the 29th of April, 1030, in the sixty-third year of his age, and the thirty-third of his reign. His empire appears to have been larger than that of any Mohammedan prince before his time, and he maintained a splendid court, which was frequented by scholars and poets from all parts of Asia. He is said, however, to have behaved with much coldness to the great epic poet of Persia, Firdousi, who wrote his chief poem, the "Shâh Nâmeh," or Book of Kings, at the request of Mahmoud himself, yet received from that monarch nothing but scanty praises and a paltry reward. Whether this was owing to jealousy of Firdousi as a better poet than himself, or whether the Persian had not flattered him with sufficient exaltation of style, is a question incapable of solution; but, in any case, the neglected poet was roused to such extreme indignation that he wrote a fiery invective against the Sultan, and then fled for refuge to Baghdad. For the most part, however, Mahmoud was a liberal patron of letters; and a fixed sum of 400,000 dirhems, equal to about £9,166 sterling, was annually applied by him to the support of learned men.

Some time before his death, the Sultan left his principal dominions to his younger son, Mahommed; but the elder son, Mussaood, deposed his brother in the course of a few months, and then, following the example of his father, made several incursions into India. Although his earlier years were prosperous, the bitterness of evil fortune lay not far behind. The Turkomans dwelling in the bourhood of the Caspian Sea, and preserving, even in the eleventh century, all the nomadic habits and primitive manners of their Scythian ancestors, had become a formidable military power, even in the time of Mahmoud. That victorious Sultan had once inquired of a chieftain named Ismael, belonging to the territory of Bokhara, what number of men he could supply for exceptional service. He was answered, that if he sent an arrow into the camp of Ismael's tribe, 50,000 horsemen would at once be at his disposal. Mahmoud then desired to know how many more could be furnished, supposing those should be insufficient. "Send this second arrow to the horde of Balik," replied Ismael, "and you will find 50,000 more." Mahmoud, whose real object was to discover the strength of a neighbouring people, pushed his demands still further, and desired to know how many fighting men the whole of these tribes could supply in answer to his requirements. "Despatch my bow," answered Ismael, "and, as it circulates, the summons will be obeyed by 200,000 horse." This was a power to be suppressed, even more than to be used as an auxiliary. Mahmoud transported some of the tribes into the heart of Khorassan, where they were separated from the rest by the channel of the Oxus. Here, however, they acquired additional strength by concentration, and by those habits of disciplined warfare which they were not slow to learn. It was from them that the Seljukian Turks derived their origin, and it was their numbers and courage which now inflicted a terrible reverse on Mussaood.

That prince had been repeatedly warned by his counsellors of the danger that was growing up almost under his sceptre. "Your enemies," they told him, "were in their origin a swarm of ants; they are now little snakes; and, unless they be instantly crushed, they will acquire the venom and magnitude of serpents." Mussaood sent some of his lieutenants into Khorassan, to effect an arrangement with the menacing Turkomans, and, when these attempts failed, marched against them in person. He was defeated, owing partly to the treacherous connivance of some Turkish generals who served under his standards; and it was after this victory, achieved near the small town of Zendekan, that Toghrul Bey was chosen as the leader of the Seljukian Turks. Mussaood escaped to Ghizni, and afterwards undertook another expedition into Hindoostan, in the course of which a mutiny broke out among the troops, and resulted in the murder of the Sultan. This occurred in 1041, and from that time the power of the Ghaznevides rapidly declined. Various Sultans succeeded to the throne, but their reigns were distin-

guished by little more than plots and tumults. The star of the Seljukian Turks rose as that of the Ghaznevides declined. A gleam of returning fortune, however, illuminated the brief reign of Furrukzaud, extending from 1053 to 1058; but the triumphs of its earlier portion were obscured by reverses later on. During the reign of Behram Shah, who ruled from 1118 to 1152, the Ghûri—a tribe inhabiting the mountainous country of Ghûr—made encroachments on the territory of Ghizni, and, seizing the capital itself, drove Behram Shah across the Indus. The invaders having retreated, Behram Shah returned, took the prince of Ghûr captive, and put him to death with prolonged tortures. Allah-ud-deen, his brother, advanced against the Sultan, defeated him, seized Ghizni, and gave it up to the infuriated troops. The Sultan again fled into India, and died there in 1152. His son, Khosru Shah, made several attempts to retake Ghizni, but without success; and Khosru Malek, who reigned from 1160 to 1166, was the seventeenth and last monarch of the dynasty commencing with Alepteghin. He was frequently attacked by the reigning prince of Ghûr, and utterly crushed at Lahore, his last possession, in 1186. With him the power of the Ghaznevides came to an end. Khosru himself, and all his family, were soon afterwards put to death, and the power of the Ghûrians rose upon the shattered ruins of that which had once been rendered illustrious by the valour and success of Mahmoud the Ghaznevide.

CHAPTER XXI.

THE POPEDOM IN THE ELEVENTH CENTURY.

Clerical Monopoly of Knowledge in the Middle Ages—Immense Wealth of Abbeys and Bishoprics—Relations between Church and State—Constitution of Germany and the "Holy Roman Empire"—Henry II., the Last Bavarian Emperor—His Deference to the Clergy—Accession of the Franconian Dynasty—The Emperor Conrad II.—His Disregard of the Privileges of the Church—The Emperor Henry III.—Distracted and Depraved Condition of the Popedom—Irregular and Corrupt Elections of Popes—Hildebrand the Monk—He is taken into the Confidence of Leo IX.—His Character and Motives—Views of Peter Damiani and other Church Reformers—Correction of Simony, and Enforcement of Clerical Celibacy—Hildebrand Archdeacon of Rome, and Prime Minister of the Pope—The Pope's Visit to France and Germany—Imprisonment and Death of Leo IX.—The Infant Countess Matilda, Heiress of Tuscany—The Infant Henry IV., King of Germany—Imperial Power in Italy Suspended during his Minority—Cardinal Hildebrand, the Pope-maker at Rome—Disputed Papal Election—The Lateran Council, 1059, and its Decrees for Church Reform—Pontificates of Nicholas II. and Alexander II.

THE eleventh century of the Christian era witnessed the growth of those vast pretensions of the Roman See to universal supremacy which encountered, at first, the opposition of Imperial and feudal power among the princes of Germany, but which afterwards, for nearly two hundred years, militated against the independence of the Western nations, and which were frequently disputed by French and English monarchs. In reviewing, from the standpoint of modern civilisation, and without any reference to theological arguments, the origin and progress of this momentous struggle, we should make allowance for an unenlightened age, while disallowing the assumed divine authority of the Papacy over civil and political society, as well as the barbarous pride of military dominion, too often exercised in practices of licentious and lawless oppression. Superstition, and consequently priestcraft, arose in the Catholic Church, as the violence and rapacity of feudal chiefs and temporal potentates were rampant in the world of the Middle Ages, from the lack of better knowledge. A small minority of one class only, the clergy and the monastic orders, possessed some degree of intellectual culture, and were alone conversant with principles of law, of public morality, and of historical policy, as well as those of religion. The laity were ignorant, not excepting men of the highest rank; and it was impossible that any effective public opinion could be formed. This condition of society tempted the ecclesiastical monopolists of instruction to abuse their trust. Learning was made subservient to the avarice and ambition of the hierarchy; the sacerdotal office, from its lowest to its highest grade, became an object of purchase and sale. The morals of the clergy, despite a few high and noble examples, were far from pure. The prodigious wealth accumulated by Church corporations, Abbeys, and Bishoprics, excited not only the envy and jealousy of powerful laymen, but serious apprehensions lest the realm should be drained of its revenues by a



INTERIOR OF SAN APOLLINARE NUOVO, RAVENNA.

clergy who seemed to be collecting a perpetual tribute from the soil of the country. It has been conjectured that nearly half the lands in some countries of Europe—that is to say, half in value, though not half in extent, seeing that the richest lands were those of the Abbeys—belonged to ecclesiastical owners.

and Spain had scarcely yet attained their substantial political organisation, the sole conspicuous representative of paramount secular authority was the "Holy Roman Empire," which was really the hereditary presidency of a federation of German Princes, claiming supremacy also in the North of Italy, with a title supposed to have been granted



GATEWAY OF THE CERTOSA, PAVIA.

At the same time, in view of the ordinary obligations of landed proprietors to feudal service, the King, Duke, or other ruler of the State, could not but look askance upon the imperfect allegiance of the great ecclesiastical vassals, with their privileged exemption from the common law; but popular sentiment, often estranged from the aristocratic order, and misled by false notions of religion, usually inclined to the side of the priesthood in these disputes. At the commencement of the great controversy, as the kingdoms of England, France,

by a formal election in the city of Rome, and confirmed by the Pope at their coronation. The earlier Popes had sanctioned this title as the price of military assistance to support their own position. The Frankish dynasty of Charlemagne reigned about a century in Germany, and was succeeded, as the reader is aware, by the Saxon dynasty, which came to an end in the next hundred years; then came, in 1002, the election of Henry, Duke of Bavaria, followed, in 1024, by that of Conrad of Franconia, whose descendants in three successive

generations wore the Imperial Crown. The relations between the greatest European monarchy, under these princes, and the Roman Papacy, which drew fresh strength from a great access of religious devotion, and zeal to correct the abuses of the Church, are now to be examined.

At the beginning of this period, there seemed to be perfect harmony between Church and State in the constant exercise of mutual good offices; and the temporalities of the Church, involving the possession of estates and lordships in the nature of fiefs of the Crown, were bestowed at the Emperor's pleasure. Henry II. of Germany was so zealous a churchman that the clergy, high and low, readily left much of the care for religion in his hands. Yet he would, literally, prostrate himself in supplication before a Council or Synod, to implore their sanction of his plans for the benefit of the Church. The sincerity of this singular character seems beyond doubt, and some of its traits remind us of the English King, Edward the Confessor. Though married, Henry forswore the hopes of a husband and father, declaring that he would make only Christ his heir, and devoting the accumulated savings of his revenue to endow the new Bishopric of Bamberg. He fasted and scourged his body in continual penance, spent hours daily in conference with his favourite divines, and repeatedly convened an ecclesiastical assembly to enact stringent regulations for the chastisement of sinners, more especially those who married within the degrees of affinity forbidden by the canon law. He founded three episcopal sees, bestowing great riches upon them, and otherwise largely increasing the territorial wealth of the clergy. With this disposition, as he never set up a peremptory claim to nominate Bishops or Abbots, or to dispose of any ecclesiastical benefices, and as he showed an extreme regard for the office of the priesthood, Henry was allowed the more authority in such matters. His appointments to vacant sees and prelacies were in no case resisted: the chapter or the monastery would elect the person recommended by the Emperor to their suffrages.

The Papal office, in 1012, after being, for two or three contemptibly brief reigns, bandied to and fro by contending Roman factions, devolved on Benedict VIII. This Pope, having few Italian supporters, formed a close alliance with the German Emperor; while Henry found himself obliged to reconquer the kingdom of Italy, which a Lombard rebellion had severed from the Empire. By the political constitution of the Empire, this Italian ated chiefly in Lombardy, but extend- nagna, and including all between the Apennines and the Adriatic, was essentially united with the Imperial title. It was held, indeed, as a gift from the Pope, but was to be given to the elect of the most powerful German princes, or to his hereditary successor, duly approved at Rome by the Pope and by a civic election. This was the constitutional theory by which the Germanic Empire assumed the style of "Holy Roman;" but the Italians were seldom inclined to acquiesce in the German dominion. Upon the death of Otho III., the Lombards and Piedmontese refused to submit to Henry of Bavaria, and elected a native King of Italy, Arduino, Marquis of Ivrea. The Emperor Henry led an army into that country, drove his competitor to the Alps, and assumed the Iron Crown. An unexpected disaster, with some apparent want of resolution on his own part, caused him suddenly to abandon this enterprise for a time. While banqueting in state at Pavia, the hall in which he sat was attacked by a furious mob of Lombards, intent on killing the Emperor-King. His German soldiery, encamped outside the city, ran into it of their own accord, dispersed the rabble, and avenged the insult by a wholesale massacre of the citizens, and by burning the town. Henry seems to have taken this deplorable incident as a rebuke to worldly ambition. He withdrew to Germany, permitting the Lombards to recall Arduino; and it was not until 1014, and then only upon the pressing invitation of Pope Benedict, that he cared to regain his Italian kingdom.

This transaction, to which we have before adverted, is worthy of attention with a prospective view to the state of Italian politics which continued during three or four centuries, and of which the contest between the Guelphs and Ghibellines, in the thirteenth century, seems to have been the natural result. Whenever the Popes and the Emperors were in active co-operation, which seldom happened after the rise of the Western European kingdoms, the suppression of Italian liberties by German arms was part of the bargain. Neither the Italian nor the German nationality could have been developed, or adorned with the rich fruits of commerce and industry, of the fine arts, and of municipal government in their free cities, but for the protracted and repeated quarrels between Emperor and Pope. The original cause of their discord, indeed, was not any question about the political constitution of the Empire in Germany and Italy, so long as it would guard the temporalities of the Roman See. It was the bitter dispute concerning the monarchical prerogative of investing prelates with the temporalities of their

preferment within the realm. We have observed that this question did not arise in the time of the Emperor Henry II. It is remarkable that one of his first acts in Italy, after expelling Arduino, and subduing the Lombards a second time, was to depose the Archbishop of Ravenna, and to cause the induction of his own brother into that see. Having arrived at Rome, with his consort Cunegunda, he was solemnly received, as King of Italy, by the Pope and the Roman senators, was elected King of the Romans, and was anointed and crowned by his Holiness, which completed the Imperial title. The Pope put to him the following questions:—"Art thou, O King, firmly of purpose to be henceforward a faithful patron and defender of the Roman Church? Art thou resolved to be in all things faithful to us and our successors?" The Emperor was obliged to answer in the affirmative before he could receive the sacramental unction preliminary to coronation; and this was twelve years after his election by the States of Germany. But it was the normal course of proceeding, and shows how thoroughly the Imperial constitution was then defined and understood among both the leading nations of Central Europe.

The remaining acts of Henry of Bavaria, to his death in 1024, are of less concern to our subject. He was again called into Italy, in 1021, to assist its defence against the Greeks and Saracens. As he left no heir to the throne, Conrad "the Salic," Duke of Franconia, was elected in his stead. In 1026, Conrad II. was crowned King of Italy, at Milan, by his powerful Lombard supporter, Archbishop Heribert, in spite of the disaffection of the people; and on Easter Day, 1027, he was crowned Emperor at Rome by the hands of Pope John XIX. A sanguinary brawl in the streets, between the German soldiers and the Roman populace, disgraced the coronations both of Henry II. and of Conrad II. There could not be a greater farce than that of pretending that the Romans chose their "King."

With the commencement of the Franconian Imperial dynasty, which continued into the twelfth century, begins a more pronounced and energetic manifestation of opposing principles, sometimes exhibited with revolutionary force. Conrad was a bold, reforming legislator, desirous of ruling in Italy as well as in Germany, while he did not entertain, like his sainted predecessor, an extreme reverence for the priesthood. He seems to have gone on rather too fast in the assertion of purely secular rules of law, when he committed to prison four Italian prelates, including Archbishop Heribert of Milan, his first friend in Italy, for disobeying one of his edicts. The privilege of being tried by their spiritual peers was undoubtedly secured to them by the canon law, and was recognised by the laws of the Empire in Germany. A threatening attitude of popular feeling in the chief Italian cities soon compelled the Emperor to release his ecclesiastical prisoners, whom he had treated merely as recusant vassals of the Crown. This happened in 1037, at the Imperial Diet of Pavia, where he promulgated a special enactment, obscurely named "the Salic," giving legal certainty of tenure to rear-vassals holding of the feudal tenants-in-chief, and securing their right of inheritance. The Bishops appear to have been guilty of much oppression of their own sub-tenants, or "rear-vassals," and Conrad's just indignation was roused against them; but Heribert had already given offence by his insolent presumption and disloyalty. Before the Archbishop of Milan had so misconducted himself, there seemed no bounds to the amount of Imperial favours that he enjoyed, which were bestowed with little regard to other claims of the Church. The Emperor took upon himself to annex the bishopric of Lodi, with its revenues and the lordship of that town, to the Metropolitan See of Milan. He even went so far as to declare, in a solemn assembly of prelates, that the Archbishop of Milan, as he had crowned the King of Italy, ought to have precedence over the Bishop of Rome. No notice was taken of this gratuitous insult; and a few years afterwards, when Heribert became an avowed traitor to the Kingdom and Empire, Conrad was fain to ask the Pope to depose the offender from his archiepiscopal dignity. Some months later, the Emperor died, and was succeeded by his son, Henry III., who did not, however, come to Italy until 1046. The state of the Papacy, in the meantime, had become worse than ever.

It will presently be our task to contemplate the life and actions of one of the greatest men who ever filled the Papal chair, whatever may be thought of the monstrous pretensions with which he magnified his office. A few intermediate occupants of that post must first be enumerated, who are described as not only insignificant, but vile and infamous; the witness against them being Pope Victor III., their successor half a century after them, but, at the time of his writing, Abbot Desiderius, of Monte Cassino. After giving a very bad account of the behaviour of the Italian clergy, he mentions that "several persons had of late usurped the Pontifical throne. One Benedict IX., the son of a Roman Consular, following in the footsteps of Simon Magus rather than Simon

Peter, took upon himself the supreme priesthood. Truly, I shudder when I call to mind the life which this man led after he assumed the Pontificate. Oh, the scene of baseness, obscenity, and profligacy, which it presented! But, after he had for a time proceeded in a career of rapine, murder, and every species of felony, the people of Rome at length became weary of his iniquities. They drove him from the throne, and expelled him from their city. Yet, having grown no wiser, they selected John, Bishop of Sabina (Sylvester III.), and, for a price paid down, in contempt of the canons, seated him in the place of Benedict. But this son of Satan had scarcely occupied the chair for the space of three months, when Benedict, supported by all the powers of his kindred, drove John back again to his own bishopric. Then Benedict, resuming all his vices, persevered in the perpetration of every crime. Perceiving, at length, that he had, by his enormities, fallen into universal obloquy among the clergy and people, and as he had always preferred the life of a sot to the demeanour of a Pontiff, he at length contrived to sell the Pontificate, for a large sum of money, to the Archpriest John, a man who, upon the whole, enjoyed a better reputation for religion than the rest of the Roman clergy."

The Archpriest John Gratianus, who thus, in 1044, came to style himself Pope Gregory VI., was not recognised as a legitimate Pope by the majority of Italian prelates. His election was denounced as irregular and simoniacal; so that many Bishops, priests, deacons, and monks, refused communion with him. A band of armed men was in the Cathedral of St. Peter to keep him out of it. He sent his guards to force an entrance, and there was some bloodshed, which was repeated on the roads near Rome where pilgrims bringing money for the Pope were forcibly obstructed by his foes. This scandalous condition of the Roman See prompted an appeal from an independent party of clergy to the Emperor Henry III., as a devout Christian and friend of the Church, who might interpose for the redress of such great disorders. Peter, Archdeacon of Rome, undertook the commission to go to the Emperor in Germany, who was deeply impressed by his representations, and signified to a German ecclesiastical synod his intention of putting matters right in the Papal city. Henry sternly reproved the clergy in general for the common sin of simony; required those of his own nation to take a solemn oath against its commission or toleration; and marched as soon as he could to Italy, accompanied by some of the German prelates, and with a considerable military force. He was coldly received by the Italians, but was met at Piacenza by Pope Gregory, with whom he journeyed on towards Rome. Instead of directly entering the city, he halted at Sutri, in Umbria, and there convened a general assembly of ecclesiastics, Italian, German, and French, to decide who should be Pope. They investigated the venal transaction by which Gregory had purchased that high office, and determined that he should abdicate, or renounce the Pontifical dignity. Gregory, or rather the Archpriest John, as he was again to be called in future, made no great difficulty of confessing his error with a tolerably good grace, and in 1046 divested himself of the Papal office. It was considered an edifying spectacle, and the Emperor Henry obtained much credit as a Church reformer. The authority he had thus gained was such that he was enabled, in his character of Patrician Protector of Rome, and before his coronation as Emperor, to nominate a German candidate, the Bishop of Bamberg, for the vacant Papal See. The election was performed by the Senators and chief citizens, jointly with the Cardinals, prelates, and other clergy of Rome. They acknowledged the sad fact that no one of the Italian clergy at that time could be found worthy to preside over the Catholic Church. The new Pope, styled Clement II., did not long survive his elevation; and his successor, Damasus II., lived only twenty days. As they died in Italy, and both were strangers and foreigners, whose appointment was probably obnoxious to many of the Italians, suspicions of the cause of their unexpected death may perhaps be admitted.

The election, however, in the year 1048, of the next Pope, Leo IX., who was likewise the Emperor's nominee, having been Bishop Bruno, of Toul, in Lorraine, began a new era for the Papacy and the Roman Catholic system. Its significance will at once be recognised when the name of Hildebrand is mentioned as one of the earliest and most influential counsellors of this Pontificate. That extraordinary man, who was enabled to raise the Papal See from its lowest depth of contemptible degradation to amazing heights of pride and power, was born about 1015, the son of a carpenter at Soano, in Tuscany. In his youth he went to Rome, prepared himself by study and discipline for the ecclesiastical profession, took orders in the ministry of the Church, and was attached to the person and service of the Archpriest John Gratianus, whose irregular and short-lived assumption of the Popedom has just been related. After the deposition and death of his patron, Hildebrand retired to the Benedictine

monastery of Cluny, in Burgundy, and became a monk. It is said, indeed, that he had passed several years in that retreat at an earlier period of his life; and he was partly educated, as a youth, in the convent of St. Mary on the Aventine, at Rome. His exemplary devotion, his zeal for the rules of the Order, and his commanding abilities, were soon rewarded at Cluny by election to the second office, that of Prior, under the venerable Abbot Odilo, who was eighty-five years of age. At Christmas, in the year 1048, Prior Hildebrand chanced to be at Worms on business of his Order, when he met the newly-chosen Pope, Leo IX. It was a personal acquaintance, destined to have most important consequences. Hildebrand might else, in all probability, have succeeded his old superior as Abbot of Cluny, and have passed his life in presiding over that splendid establishment. But, though he is described as a mean-looking figure, "of low stature, short-legged, pot-bellied, with sallow face and coarse black hair," he took the fancy of Pope Leo, who was greatly impressed by his ardent genius, and insisted upon carrying him away to Rome. Hildebrand, with characteristic boldness, made a deeper impression on the mind of Leo by refusing at first to address him as Pope, since he was, up to that moment, only a Bishop whom the Emperor wished to get made Pope, and who lacked canonical institution. He agreed, however, to return to Rome, and to employ his faculties in the service of the Holy See. Leo IX. made him Cardinal Archdeacon; and through five successive Popedoms, during twenty-five years altogether, before his own accession to the throne, Hildebrand laboured assiduously to correct the faults of ecclesiastical administration, and to augment its power in the world.

It would be unjust to the motives and efforts of Hildebrand and other eminent Churchmen, if we failed to mention with due appreciation their zeal for the moral reformation of society, apart from those notions of Christian doctrine, and especially of sacerdotal authority, which are rejected by Protestants and by modern thinkers. There were great and good men in the Roman Catholic hierarchy; and a part of their work must be pronounced commendable, when contrasted with the barbarism, ferocity, and profligacy of powerful laymen, and the brutish servitude of the lower classes, under the feudal system. Hildebrand was most emphatically a man of his own time, comprehending well the wants of that time, and penetrated with the feelings and opinions of leading minds on the side which he had espoused. Others had already discerned the necessity of enforcing a stricter discipline among the ministers of the Church, and correcting their irregular lives, before the Church could hold up her head against the Empire, and command the obedience of the world. One of the most ardent reformers with this view was Peter Damiani, Prior of the Convent at Avellano, near Gubbio, who urged Pope Leo to inflict severe penalties on the simoniacal clergy. Hildebrand, acting as steward and treasurer, or as confidential secretary, to this Pope, was much brought into contact with Damiani, and readily shared his views, which were further developed in their private conferences. A second object, having more practical connection with the first than might appear from superficial regard, was the enforcement of the canonical law that clergymen, both priests and deacons, should not be married. Rich benefices were commonly sought by those whose wives expected a costly establishment in their household, or who had to provide for many children; and the wife's friends would often lend money for the husband to "buy a living." Besides this practical consideration, bearing on the prevalent usage of simony, Damiani and Hildebrand, as enthusiastic and ascetic monks, felt persuaded that the most rigorous celibacy was essential to that sort of mental purity which they deemed incumbent on the priesthood. It was the morbid fancy of men whose intense moral earnestness may demand our respect, but whose delusion, bred in the unwholesome atmosphere of conventual seclusion, has been frightfully cruel and mischievous. It was distinctly the product of monkery; and its adoption by Hildebrand, from motives undoubtedly sincere, was a lamentable feature of his ecclesiastical life, giving an aspect of harsh inhumanity to his labours as a Church reformer.

While this part of the history, though intelligible, if not pardonable, is extremely painful, we may sympathise with the desire of Hildebrand to secure official integrity among the clergy of every degree, to check the abuses then prevailing in their appointments, and to vindicate their independence of worldly influences. However erroneous were some of his views, he was a stern enemy of corruption in the sacred office. All its functions, privileges, and temporal possessions, were regarded by him as a divine trust, for which the ordained members of the Church were accountable solely to God, and which it would be treason to surrender to the hands of laymen. Convinced of the truth of this theory, Hildebrand maintained a heroic fight for its realisation during forty years. Personal self-aggrandisement was clearly r

motive; for he began this course when he had no probable expectation of ever being Pope, seconding the efforts of Damiani, and subsequently associating himself with other leaders of the disciplinarian school—Anselm Bishop of Lucca, the Abbot Frederick of Monte Cassino, who became Pope Stephen IX., and Arialdo, the Milanese doctor of canon law. He was a zealous and active partisan, an erring fanatic and bigot, but not a selfish intriguer. It is even stated by a contemporary witness that he declined the Papacy upon the death of Leo in 1055, when it was offered him by the unanimous voice of the Roman clergy and people. He acquiesced in the selection of another German prelate, Gebhard, Bishop of Eichstadt, whom he went to see at the Court of Henry III., and to whom, as Pope Victor II., during a short reign, Hildebrand gave his loyal support. This he continued to the next Pope, Stephen IX., and afterwards to Nicholas II., at whose demise Bishop Anselm, another leader of the reform party to which Hildebrand was attached, was elected with the style of Pope Alexander II. In all these transactions, no sign appears of any intrigue on Hildebrand's part against his ecclesiastical superiors, or any personal eagerness to grasp the Pontificate.

The growth of a secularised, wealthy, and aristocratic class of beneficed priests and prelates, intimately allied by family connections and by temporal interests with the hereditary nobility, would certainly have been most prejudicial to the liberties of the common people, as well as to the spirituality of the Church. A true political instinct caused the mass of the unprivileged laity to be apprehensive of this danger, and to sympathise with the Hildebrandine school of ecclesiastical reformers in all their contests against it. Though mingled with the ideas of a superstitious asceticism, and a false conception of the priestly life and function, this prevailing sentiment of the necessity of separating Churchmen from the world and its ways had some justification in the existing circumstances. It is far from true Christianity, and very far from enlightened modern policy, at least in Protestant countries; but it was a needful antidote to the imminent perils of that time. The enormous riches then acquired by the great ecclesiastical corporations, the princely rank and power of many Bishops and Archbishops, more especially in the German provinces and in Lombardy, and the ascendency which clerical intelligence and learning had gained in civil affairs, in the business of the State and the administration of law, threatened to bind the infant nations of Europe in a servitude that would have been more injurious even than the Papal sway, and more difficult to resist. For it would have been closely linked with the rigid fabric of an oppressive military and territorial feudalism which was incompatible with civilisation; and it would have been lodged in a hundred local or provincial seats of prelatical dominion, instead of the one centre of Latin Christendom. Such considerations impart a high degree of historical interest, quite irrespective of religious or dogmatical belief, to the great enterprise of Hildebrand; while there is a personal and dramatic element in the story, which is fascinating to the imagination. Beginning as a subordinate official of the Roman Court, becoming one of several leaders of a small party opposed to the most powerful classes and interests both in the Church and in the State, relying upon his principles alone, exerting the moral and intellectual forces of individual genius, never distracted or enfeebled by the indulgence of private vices, Hildebrnnd achieved a remarkable work in the exaltation of the Papal See.

In April, 1049, Pope Leo IX., acting by the advice of Hildebrand and his associates in this cause, assembled a general synod to consult upon the best means of putting a stop to the disgraceful and pernicious traffic in ecclesiastical benefices, including Bishoprics. It was proposed not merely to annul the presentations obtained by money, but to invalidate the clerical orders which had been conferred by Bishops who had purchased their sees. With the severest logic, it was contended that they were truly no Bishops, and that they were incapable of dispensing the sacrament of ordination. The alarming prospect of executing such a decree, by which a great majority of the Italian clergy would at once have been deprived of their office, raised a storm of anger not to be withstood. It was therefore agreed to do no more than impose a brief term of penance and sequestration upon clergymen who had knowingly accepted ordination from a simoniacal Bishop. The social effects, indeed, that might have ensued upon a persistence in the extreme measure, would appear most distressing to the innocent laity; for it might have been inferred that other sacraments, baptismal, matrimonial, and penitential, bestowed through priests whose ordination was actually void, were consequently lost to the receivers. Hildebrand forbore to push the argument to this intolerable conclusion. He aimed chiefly at the prosecution and deposition of the Bishops guilty of simony, which was prohibited by the laws of the Church, and which theologians of his school believed to be, in very truth, "the sin against the Holy Ghost." Finding the Roman clergy, with a few exceptions, adverse to his cause,

and thereby disaffected to Pope Leo, he conducted that Pontiff on a lengthened tour in Burgundy, France, and Germany, sojourning first at the Emperor's court, afterwards at Cologne, at Toul, at Rheims, at Mainz, and at Augsburg, and convening the French and German prelates (notably in solemn synods at Rheims and Mainz) to vote and subscribe their adhesion to the proposed rules. The King of France,, Henry I., of the Capet line, objected to Papal intrusion; but, despite the royal commands, there were about twenty French Bishops and fifty abbots in attendance at Rheims. Five of the former, including the Archbishop of Rheims, were accused before the Pope of having bought or sold ecclesiastical preferment, and two of them were deposed. The synod or council passed twelve canons in accordance with Hildebrand's views, together with several judgments, to be promulgated expressly by authority of the Pope, whom they acknowledged as sole Apostolic Primate of the Church Universal; and sentence of excommunication was pronounced on recusant prelates. At the German council, attended by forty Archbishops and Bishops, canons and judgments of the same purport were decreed, and every prelate was required to bear testimony against the "unspeakable abomination" of married priests. The clergy were further enjoined to abstain from hunting and keeping hounds, and from engaging in trade or other secular employments. It is scarcely necessary to remark that a vast number of them, who were not married, were then openly or secretly living in an unlicensed connection with women, and that severe censures were directed against them. Damiani,



POPE GREGORY VII. (*From a Print in the British Museum.*)

who made no moral distinction in their case between such misconduct and marriage, urged the Pope to impose a penalty of ten years' suspension; but Leo IX. was not inclined to adopt severe legislation in this matter, finding it disapproved by the Emperor and all his German friends.

After the death of Leo, in 1055, Victor II., supported by Hildebrand, ascended the Papal throne. The internal politics of Italy were then undergoing important changes. While Lombardy still remained subject to the direct control of the Empire, a power was already growing up in Tuscany, which was destined, for a very long period, to contribute largely to Italian and Papal independence on that side. The ruler of this principality, the Marquis Boniface—of course a vassal of the Empire—died in 1053. He was a munificent patron of the Church, and so obedient to her ministers that he once suffered himself to be flogged by an abbot at the altar, in penance for the sin of selling benefices. His widow, herself a princess of Lorraine, being left in charge of an immense inheritance for her infant son and daughter, took for her second husband the exiled Duke Godfrey of Lorraine, whose brother Frederick, a Cardinal at Rome and Abbot of Monte Cassino, ultimately became Pope. Moreover, the infant son of the Marquis Boniface died, and Matilda, the daughter, became sole heiress. This was the lady afterwards so much extolled, as the Countess Matilda of Tuscany, for her extraordinary devotion to the interests of the Church. The male fiefs held by her father legally returned into the hands of the Emperor. Henry III. felt a great jealousy of the growing influence of the Lorraine family in Italy, and summoned Godfrey and his wife to answer for their transgression of the feudal law; she being widow of an Imperial vassal, with the charge of an Imperial ward, and having no right to marry again without the Emperor's consent. The Duchess and her infant daughter, Countess Matilda, were detained in Germany till after the death of this Emperor, which happened in October, 1056. His son and successor, Henry IV., was then but six years old. The dowager Empress Agnes was easily persuaded, for the sake of peace, to allow the Duchess of Lorraine and little Matilda to return to Tuscany. The policy of the Empire fell into abeyance; and when Pope Victor died, in the very next year, Cardinal Frederick of Lorraine was immediately chosen at Rome, with the steadfast support of Hildebrand, who undertook the negotiations for reconciling the prelates of Germany to the Pontificate. With the far-seeing vision of a consummate politician, he already perceived that Tuscany, under the guidance of rulers favourable to the Papacy, would counterbalance the influence of the secular monarchy in Lombardy; and he may even have anticipated that the baby girl, with the vast Tuscan inheritance, might some day become an instrument of his policy. The child Henry, only a little older, was fated in manhood to exemplify, by an abject humiliation, the temporary inferiority of the secular power. Unconscious as they still were, these agents of a great transaction, apparently the turning-point of the Middle Ages, were already born. The simple monk, or archdeacon, Hildebrand, was to be their master, either by the force of his principles, or by his own courage and intellect—above all, by his pertinacity of purpose.

The strength of Hildebrand's party lay among the studious, ascetic, but dexterous and diplomatic rulers of the great monasteries; and that of Monte Cassino, which had furnished him with Pope Stephen, its former abbot, could afterwards supply a second eligible chief, Abbot Desiderius, inclined and qualified to carry on the same work. Hildebrand was, in fact, the Pope-maker, by the ascendency which he had won among the citizens and the city clergy of Rome, who then jointly performed the ceremony of election. But this faculty was not exercised without occasional opposition, chiefly maintained by a powerful faction under the leadership of certain Roman nobles. Rival meetings, joined by some clergy hostile to the party of Hildebrand, produced the election of Anti-Popes, as in the year 1058, when a Benedict X. and a Nicholas II. were simultaneously elected. The latter, Bishop of Florence, and protected by Duke Godfrey, was Hildebrand's Pope, who entered Rome with Hildebrand by his side, escorted by a guard of Tuscan soldiers.

His first act, at the great council of 113 Bishops, a multitude of abbots and priors, and representatives of the orders of priests and deacons, assembled in the Lateran Basilica, was to institute a new method of electing the Popes in future. It was ordained that thenceforth, upon the decease of a reigning Pope, the Cardinal Bishops at Rome should meet in separate conclave, and should, by their unanimous agreement, choose the person to succeed him. This is the form of procedure which subsists to the present day; but it was then further provided that the election should be subsequently agreed to by the cardinal deacons, by the inferior clergy, and by the people of Rome. A vague reservation was also made, but in very equivocal terms, of the prerogative of the Emperor, or "King of the Romans," to share in the appointment of a Pope. The most awful Divine maledictions, in words that

it would be too shocking to quote, were denounced for ever against the violators of this constitutional decree. Its practice has in effect long been reduced to the peremptory selection of every new Pope by the secret conclave of the Roman Cardinals, which was doubtless Hildebrand's design from the first. His essential object was to get rid of all lay interference in ecclesiastical affairs; and the other decrees of this important council in 1059 had a similar purpose in view. They enacted that "no clerk in orders shall hereafter, on any pretence whatever, accept church or benefice from or by the procurement of any lay person;" and further, that "no clerk in orders shall be amenable to lay jurisdiction." The latter principle, which is evidently quite incompatible with orderly civil government and social peace, or upon some occasions with the security of the State, proved a continual source of disputes and embarrassments to the royal authority, not least in England, nearly down to the era of the Reformation. With reference to the marriages of the clergy, it was now decreed that every priest, deacon, or sub-deacon, who refused to put away his wife, or a woman he lived with, should be suspended from the services of the Church. The council recommended that all priests should live together in conventual households, small or large, according to their convenience, so that their chastity might be guarded by mutual observation. In these resolutions the spirit of monkery is especially discerned; and Hildebrand, strong man as he was, could not help being a monk. The formal publication, by the Pope and council at the Lateran, in 1059, of the main propositions of his ecclesiastical system, is, however, a most notable event. Hildebrand then occupied the post of Cardinal Archdeacon of the Papal capital, and was already the virtual director and legislator of the Roman Catholic Church, so far as the Roman See could enforce its authority. It still encountered much opposition from the Archbishop of Milan, and most of the Lombard clergy. The intended prosecution and deprivation of the married priests had been generally disapproved in that province; and the Bishops of Northern Italy dissented from the resolutions of the Lateran Council. Hildebrand and Damiani, both now Cardinals, with Anselm, Bishop of Lucca, and Arialdo, the Milanese canonist, went round to preach in many towns and churches of Lombardy upon the controverted points. Their eloquence made some impression on the people, whose dissatisfaction had already broken out in fights and tumults; but the authority of the two Cardinals, as Pontifical Legates, proved more effectual with the Archbishop of Milan. That prelate was soon persuaded to make his humble submission to Rome, which imposed a pecuniary fine, to be paid annually for one hundred years, in atonement of his fault. Still, there was a rankling discontent with the new rigour of Church administration in many influential quarters, and the decrees of the Lateran Council were frequently disregarded.

Two years later, upon the decease of Nicholas II., this division of opinion arrived at a violent crisis, taking the form of two opposing Papal elections, which involved the Roman territory and population in civil war, attended with some bloodshed. The Hildebrandine party, in the form prescribed by the late council, instantly elected Bishop Anselm of Lucca, the eminent promoter of their measures, as Pope Alexander II. (1061). The malcontent nobles of Rome and its vicinity then combined with the advocates of Imperial prerogative, and with the chiefs of the Lombard clergy, sending to Basle, to the German Emperor's Court, an invitation to nominate another Pope. The Emperor, Henry IV., was yet only a boy, under the regency of his mother, Agnes of Poitou; but her Prime Minister, the Bishop of Augsburg, was fully disposed to claim the rights of the Crown. One Cadalo, Bishop of Parma, was put forward as the Imperial nominee, styling himself Pope Honorius II. The ceremonies of his election were performed at Basle, whither a number of Bishops, Italian, German, and French, had repaired for the occasion, totally rejecting the rule laid down by the Lateran Council. Honorius, with a force of German and Lombard troops, marched to Rome, and entered that city as a conqueror. But the party of Hildebrand did not shrink from meeting force with force. They called upon the Normans, from the Neapolitan provinces, to defend the cause of their liege lord, Alexander II., since the Normans held those provinces of the Papal See. Some fighting took place in the Campagna, and round the walls of Rome; but the partisans of Alexander were unable to recapture the city. Alternate skirmishes and truces, with a complicated series of pretended negotiations and private intrigues, and with appeals to foreign intervention, went on for several years. There was civil war in Italy, as well as schism in the Church.

All this time, the German boy-Emperor, under the tuition of the Bishop of Augsburg, was growing from the age of twelve to that of seventeen, and was learning to detest Hildebrand as the insolent, priestly enemy of his Imperial rights. Events were rapidly preparing for that signal duel between these two men—the one as personal champion o

the Papacy, the other as crowned inheritor of a temporal sovereignty, deriving its title from the Cæsars, and its real foundation from Charlemagne —which soon began to be waged in the sight of Christendom, and which, not ending with their lives, was bequeathed to their next successors.

CHAPTER XXII.

POPE GREGORY VII.

Factions in Italy—Conduct of Duke Godfrey—End of the Contest of Rival Popes—Factions in Germany—Minority of King Henry IV.—Oppression of the Saxons—Hildebrand's Election as Pope, 1073—His Views of Papal Supremacy—Ancient Relations of the Papacy to the Empire—His Zeal for Clerical Celibacy, and for the Suppression of Simony—His Ultimate Aim, the Total Abolition of Lay Patronage in the Church—Roman Canonists Misled by the Forged Decretals—The Question of Investiture of Prelates—Behaviour of Henry IV. to his Own Subjects—German Revolt against him—Proposed Mediation of Pope Gregory—Henry Breaks the Truce—Ecclesiastical Councils—Decrees against Investiture of Bishops by a Secular Prince—Henry's Disobedience—He is Summoned to Answer for his Offences—His Deposition of the Pope at the Synod of Worms—Excommunication by Gregory—Renewed Hostilities—Action of the German Princes—Submission of Henry, and Penance at Canossa—Absolution by Gregory—Election of a Rival King, Rodolf of Swabia—Apparent Double-dealing of the Pope—Renewed Defiance of Henry—Entrance of a German Army into Italy—Siege of Rome—Creation of an Anti-Pope—Henry Crowned Emperor at Rome—Retirement and Death of Gregory—Unsettled State of the Political Controversy—Compromise at a Later Period.

THERE were factions in Germany, as well as in Italy, at the time of the miserable conflict at Rome between the rival Popes, Alexander II. and Honorius II. The German factions at length opened a way for the Hildebrandine party to gain the victory by a combination formed between the growing power of Duke Godfrey in Tuscany, with his allies in the Empire, and the conspirators at the Imperial Court during the feeble minority of Henry IV. It will therefore be convenient here to glance at the internal state both of Italy and of Germany, the two countries owning the sovereignty of the Emperor in different degrees; and then to relate the circumstances under which Hildebrand obtained the Papal dignity, and those which affected the education and character of Henry, bringing them respectively into a position of direct antagonism in the grand contest of the ecclesiastical against the secular power.

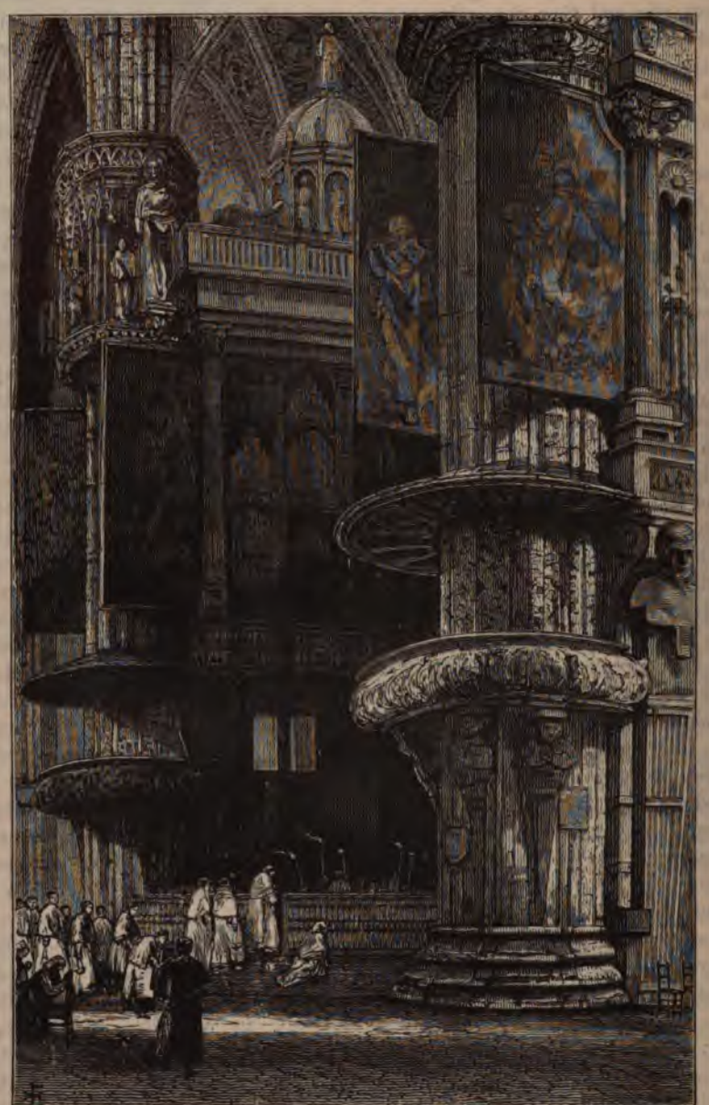
Godfrey, Duke of Lorraine, husband of the richly-dowered widow of Marquis Boniface of Tuscany, and stepfather to Countess Matilda, became the chief agent of a revolution in Italian politics, which greatly assisted the Papacy to shake off the Imperial yoke. The aggregate possessions of this family were immense, comprising the whole of Central Italy, valuable territories in Lombardy, with the towns of Mantua, Verona, Parma, Reggio, and Modena, and some estates in the districts of Ferrara and Ancona. The young Countess Matilda, the heiress to most of this wealth, had been carefully brought up in sentiments of enthusiastic devotion to the Church and unbounded reverence for Hildebrand, who considered her as his pupil, and who, by his constant correspondence with her and her mother, directed her whole education. She was clever, accomplished, and virtuous; a marriage was arranged for her in girlhood which could give her no happiness; and, being early released from this, she gave up her life and every faculty, from purely religious feeling, to the service of the Papacy under Hildebrand's tuition. It suited Duke Godfrey's artful schemes of ambition to take a line of political action exactly coinciding with Hildebrand's views; and one of the recent Popes—Stephen IX.—was Godfrey's own brother. He was thus disposed, after some temporising and negotiating, to come to the aid of Alexander II., but not till after he had successfully done his part in an extraordinary conspiracy among some of the German princes to seize the person of their youthful sovereign. They actually kidnapped him on board a vessel on the Rhine, and carried him down to Cologne, where he was placed under the custody of Archbishop Hanno, but was afterwards transferred to that of Adalbert, Archbishop of Bremen. The Empress Agnes, though nominally Regent of the realm, was too weak to resent this gross outrage, and to recover the guardianship of her son. Godfrey was rewarded for his share in the treason by permission from the new ruling princes of the Empire to do what he pleased in Italy; and, about two years later, the Archbishop of Cologne took a journey thither for

completion of Godfrey's plans. The desultory indecisive struggle at Rome between the d partisans and mercenary fighting men of orius and Alexander was still going on. They anged blows now and then, for a day or two, then stood inactive for several months. It ed as if there were no determinate military nand; but the hireling bands on each side ed to draw their pay as long as possible, and no mind to finish the contest, which was rently protracted from year to year. Alex- r, by the help of the Normans, after a time into the city, and remained there; but the ter on the opposite bank of the Tiber, called Leonine city," which includes the precincts of Vatican and Fort St. Angelo, was held by the ile force, though Honorius himself was fain to e to the North of Italy. By the influence of e Godfrey, and probably by money drawn the revenues of the Tuscan heiress, the com- nts on the side of Honorius were at length uaded to leave. Hildebrand was an active ager of this transaction, for which he appears eserve no blame whatever; and in 1067 peace restored by the recognition of his friend xander as the legitimate Pontiff. But in other inces of Italy, although the pretensions of orius were now ignored, fierce tumults were sioned by the expected enforcement of the ees against the married clergy, and by the sition of simoniacal prelates. The fanatical eedings of Hildebrand's emissaries for these cts at Milan provoked riots and sanguinary s, prolonged by local factions, who set up two Archbishops, and committed savage outrages own and country. At Florence, an obnoxious op, ostensibly in self-defence, engaged in a ate war with the monks of Vallombrosa, who instigated a furious rabble to attack him and r city clergy. He was finally deposed by Pope xander, and the Papal authority was for a restored.

Germany, meanwhile, the position of the ng Emperor, as we may call him, though he strictly entitled only to the name of King pre- sly to his Imperial coronation, was most un- urable to the prospect of a wise and happy . Archbishop Adalbert of Bremen, a worldly, h, and unprincipled courtier, allowed Henry e surrounded by profligate companions, who lged him in debaucheries of every kind. His ionate and impetuous nature, spoiled from ood by those about him, became more unruly ugh early indulgence in sensual vices, and the nperate use of wine. A favourite comrade of his youth, Earl Werner, encouraged him in these excesses; and some of the German princes, and even of the prelates, seem to have anticipated a boundless opportunity for self-enrichment in the anarchy to which the Empire was rapidly hastening from the discreditable character of its head. It was perhaps with this sinister view that, when he had but just attained seventeen years of age, in 1065, they invested him with the royal prerogatives, terminating the regency of his mother Agnes when Adalbert became Prime Minister, though two other powerful Archbishops, Siegfried of Mainz and Hanno of Cologne, for a time succeeded in obtaining the control of affairs. Each of these prelates laid hands upon the estates and revenues of the wealthiest monasteries in their neighbourhood; and, by the open sale of all kinds of ecclesiastical preferments, and of feudal grants and offices under the Crown, amassed huge sums of money, while their evil example was followed by many others about the Court. In one province of the Empire—Saxony, with the adjacent Thuringian principalities—the misrule of Henry IV.'s first years of sovereignty was grievously felt. The King had been led to believe that all the princes, nobles, and people were his hereditary foes, being attached to the memory of the Saxon line of Emperors, which had ended with Otho III. sixty years before. Many of their lordships and domains were soon confiscated on frivolous pretences; and Bavarian partisans of the Court were placed in strong castles, with their bands of armed retainers, exercising an intolerable local oppression. The revenues of the Church in Saxony, at least the Thuringian tithes, were granted to the Archbishop of Mainz, with a private agreement that Henry should get half of them when collected by his assistance. At the synod of Erfurt, in 1073, when the Abbots of Fulda and Hersfeld protested against this robbery, and declared that they would appeal to the Pope, Henry, sitting on his throne, swore in a violent rage that, if any priest among them dared to breathe a word in the Pope's ear, he should pay for it with his life. The Saxon clergy were forced to submit; but the nobles, townsfolk, and peasants of that country rose in arms, under their Duke Magnus, and Duke Otto of Nordheim, against multiplied acts of lawless tyranny. They were defeated, after fighting nearly a twelvemonth, and Saxony fell a prey to rapacious spoliation and the outrages of a licentious soldiery. While Henry IV., in his earliest manhood, thus abused the royal authority and ill-treated his subjects and countrymen, he gave another occasion of public scandal by seeking

divorce an innocent young wife. His union with Bertha, daughter of the Marquis of Susa, had been a family arrangement, but they had lived together

before the whole Court at Frankfort, he severely reproved the Emperor-elect, telling him to his face that he should be denied the honours of Roman



INTERIOR OF MILAN CATHEDRAL.

two years; and when the young Emperor, relying upon the aid of his friends the German Archbishops, set on foot proceedings for the dissolution of the marriage, no grounds could be discovered that would justify his suit in canon law. The Pope, having been informed of this affair, sent the austere [illegible]miani as his legate to forbid the divorce, and,

coronation, unless he set his people a better moral example.

All these circumstances had their effect, no long afterwards, in the contest that arose between the Emperor and Gregory VII., whose election as Pope took place in April, 1073, when Henry was in the twenty-fourth year of his age. Hildebrand

have called him up to this time, does not to have solicited, in any way, the Pontifical for himself; but no other person was t of as a suitable candidate. In his office hdeacon of Rome, he was engaged in the rites after the death of Alexander II., the people assembled round the Lateran suddenly raised the cry, "Hildebrand is our !" The Archdeacon came out, and strove



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uade them, or affected to do so; but his was drowned in acclamations. Cardinal Candidus, one of the most popular of the rgy, addressed the people in the street, and d Hildebrand the only fit man to be the pe. "You know," said the Cardinal, "how, ore than a quarter of a century, he has he champion of the Roman Church, the r of tranquillity in the city, the protector of r and oppressed, the terror of tyrants." The Cardinals were hastily summoned, together he Bishops and clergy of different orders who ed to be within call; and the prescribed ities of a Papal election were accomplished ew hours. No opposition to Hildebrand's sudden elevation was made in any quarter, though an Imperial Commissioner was sent from Germany to inquire into the circumstances of his election.

The affairs of Saxony, and his own domestic situation, were at that moment occupying Henry IV., and the open strife between him and Gregory VII. was postponed for two or three years. The new Pope, however, seems to have at once begun his reign with a full persuasion that he was called upon to exercise a corrective supervision over all the temporal rulers of Catholic nations, as well as to maintain the privileges of the Church. The collection of his Pontifical epistles to the legates of the Holy See in different countries, and to some of the princes whose alliance he sought for the accomplishment of his plans—a series beginning a few days after his election—is worthy of examination. It contains remarks upon the conduct of King Philip I. of France, King Alfonso of Castile, and other Spanish princes, and King Solomon of Hungary—even claiming Spain and Hungary as dependencies of the Roman See, on the ground that they had been conquered from the Pagan enemy, the Mussulman or the heretic, in the name of

St. Peter's successor; and the same doctrine was laid down with regard to Sclavonic and Wendish provinces in Eastern and Northern Europe, and to the kingdoms of Denmark, Sweden, and Norway. The Pope then considered, apparently, that the rulers of all such countries owed a political allegiance to Rome, as vassals holding fiefs of the Papacy, in addition to their spiritual responsibility, as Christian laymen, to the Head of the Church. It was a great Ecclesiastical Empire, outside the recognised limits of the real Empire, including Germany and Italy, that Gregory VII. supposed himself entitled to claim; but his demands upon Henry IV. were of a different nature, since the German monarchy had, from the consecration of Charlemagne, obtained a higher political sanction. In the view of Gregory, taking the standpoint of Roman prerogative, Henry was only the legitimate "King of the Germans," and could not become "Emperor" until his coronation by the Pope at Rome; in the meantime, he was specially bound to obey the Pope, not as a vassal holding the crown of Germany in feudal subjection, but as the official lay minister, the political and military agent, of the Roman See, and what later Popes have called "the eldest son of the Church."

This theory of the relations between the Papacy and the Empire, in the first place, and the feudal dependence of some of the more recently formed kingdoms upon the Holy See, in the second place, was not invented by Gregory VII. It was the interpretation which many clerical authors, writing upon civil and canon law and general jurisprudence, had laboured to put upon a succession of instances and apparent admissions from the Carolingian period. Charlemagne himself had occasionally promulgated his laws, in some parts of his dominions, as resulting from the advice or request of the head of Christendom; and, whenever he annexed new territories to his Empire, he procured the formal sanction of the Pope. Such was the ostensible constitution of the Imperial monarchy under its founder and his immediate successors in the ninth century, as is proved by the language of their edicts; and, although its practice had been greatly altered under the Saxon and Bavarian Emperors, when the Papacy was in a degraded and enfeebled condition, as we have seen, Gregory VII., in the eleventh century, might perhaps believe himself legally authorised to resume the higher position. It must be observed that no idea of the rights of nations, or that which we cherish and defend as national independence, had then entered into the political mind of Christendom. There were the rights of kings, princes, and feudal lords, in a scale of precise subordination, derived from their tenure of certain territorial possessions. The royal dignity was still, in some kingdoms, and upon some occasions, an elective office; in Germany, upon the extinction of the last reigning house, a new sovereign was chosen by the suffrages of the seven great German princes, namely, the Dukes of Saxony, Bavaria, Swabia, and Franconia, and the Prince-Archbishops of Mainz, Treves, and Cologne. But this sort of feudal constitution, and the prerogative which was conferred by it, will fail to command, in the estimation of modern politicians, the sympathy that would be due to a truly national government; and we can therefore read with tolerable equanimity the account of Pope Gregory's behaviour to a German monarch who hardly represented the German nation.

Before this quarrel was publicly declared between them, which was in 1075, under circumstances presently to be related, Gregory bestowed his most earnest attention upon reforms in Church discipline, and especially the enforcement of the rule of clerical celibacy, erroneously supposed by monkish theologians to be of Divine appointment in the Church. Nothing is more deplorable than the prevalence of this error, which now first became general among rigorous disciples of the Roman school, mainly as a result of the preaching and writings of Damiani, though he died a few months before Gregory ascended the Papal throne. The ordinary clergy of Lombardy, of Germany, of France, and of England, were commonly married men, without the slightest impeachment of their social respectability; and the cruelty of obliging them to put away their wives, with the injury thereby inflicted upon the families to which their wives belonged, excited the strongest indignation. In Lombardy, under Pope Alexander II., as has been seen, the violence of mobs, incited by itinerant preachers to maltreat the parish priests who would not obey this rule, and encountered by the friends of those unfortunate clergymen with armed resistance, led to a succession of petty local wars, continuing many months, and year after year. Civil government in Lombardy appears to have been quite in abeyance for some time: a soldier named Herlimbald, who had been appointed fighting champion of the Roman party, organised a band of rude and lawless followers, known as the Paterini, to drive out the Bishops and the beneficed incumbents who were contumacious to the Papal decrees. The renewal of these decrees by Gregory in 1074 provoked outrages of a similar kind, though much less in degree and in duration, at many places in Germany, in France, and in Spain;

but in these countries the popular feeling was strongly in favour of the married clergy. More than one prelate in France, Archbishop or abbot, was pelted with stones, beaten, and driven from the synod-house, where he had been insisting too peremptorily that the priests should abandon their wives; a Papal Legate at Burgos suffered in the like manner; in England, under William the Conqueror, the Primate Lanfranc, though a friend and private correspondent of Gregory, declined to publish this ordinance; and in Germany, the leading Archbishops, finding that their clergy would not submit, put off its execution from time to time. Gregory was extremely angry with them, sending the most reproachful letters; but only the Archbishop of Mainz would inflict the sentence of excommunication upon his own clergy for disobedience in this matter.

The other chief point of ecclesiastical reformation undertaken by Gregory was the suppression of simony, in which, to a certain extent, he was manifestly in the right. The scandalous venality of the German ecclesiastics of high rank was so notorious that it would have been impossible, even for the most powerful sovereign, to maintain an avowed contempt of Papal censures directed against this abuse of sacred offices. Its prevalence in Italy had been greatly abated, during the past thirty years, by the reforming efforts of the Hildebrandine party. Since the time, within their personal remembrance, when not only Bishoprics, but the Pontifical dignity itself, had been impudently bought for a sum of money, the Italian clergy had been taught that such transactions would no longer be permitted. In Germany, the evil was now worse than ever under Henry IV., whose favourites were rapidly getting possession, by corrupt bargains or bribes, of the whole immense wealth of the Church, and appropriating its revenues to their private enrichment. But Gregory VII., in finally drawing up his indictment against simoniacal practices, adopted a subtle and casuistical extension of the definition of that canonical crime. For this he was again indebted to Damiani. Simony was held by theological jurists of his school to include not only the obtaining of Church preferment by paying a price for it, but also by any intrigue or pressing solicitation addressed to a lay patron. The entire abolition of lay patronage was apparently the ultimate aim of these Church reformers, who would make no distinction between the temporalities attached to an episcopate, for instance, and its spiritual functions. In this assumption, as in many others advanced by Damiani and Hildebrand, they were supported by the "Decretals" and other text-books of canon law, some of which, dating from the ninth century, and bearing the name of Isidore, have since been proved not to be authentic, though they were by that time generally received with credit, like the forged "Donation of Constantine." These Decretals were held to show that the Pope had a legal jurisdiction over all Bishops, superior to their Metropolitans, and to every provincial synod or national council; that without his sanction new sees could not be erected, or Bishops translated from one see to another; and that the consecration of them by a Metropolitan was to be done by an express warrant from the Pope. Gregory VII. alleged that it was his duty to assert these pretensions in the name of St. Peter, and to resist their sacrilegious invasion by lay sovereigns; but he regarded with especial horror the customary manner of investing foreign Bishops with their temporalities by the King's hand giving the mystic tokens of the ring and the pastoral crozier. In all feudal investitures, it was requisite that the vassal should receive from his lord's hand some specific symbol of the fief entrusted to him; and these articles had been usually delivered to Bishops, as the gift of the King or Emperor, from the time of Charlemagne. In claiming that the Pope himself should be the donor of the ring and staff, Gregory's intention was to emphasize the doctrine of the Decretals just cited, that of an absolute Pontifical or Petrine jurisdiction over the whole episcopal order. Hence the famous dispute concerning "investitures," which was afterwards transferred to the kingdom of England, and was not finally settled until a much later period. Indeed, some of its effects are still traceable in the foreign political controversies of our own time.

The reign of Henry IV., embarrassed from its commencement with rebellion and civil war, was ill-adapted to resist these advances of Papal supremacy in the Church. That ignorant, passionate, and reckless youth might, if left to himself, have acquiesced in a diminution of royal and imperial prerogatives; but he was probably urged on by the worldly-minded German prelates, who knew that Gregory would not spare them if the jurisdiction of the Roman See were to be established over their heads. In 1074, a renewal of the Saxon insurrection, and the declared hostility of three powerful princes, the Dukes of Bavaria, Swabia, and Carinthia, brought Henry's affairs into a perilous situation. He was publicly accused of having engaged a knight of his court to assassinate two of these princes; and his enemies prepared to summon a Diet for the purpose of deposing him,

and electing Rodolf of Swabia to the throne. Henry shut himself up in the fortified city of Worms, and sent to ask the aid of the Pope's religious authority; complaining that the rebellious Saxons had violated a solemn oath sworn to observe the convention of Gerstungen, and had desecrated a church attached to his great castle of the Hartzburg. It is probable that this appeal to the Pope was suggested by his mother Agnes, who had, in her sorrow for Henry's misconduct, become extremely devout and religious. Gregory returned a friendly answer, offering to act as mediator in the political affairs of Germany, and desiring both the King and the Saxons to lay down their arms. There is some evidence that, with the Pope's knowledge and consent, private negotiations were in progress between Duke Rodolf, the Empress Agnes, and the Countess Matilda of Tuscany, for the settlement of Germany; while the Pope undertook to lay this matter, along with his Church reforms, before a general Diet or Council of ecclesiastics and laymen. In the meantime, Papal legates were sent to meet the King at Nuremberg, in his mother's presence, where they began with a request that he should dismiss five of his principal ministers, three Bishops, and two Earls, who had been excommunicated for simoniacal practices. Henry felt obliged to comply with this humiliating demand, as he still expected that the Pope's influence would be exerted in his cause against the Saxons. But, in the following year (1075), when he had gathered his army on the border of the revolted province, the camp of the Saxons at Hohenberg being in some confusion, he was tempted by this military opportunity to fall upon them. Although he gained an easy victory, dispersed their force, and compelled their chiefs to surrender, he had forfeited the support of the Pope by breaking the truce which had been enjoined; and his subsequent behaviour, in confiscating their estates and keeping them prisoners, was regarded as an exhibition of gross treachery and cruelty. Among those whom he so treated were two Saxon prelates, the Archbishop of Magdeburg, and the Bishop of Halberstadt, whose release the Pope demanded.

The offence thus given to Gregory VII., as political mediator and warrantor of peace in Saxony, coincided with other acts committed by Henry in opposition to a recent Papal decree relating to Gregory's cherished project of ecclesiastical reform. In February, 1075, a Council of the Church was assembled at Rome, before which two German Archbishops and six German Bishops, with three of North Italy, were cited to answer charges of simony; and several were deposed, while others were excommunicated for not appearing in answer to the summons. The Council then passed a decree, that if any one thenceforth should take or accept, from any lay person, any bishopric or abbey, such appointment should be void, and the offender should be interdicted from performing divine service. The decree proceeded:—"Also, if any Emperor, Duke, Marquis, Count, or other secular person or power, shall presume to give investiture of any bishopric or other ecclesiastical dignity, let him know himself to be bound by the force of the same sentence." Notwithstanding this decree, and taking no notice of its communication to him, the King bestowed the bishopric of Liége upon the cousin of one of his supporters, by investiture with the ring and crozier; he next set aside the rival Archbishops of Milan, and appointed his chaplain, Tedaldo, who was a canon of Milan, to be Archbishop of that see; thirdly, the see of Bamberg having become vacant by the deposition of its occupant for simony, Henry refused to wait for a canonical election, but gave it to a person of his own choice. These acts, performed in July, September, and November, 1075, were resented by the Pope as a contemptuous and malicious violation of the decree solemnly published in February of the same year. The question of prelatical investitures was thereby started, as between the Roman See and the secular monarchy; and Gregory never again lost sight of it for a moment. Henry's claim to exercise this royal prerogative was indeed challenged by some of his own subjects before the end of the year. At Christmas, in a great council of the realm, the chapter and clergy of Cologne attended with a candidate whom they had elected, in due form, upon the decease of Archbishop Hanno. The King rejected this person, ordering them to elect another, one Hildulf; and when they declined to do so, he swore that he would compel them, and dismissed them from his Court. Henry, in fact, supported the supremacy of the State in matters of religion; and, in respect of the Popedom, no Protestant will doubt the soundness of his cause, whatever objections may be justly made to his personal character.

Gregory now thought it time, after several letters of urgent remonstrance, to exert the jurisdiction in ecclesiastical affairs which he imagined to belong to his office, even over the greatest sovereign personage in Christendom. He summoned Henry to appear before him at Rome, "on or before the second day of the second week of the ensuing Quadragesima," to answer certain charges

him. If Henry failed to appear, "he n that same day, be cut off from the body ord, and be smitten with the curse of the a." The Pontifical Legates brought this s to the King. Henry received it with a of anger and haughty derision, saying he convinced that, if he were to be King, nd must cease to be Bishop of Rome; forthwith convened at Worms a diet and r the deposition of Gregory VII. It was y to be a mortal contest between the nd the ecclesiastical power, and it was not pected that either would retire, except upon ion.

e meeting of the German prelacy, which l on the 24th of January, 1076, it happened ly that the King's spokesman to impeach , and to move that he should be de- as Cardinal Hugo Candidus of Rome, the rson who, less than three years before, had ed the Roman populace in favour of 's election. He seems to have been an false and unprincipled man, who would traitor to any party, whether for a chance dvancement, or to revenge himself for the of what he sought. Gregory at first d him in a mission to Spain, but, finding go abused his trust, withdrew every token ar; upon which, the Cardinal put himself ection with the Pope's enemies at Rome, tion of nobles headed by Crescentius or with Archbishop Guibert of Ravenna, and Guiscard, the Norman chieftain of Apulia. occasion, these persons broke into the of Santa Maria Maggiore, where the Pope iciating, and carried him off into Cenci's of St. Angelo, where they threatened to n; but Gregory was rescued by a popular n his defence. Improper intimacy with the profanation of the Holy Eucharist, bribery, robbery, murder, sorcery, and the of the devil, were now laid to the charge of whose principal fault was a fanatical zeal for neous standard of religious authority. The Bishops, and King Henry himself, did not these calumnies, nor would they accept and them; but, having listened to Cardinal Hugo, ew up and signed, with two dissentients, a claration against Gregory upon less incredible s. They complained—and no doubt justly is "inordinate ambition and intolerable his conduct in disturbing and distracting the s of Germany, Italy, France, and Spain; empts to degrade and enfeeble the prelacy, supersede the national councils, of those kingdoms. They alleged that he had usurped the jurisdiction over Bishops, and had allowed the mobs in Lombardy to attack and ill-treat the clergy; that he had privately discussed the affairs of the Holy See in "a little senate of women," referring to his warm supporters, the Duchess Beatrice and Countess Matilda of Tuscany, the Empress Agnes, and the Marchioness Adelaide of Susa; and that he had insulted some Bishops with grossly opprobrious language. Some irregularity or informality in the mode of his election as Pope was also noticed. Upon these grounds, a resolution to depose Gregory was agreed to, in the council at Worms, by two Archbishops and twenty-four Bishops of Germany; and, having been notified to the King's chancellor in Italy, was laid before a synod of the Lombard Bishops at Pavia, who readily gave it their assent. Letters from the King were thereupon addressed to the clergy and people of Rome, and to the Pope himself, calling him "the false monk Hildebrand," scolding him, with some unnecessary rudeness, for the "vulgar knavery and insolence" of his demeanour, and bidding him descend from the chair of St. Peter. The document concluded:—"Therefore do I, Henry, by the grace of God, King, with all my Bishops, command you, Hildebrand, to come down; and again I say to you, Come down!"

This extraordinary letter, with the act recently passed at Worms, was delivered to Pope Gregory by a priest disguised as a herald, who went to Rome, and presented himself before the assembly of ecclesiastics at the Lateran, where Gregory was then presiding. They resented the communication with an outburst of anger; but the Pope exhorted them to religious patience. He adjourned their session till the next day, when a hundred and ten prelates attended; and the Empress Agnes of Germany, being then at Rome, was present to hear sentence of excommunication passed upon her son. Gregory, with great solemnity, first called St. Peter and St. Paul, the Virgin Mary, and all the saints, to witness his own innocence of the accusations brought against him. He then, by the authority of St. Peter, condemned "King Henry, son of Henry the Emperor," as a rebel to the Church, absolved all Christians from any oaths of obedience to him as King, and interdicted him from the government of Germany and Italy; after which, still using St. Peter's power to bind and loose, he declared Henry "bound with the bond of anathema" for his grievous sins against the Church. A Pontifical epistle, addressed to Christians in every country, was soon issued, notifying the purport of this sentence, which rather astonished

the world, since Henry's proceedings had been so hasty that many of his contemporaries hardly yet knew what he had done in opposition to the reigning Pontiff.

The great duel of rival authorities, between the secular and the ecclesiastical potentates, had now fairly begun. All over Germany, the minds of men in every class of society were violently agitated during the succeeding months, and it was presently seen that the King could no longer command the allegiance of a great majority of his subjects. His first expedient was to get some prelate to pronounce



SUBMISSION OF HENRY IV. AT CANOSSA. *(From the Picture by J. A. Cluysenaar.)*

ntence of excommunication upon Gregory; the Bishop of Utrecht, when Henry visited city, was induced to perform this office, in which he assailed the Pope with considerable rness. His episcopal brethren, though not out several exceptions, were shocked at his nce; and when, soon afterwards, he fell sick, died, repenting of the ecclesiastical sin which ancied had brought this speedy punishment Saxon Bishop of Halberstadt, escaping from custody as he was sent down the Danube to exile in Hungary, brought great encouragement to his revolted countrymen. Henry, finding himself devoid of German support, foolishly thought of getting military assistance from Bohemia, a country the people of which, alien to the German race, were regarded as hostile by most of his subjects. He went to that country, and obtained from its



THE FABRICIAN BRIDGE, ROME.

him, there was a general revulsion of feeling e Pope's favour. Several German Bishops of ctable character, headed by Udo, Archbishop reves, hastened to Rome, and joined the Papal . The princes and nobles of Germany stood from the King; and the Diet which he con- d, first at Worms, and afterwards at Mainz, to be postponed, and finally given up, because would not attend his summons. Those who undertaken the custody of his Saxon prisoners ly released them; a fresh insurrection in ny was presently set on foot, which was ed by Otto of Nordheim, sometime Duke of ria, who caused the royal garrisons of for- s in his charge to be withdrawn; and the sovereign, Wratislaw, the aid of a body of horsemen, with which he invaded Saxony; but they were opposed by a very superior force, and compelled to retreat. The King's situation now appeared to be desperate; and the princes of Germany, towards the end of summer in the year 1076, were prepared to debate the question of deposing him, and electing another in his stead. They consulted the Pope, who replied with apparent gentleness and moderation, expressing a hope that Henry would repent; in which case, upon his submission to the Church, he should not be deprived of his government, but he must dismiss all his perverse ministers. If he remained still impenitent, they should choose another King, subject

to the Pope's approval. A full convention of the Estates of the Empire therefore assembled at Tribur, near Darmstadt, in the month of October, the Dukes of Swabia, Bavaria, and Carinthia predominating in its deliberations. It was there resolved that "since Henry, for his iniquities, had been cut off from the Church by the apostolic anathema, they could no longer, as Christians, hold communication with him, or yield him any allegiance." They declared, accordingly, that if, within a year and a day from the date of the Papal anathema, he did not obtain absolution, he should be deemed *ipso facto* to have forfeited his crown. In the meantime, and till the holding of an Imperial Diet at Augsburg, fixed for the next year, he was required to lay aside every sign of royalty, to dismiss his troops, delivering up Worms to its Bishop, and to live as a private man. The Pope was finally to give judgment upon the question of his restoration to the throne.

Henry found himself compelled at once, as the only means of escape from being summarily dealt with by the German confederates, to submit to all these humiliating conditions, and further to seek absolution personally from the mercy of the Pope. Unless this were vouchsafed to him before the first day of February, he would be deposed and outlawed, and possibly cast into prison, by the chiefs of his own nation. He instantly obeyed their behests, put off his royal state, and hastened into Italy, passing the Alps by way of Mount Cenis through the dominions of his mother-in-law, the Countess of Savoy and Marchioness of Susa, and thus reaching the Modenese territory, where he met the Countess Matilda. These ladies had interceded for him with Gregory, and Matilda had arranged for an interview, bringing the Pope to her castle of Canossa, in the Apennine mountains. The Pope had already received at Canossa not a few of the excommunicated clergy and laity of the King's party. They had presented themselves to his Holiness in penitential guise, clothed in sackcloth and with naked feet, and, having fasted twenty-four hours on bread and water, had obtained their absolution. Henry's turn arrived on the 25th of January, 1077, and occupied three days, so that he had not much time to spare before the fatal date at which his enemies in Germany would proclaim the sentence against him, which was to be averted only by his reconciliation with the Pope. It is believed that Matilda would gladly have spared him the most painful accessories of this ceremony; but Gregory, with the remorseless arrogance of his nature, imposed upon him outward marks of contrition even more severe than upon the persons of lesser rank. Standing all day, for three successive days, in the outer court of the Castle, barefooted, and dressed in a coarse woollen garment, which hardly protected him from the wintry cold, tasting no food from sunrise to sunset, the unhappy King of the Germans appealed to the compassion of the Pope, and of all about him. Gregory at length received him in the church of a convent adjacent to the Castle, where the Pope stood before the altar, with the two noble ladies, the Marquis Azzo of Este, and two or three prelates. These personages engaged to guarantee Henry's observance of the oath which he now took, in accordance with the conditions prescribed at Tribur. Gregory then lifted the sacramental bread from the altar, and, addressing the unfortunate King with an air of profound religious solemnity, said that not long since Henry had accused him of crimes unfitting him for any sacred office. These calumnies, he remarked, would be refuted by the testimony of many good and faithful witnesses of his whole life from early youth. But he would rather call upon God to witness his innocence; "and so," he added, swallowing the consecrated bread, "May this body of the Lord, which I now take and eat, either free me from the crimes laid to my charge, or, if guilty, bring me sudden death!" The congregation were struck with awe; but the next moment Gregory proffered to King Henry another portion of the bread, saying to him, "Now, my son, do thou as I have done. The princes of thy kingdom charge thee with many crimes. Thou hast taken refuge with me under the Apostolic mantle. If thou art the victim of slander, if thou art conscious of thy innocence, take and eat this holy bread, so that God himself may be thy witness. Thou shalt then be freed from this dangerous struggle; the scandal to the Church shall be taken away; the government shall be restored to thee, and I will be thy zealous defender."

In this dramatic scene before the altar, there was undoubtedly some degree of artifice; yet Gregory may not have behaved with conscious hypocrisy. He was probably guiltless of the gross crimes which had been alleged against him; while his sins of spiritual pride, of harsh intolerance, of personal or official arrogance, were disguised to his moral perception by the false views of his vocation as a priest, a monk, and the disciple, raised to become the supreme champion, of a fanatical religious school. It was otherwise with the conscience of Henry, who knew that he had been condemned by a large part of his own people, by the members of his own family, and by the princes,

nobles, and knights amongst whom he had lived. But neither was Henry a shameless hypocrite; and he shrank from the ordeal to which he was invited. He declined the sacramental purgation, and said he would prefer to leave his conduct to the public judgment of a human tribunal, that of the assembled princes of the Empire, if they would examine any specific accusations, and decide by recognised principles of law. The Pope accepting this excuse—which was, indeed, reasonable, self-respectful, and befitting the King's position as a secular and independent sovereign—bestowed the ecclesiastical absolution readmitting Henry to the rite of communion; after which the King was entertained at table with Gregory in Matilda's castle. He remained some days in the neighbourhood of Canossa.

Meantime, among his political adversaries in Germany on the one hand, and, on the other, among those in Lombardy who hated the Pope and wanted the King to appear at their head in a war against Rome, the news of his reconciliation with Gregory was received with equal dissatisfaction, but from directly opposite motives. The expectation of the German leaders had been that Henry would continue an excommunicated man, so that they would have the Papal sanction for deposing him, and electing Rodolf of Swabia in his stead. They had endeavoured to obstruct his journey to Italy by stopping the passes of the Alps where they could; and now, instead of waiting for the Diet summoned at Augsburg, they hastily convened an earlier meeting at Forchheim, where Henry could not arrive from Lombardy, recrossing the mountains in a most inclement winter, by the 15th of March. On that day, they declared the throne of Germany vacant, and chose Rodolf for their King. The Swabian was crowned a few days later at Mainz, but from various causes failed to obtain general support, and there was presently a strong reaction in Henry's favour. This was probably due to the resentment of the German clergy against the Pope's measures with reference to simony and clerical celibacy; for they regarded the newly-elected King as one sure to rule in agreement with Gregory's decrees. Intelligence of this turn of affairs soon reached Henry at Pavia or at Verona, and encouraged him to listen to the anti-Papal instigations of his Lombard friends. He relied on their assistance, and on the unpopularity of Rodolf in Southern Germany; and he returned to that country, in April, 1077, determined to repudiate all his professions at Canossa, to defy the Pope, and to defeat his German opponents by force of arms. Inconstancy, and infidelity to sworn engagements, were sins which Henry IV. never scrupled to commit when he fancied there was any chance of gaining his immediate objects in that way. On the other hand, the party of Rodolf had shown equal bad faith in their eagerness to anticipate the deliberations of a general Diet of the Empire.

The whole of that year and the next exhibited a series of wearisome diplomatic intrigues, accompanied by local conflicts in arms, seditions, insurrections, and sanguinary acts of vengeance, which need not be minutely described. It is not difficult to perceive what was the policy of Gregory with regard to the disputed German crown. He did not wish that Henry should ultimately be deposed, and that Rodolf should be established as King, so long as he could think it possible to bring Henry into complete and abiding submission to the decrees of the Church. The Pontifical legates in Germany had indeed sanctioned the election of Rodolf, and attached themselves to his Court; but there are grounds for believing that they acted without instructions from the Pope, whose letters to them, and their letters to him, were intercepted during several months by the German keepers of the Alpine roads. Gregory was deprived of accurate information, and was forcibly debarred from executing his intention to come in person, and take the part of mediator or arbiter between the princes of Germany. He affected an impartial and purely judicial attitude, while the factions on either side wanted to make use of the Papal authority for the discomfiture of each other; and the partisans of Rodolf, more especially, complained with bitterness that the Pope still treated Henry as a legitimate King. The Pope's real object was to gain an opportunity, in his final award, of exacting from the favoured claimant an absolute renunciation of all ecclesiastical patronage within the realm. It was the question of investiture, already explained, that above all engrossed his consideration. In a Roman synod, held in March, 1078, in the presence of the German envoys, he procured fresh decrees against permitting lay sovereigns, or any laymen, to confer bishoprics, abbeys, churches, tithes, or other spiritual preferment. This decree was repeated in November of the same year; and both the givers and receivers of Church offices and benefices through lay hands were made subject to excommunication. Gregory had all Germany against him, the ecclesiastics as well as the lay potentates; but he hoped to succeed by making the admission of his claims the price of his support to one or other of the competitors for the crown.

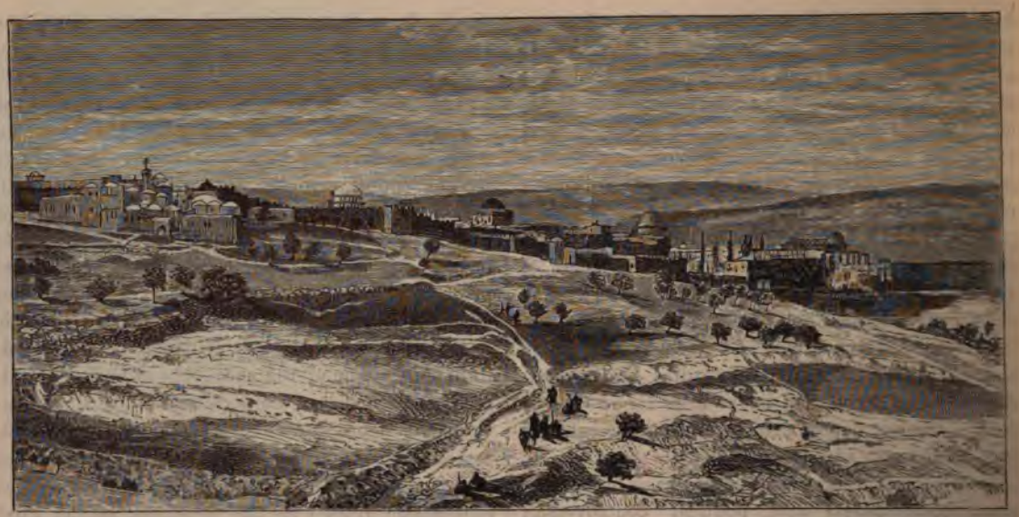
In this hope he was entirely disappointed. A civil war, carried on with more than usual ferocity, began to rage in Germany; but the details of its battles and sieges are little to our purpose. In the winter of the year 1080, Henry's army suffered a very serious defeat; upon which the Rodolfine and Saxon confederates once more solicited the Pope to pronounce his formal deposition. Gregory now considered that the time had come for him to do so, and thereby to mark the termination of a distressing struggle. A synod was held at Rome; a second decree of excommunication was launched against Henry, who was accused, besides other crimes, of having caused the devastation of his realm, and the death of myriads of Christians, by rejecting the Papal offices of peace. It was declared that the Church had power to bind and loose, on earth as in heaven; "to give and to take away empires, kingdoms, principalities, dukedoms, marquisates, earldoms, and all manner of human rights and properties." Rodolf was now, by this supreme power, to be "exalted to royal dignity and dominion," having shown his humility and obedience, and having been absolved from all his sins. At the same time, without any public stipulation upon this point, the synod passed another decree against lay investiture, expressly forbidding "any Emperor, King, Duke, or secular person," to bestow any office in the Church, under the severest religious penalties.

The temporising and waiting policy of the preceding three years was thus discarded by Gregory, but with consequences disastrous to the brief remainder of his extraordinary career. King Henry soon recovered his defeat, and his broken forces were repaired by the assistance of many German prelates—feudal vassals who commanded soldiery as well as large revenues of money, and who disliked the strictness of Gregory's ecclesiastical system. They fought as much in the interest of simony as of loyalty to the sovereign; and, before taking the field, they held a synod, as in 1076, but this time at Mainz, and in a similar manner deposed Hildebrand from St. Peter's chair. The fall of Rodolf in battle, when the war recommenced, and the failure of his party to choose a new king on their side, assured the victory of Henry; who had no sooner put an end to the German rebellion than he marched into Italy, and besieged the towns and castles belonging to the Countess Matilda. That high-spirited and enthusiastic lady showed remarkable constancy in the cause of her friend the Pope, lavishing all her own treasure, and all she could beg or borrow from the Italian cities, on the defences and garrison of Rome. Gregory shut himself up in the Castle of St. Angelo, while the city was besieged, in a very unskilful and desultory manner, by part of the King's army. Henry attempted its capture without success, at first in the summer of 1081, and again in 1082 and the following year—during some weeks, or for two or three months, upon each occasion. He was obliged to watch the movements of Robert Guiscard and the Normans in Apulia, whom he attacked in pursuance of a compact with the Greek Emperor, Alexius Comnenus. At length, in March, 1084, the people of Rome, worn out by these repeated conflicts, and having long entreated Gregory to yield to superior force, sent Henry a message of surrender, and offered him the Imperial crown. But Gregory, with unflinching resolution, persisted to the end in refusing to perform the coronation, unless Henry would again do public penance, implore pardon of the Holy See, and swear true allegiance to St. Peter's successor, with perfect obedience to the decrees of the Church. The King, however, was already provided with a Pope of his own creation, who undertook to put the Roman crown upon his head. Archbishop Guibert of Ravenna had been elected by a synod of the Lombard clergy, with a delegation from those of Germany. He was formally consecrated and installed at the Lateran as Pope Clement III.; and on the next Sunday, which was Easter Day, in the cathedral of St. Peter, Henry IV. was anointed, and crowned King and Emperor of the Romans, in spite of Pope Gregory VII. and his devoted supporters.

The contest, as between these two eminent personages, was thus finished; but Gregory was not fated to become a prisoner, nor did he concede one jot of his lofty pretensions. The newly-made Emperor had no leisure just then to capture the strong fortress on the banks of the Tiber; besides which, the Normans yet held a formidable position on the Palatine hill, and were occupying the whole country south of Rome. Henry was obliged, as before, to withdraw his troops from that city and the surrounding Campagna as summer came on, and to pursue his other tasks of warfare in the Umbrian and Tuscan hills. The Normans then broke into Rome, perpetrating much cruelty and rapine, while Gregory left it for ever. He retired, first to the Abbey of Monte Cassino, and thence to Salerno, where he awaited his final release from the toil and strife of mortal existence. The long confinement in St. Angelo, with the sorrows that had come upon him, wore out a frame perhaps weakened by habits of severe asceticism, and on the

31st of May, 1085, Pope Gregory died. A great Pope he certainly was, and perhaps in some respects a well-meaning man; but the cruel arrogance of his official character, and the pernicious nature of his claims to universal dominion, are too glaring to need exposition. The enormous extent of his demands is revealed by himself in the published collection of his maxims, wherein occur the sentences:—"There is but one name in the world, and that is the Pope's. He only can use the ornaments of Empire. All princes ought to kiss his feet. He alone can nominate or displace Bishops, and assemble or dissolve Councils. Nobody can judge him. His mere election constitutes him a saint. He has never erred, and never shall err in time to come. He can depose princes, and release subjects from their oaths of fidelity."

It will have been observed that not one of the great ecclesiastical and political controversies raised by Gregory VII. was settled in his lifetime by the general assent of the Roman Catholic world, though clerical celibacy was established as a dogmatic proposition, and was commonly adopted in practice by a large portion of the Italian clergy. The unlawfulness of purchasing benefices and prelacies with money had never been openly denied; but the custom remained still prevalent in several countries of Western Europe, and was worse in Germany than anywhere else. Gregory's laudable efforts to put it down had been quite unavailing; but in that instance the Pope had done his duty. With regard to the royal prerogative of conferring episcopal and other prelatical investitures, as well as to the lay dispensation of Church patronage in general, it is evident that Gregory had obtained little or no visible success. Thirty-seven years after his death, this controversy was made the subject of an arrangement between the Emperor Henry V. and Pope Calixtus II., by which the Emperor renounced his pretensions to give the ring and the crozier, and was allowed instead to deliver a mere rod to the newly-appointed prelate, as a token of the feudal lordship conferred upon him. The Church had by this time, in a struggle of half a century, fully vindicated her claim to the independence of all ecclesiastical offices from the secular power. But the temporal possessions, the estates, revenues, and baronial or manorial jurisdictions, connected with the greater of those offices, were left subject to the law and sovereignty of the realm. It was impossible to have yielded this immense patronage, in any country, to the authority of the Roman See, for such a concession would have brought disturbance to the whole feudal system, and would have unsettled the legal foundations of all landed property. The Church had reason to be content with the recognition of her freedom in the sole exercise of her reputed spiritual powers; but, unhappily, some of the successors of Gregory VII. cherished schemes of temporal and political domination even more excessive than he had tried to enforce. Urban II., taking advantage of his influence with the French clergy, and of the popular religious enthusiasm roused by the preaching of the First Crusade, sought at once to claim the exemption of the clergy from all jurisdiction of lay tribunals, and to establish over the laity an ecclesiastical jurisdiction enforced by temporal penalties. The miserable termination of the reign of Henry IV., attacked successively by his two rebellious sons, imprisoned, and forced to abdicate the crown, had greatly diminished the credit of the Empire; nor was this restored, in the estimation of many, by the action of his successor, in extorting the rite of coronation at Rome, and a Concordat from Pascal II. While the Imperial power thenceforth declined, in comparison with the new Kingdoms of Western Europe, the Papacy began to assert, upon favourable occasions, its claim to arbitrate between the princes of the earth, to censure and correct their acts of misrule, and to visit them, for disobedience, with a sentence of excommunication and deposition. It was not, however, until the thirteenth century, from the Pontificate of Innocent III. to that of Boniface VIII., that Papal pretensions to universal supremacy became really effective. The Popes then endeavoured to render every European monarchy and principality a vassal dependency of the Roman See, and in so doing prepared the way for the great emancipating movement of the Reformation.



JERUSALEM, FROM THE HILL OF EVIL COUNSEL.

CHAPTER XXIII.

THE APPROACH TO THE CRUSADES.

Relative Position of Christendom and Islam at the Close of the Eleventh Century—Spread of Mohammedanism in Asia and Africa—Europe Endangered by the Successes of the Seljukian Turks—Conquest of Asia Minor by Suleiman, the Great-grandson of Seljuk—The Byzantine Emperors Assisted by the Turks—Dominion of the Sultans of Roum—Displacement of Asiatic Christianity by Islamism—Feeling of Apprehension in Europe—The Four Seljukian Dynasties—Jerusalem under Saracenic Rule—Condition of the Christians in that City—Pilgrimages to the Holy Land—Abuses of the Practice—Adoration of Relics—Alleged Miracles in Jerusalem—Advancement of Commerce by the Pilgrims—Enterprise of the Republic of Amalfi—Establishment of Hospitals for the Relief of Christian Travellers—Mohammedan Toleration of the Christians in Jerusalem—Succession of the Fatimite Caliphs in Egypt and Judæa—Persecution of Christians, and afterwards of Mohammedans, by the Caliph Hakem—Strange Religious Doctrines of that Ruler—Increasing Zeal for Pilgrimage—Dangers and Sufferings of the Way—Conquest of Jerusalem by the Seljukian Turks—Cruel Usage of the Christians—Restoration of the Fatimite Caliphs—Proposals of Pope Sylvester II. to Rescue the Holy Sepulchre—Designs of Gregory VII.—Early Life of Peter the Hermit—His Pilgrimage to Jerusalem, and Self-devotion to a Sacred Mission—Extraordinary Effect of his Oratory—Rise of the Crusading Spirit—Pope Urban II. and the Council of Piacenza—Second Council at Clermont, in Auvergne—Address of the Pope—Preparations for the First Crusade—The Sign of the Cross—Religious Inducements to Join the Holy War—Anticipation of the First Crusade by Bands of Marauders—Superstition and Atrocity—Discomfiture of the Irregular Hordes by the Turks of Asia Minor.

As the eleventh century of our era was approaching its termination, the Christian world was agitated by a spirit of passionate fervour which had never before been equalled, but to which many influences had been long conducing. The Crusades were not a sudden outburst of fanatical zeal, resulting from some epidemic of excitement which had arisen without visible cause, but were developed out of antecedent circumstances, such as, in an age of strong religious feeling, could hardly have produced any other effect. For more than four hundred years, Christians and Mohammedans had been face to face in Asia, in Africa, and in Europe. Their conflicts had engendered a sentiment of mutual hatred, deepening with each successive generation. The degree of tolerance exhibited by the earlier Caliphs had met with so poor a response, that reprisals were conducted with all the rage of outraged belief, and these again were prolific of the same bitter fruit on the part of the Christians. It came in time to be considered that the representatives of the two religions were natural enemies; and indeed the vehement propagandism of the Mohammedans constituted a danger for Christendom which could not be overlooked. The rapid and portentous growth of the Saracenic Empire, against which Heraclius himself could make no effectual stand, was an alarming fact in days when there was scarcely such a thing as a moral or general law for the restraint of inordinate ambitions. Even when the immense dominion of the Caliphs broke up into separate

parts, the peril grew none the less; nay, it seemed rather to increase with the multiplication of active centres. The forces of the Prophet might decay at Baghdad, but they received fresh life in Spain, in Northern Africa, in Egypt, in Central Asia, and in Anatolia. North-western Europe had been saved with difficulty by the exceptional efforts of Charles Martel. Constantinople was repeatedly menaced. The south of Italy was a frequent battle-ground between the followers of the Cross and the devotees of Islam. The Iberian peninsula was almost entirely lost to Christianity. The decrepitude of the Saracens was more than counterbalanced by the youthful vigour of the Turks; and the conquest of Sicily by the Normans was but a poor compensation for the subjection of the Holy Land by Moslem swords.

One of the most serious facts in the general state of Christendom was the growing weakness of the Eastern Empire. The loss of Anatolia, or Asia Minor, and the establishment of the Seljukians in what they denominated the sovereignty of Roum, brought the power of Mohammedanism close to the eastern borders of Europe; and the dissensions of the Byzantine State led to the employment of Turkish mercenaries in the service of Christian potentates. Asia Minor had been acquired with the sanction of Malek Shah, who reigned over Persia in nominal subordination to the Caliph; and it was one of his kinsmen who effected the conquest. Five brothers, the great-grandsons of Seljuk, were in rebellion against Malek Shah; and when their army was on the point of engaging that of the Sultan, the aged Caliph Kaim, interposing with the authority of his religious headship, implored the adversaries to abstain from shedding each other's blood, and to unite their forces in a holy war against the Greeks, the enemies of Mohammed and his faith. His exhortations prevailed. Malek Shah pardoned his



ERZEROUM.

seditious relatives, and appointed Suleiman, the eldest of the brothers, to the command of an expedition against the Asiatic dominions of Constantinople, from Erzeroum to the Bosphorus, and thence into the European provinces beyond the straits. Of this great dominion he was to have the immediate command, with the right of transmitting it to his descendants, though in conformity with the supreme authority of Malek. Suleiman and his four brothers set out in 1074 with a powerful force of cavalry, established their camp in the heart of Phrygia, and desolated a wide tract of country between the Halys and the Hellespont.

Their position soon became so formidable that the rival Greek insurgents, Bryennius and Botaniates, equally sought their alliance, which was granted to the latter. When, thus aided by Moslem auxiliaries, Botaniates succeeded to the Byzantine throne, in 1078, under the title of Nicephorus III., he treated Suleiman with great respect, and obtained from him a body of two thousand troops, whom he introduced into Europe, and by their assistance defeated Bryennius. But Botaniates had purchased his triumph at a terrible cost to the Empire, which, after all, he enjoyed only three years. The Turkish warriors, as much by his connivance as by their own valour, had now firmly seated themselves in Asia Minor; and it was evident that they did not intend to quit it. The passes of the rivers and the mountains were carefully fortified, and the agricultural populations were attached to the new ruler by the liberality of their treatment. Under the great Byzantine nobles, their position had been that of serfs: they were now made proprietors of the lands they cultivated, on paying a fixed tribute to the State. The obscure and meagre records of these transactions leave it doubtful to what extent Suleiman exercised the rights of sovereignty; but it is probable that Malek Shah did not actively interfere in his administration. With the Emperor Alexius, a treaty of peace was concluded, and we have already seen that that sovereign sought the aid of Suleiman in his wars with Robert Guiscard, Duke of Apulia. To oppose the forces of the Norman invader, several Asiatic cities were denuded of their garrisons, and immediately occupied by the Turks; and from year to year the dominions of the Seljukian increased in splendour, in value, and in extent. The title of Ghazi, or "holy champion," was bestowed on Suleiman, and the religion of Mohammed supplanted the faith of Christ in some of its most venerable homes.

From their capital of Nicæa, in Bithynia, the Sultans of Roum commanded an empire which reached from the Euphrates to the vicinity of Europe, and from the Euxine to the boundaries of Syria. The fertility of this region was equalled by its mineral riches; many of its ancient and illustrious cities were still prosperous, though others existed only in ruins; and the plains produced excellent horses, well adapted to the Turkish cavalry. The rule of the Seljukians was in some respects just and considerate; but the Christians, though allowed the practice of their religion, were made to understand their position of inferiority. Churches were converted into mosques, and thousands of captives were reduced to slavery. The timid and the time-serving adopted the triumphant creed; but Antioch, though severed from the Byzantine Empire by the interposing Turks, preserved its faith, together with its allegiance to the Emperors, longer than some other towns. At length, however, in 1086, this famous city—the earliest of the Gentile towns to accept the teachings of the Apostles, whose followers were there first called Christians—was delivered by treachery into the hands of Suleiman. The dependent cities, as far as Laodicea, followed the example of Antioch, and it seemed as if Christianity would be wholly rooted out of Asia. When the captive Greeks had built for the Sultan a fleet of two hundred vessels, Europe itself dreaded the arrival of the Tartarian hordes. Alexius feared the worst, and transmitted to the Powers of the West a number of appeals for succour, which were almost abject in their urgency. But the Latin sovereigns were not at that time disposed to any concerted action, and Constantinople was obliged to rest content with the strength of its walls, and the advantage of its situation.

After the death of Malek Shah, in 1092, the possession of his vast realm (which nominally included the dominions of Suleiman) was disputed by his brother and his four sons, and the usual tendency to division—the weakness of all large Oriental monarchies—speedily disclosed itself. The Seljukian Empire was indeed reunited in the person of Sandjar, one of the sons of Malek; but this did not last long. The sovereignty was afterwards shared amongst the four dynasties of Persia, Kerman, Syria, and Roum, the first of which was the original stock of the great house of Seljuk. The boundaries of their respective kingdoms cannot now be traced with any certainty; but, altogether, the sway of these rulers covered a large part of Asia, extending from Anatolia to Western Turkistan, and from the Caspian to the Straits of Babelmandeb. Their most important acquisition, from a religious point of view, was that of Jeru-

he possession of which enabled the Turkish to triumph over the dearest sentiments ope. The ancient capital of Judæa was ed by a lieutenant of Malek Shah twenty efore the First Crusade; but its subjection ammedan rule was no new fact in the of the world. From the year 637, when eceived it from the Patriarch Sophronius, ot, the most sacred of any in the eyes of ns, had been in the hands of Moslems. In ting to the Saracens, after a siege of four , the inhabitants had stipulated that their y should be spared, and their religion mpt from interference. Omar gave the l promise, and, during nearly four centuries alf, under successive dynasties of Caliphs, ristians of Jerusalem were, for the most reated with fairness and consideration. ere not, indeed, allowed to erect any new s, but entire freedom of worship was per- in those they already possessed. According dition which may not be without authentic mar requested a site on which to erect a medan place of worship, and it is added Patriarch granted him the spot associated acob's vision. In the Lower City, within of the Temple, stand to this day several s; so that, to the Moslem and the Christian, em is equally an object of pious interest and n. With mutual forbearance, a permanent ent ought not to have been impossible.

an early period in the history of the n world, it had been usual for the devout e pilgrimages to Jerusalem and the sur- g country; but when Palestine was taken Saracens, this could be done only by favour conquerors. The earlier Mohammedans, r, were men who combined a certain amount rance with their fanaticism, and who did get that, in the opinion of their own law- Jesus was one of the line of Prophets, and the greatest, with the exception of Moham- nself. They accordingly allowed the Chris- build a church and a hospital in Jerusalem, visit that city in vast numbers. As the of the Church increased, the habit of seeking y soil of Judæa became more widely diffused, ery European country furnished its de- Those who had committed great crimes d that a painful journey to Jerusalem would their guilt; others went there out of a sense of piety; while some, perhaps, followed a prevailing fashion. When a d determined to perform this journey, his delivered to him a long walking-staff, and bound him with a girdle, to which a leathern scrip was attached. His pilgrim dress consisted of a long garment of coarse woollen, for all ostentation was forbidden to both rich and poor. On his return, he brought with him a branch of the sacred palm-tree of Jerusalem, which he suspended over the altar of his church, as a proof that his vow had been accomplished. Religious thanksgivings and popular rejoicings followed; and the palmer, as he was called, was thenceforward revered, as the *hadji* is revered in all Mohammedan countries.

The motive which originally prompted these expeditions was undoubtedly sincere and respectable; but in time the practice was abused by those who probably thought more of excitement than of any deeper feeling. Even as early as the fourth century, Gregory, Bishop of Nyssa (who had himself been at Jerusalem), dissuaded his flock from joining pilgrimages; for a migratory life, he contended, was dangerous to virtue, and often fatal to the modesty of women. The visits to Rome, made under a pretence of religious duty, were in many instances mere cloaks for pleasure-seeking, idleness, and debauchery. Our own countrywomen of the ninth century had a very bad name for their gallantries in various cities of the continent; and if we are to judge by the kind of stories told by some of Chaucer's Canterbury pilgrims, it is certain that the tone of mind prevalent on these occasions in the fourteenth century was not always either religious or ascetic. Violence and immorality were rampant in Jerusalem itself, and Gregory considered that a man's soul had better quit the body at once than encounter the dangers which awaited it in such a place. Strange as these facts may seem, the explanation is not beyond discovery. A promiscuous gathering of persons, whose lives may not have been remarkable for self-restraint, was brought together under circumstances of great excitement, and without those checks which an orderly and settled condition of life usually furnishes. Idleness took the place of daily labour; new scenes and new experiences operated as an incentive to the passions; and the practice of devotion at a few sanctified spots might be regarded by many as an excuse for acts of licence. Nevertheless, although the more observant churchmen perceived and pointed out the evils of the custom, it continued for many ages in unabated force. Numerous relics, or objects which were regarded as such, were brought back by the pilgrims; and these proved a source of revenue to the great ecclesiastical establishments. Fragments of the true cross were dispersed all over Europe; bones of apostles and saints abounded in every city, and

were endued by the faith of their worshippers with many miraculous properties. The adoration of spurious fragments was carried to the extent of a perfect madness in the provinces of the Eastern Empire; but the West also was not deficient in this form of frenzy. Large quantities of the dust of Palestine were conveyed to Europe, and it was considered that the holy substance would effectually defend its possessor from the assaults of devils, or deliver him from the effects of sickness. The Campo Santo of Pisa is said to contain five fathoms of earth from the Holy Land, brought thence in 1218 by returning Crusaders. The visitors to Jerusalem went there with a predisposition to credit any marvel which their pastors presented for their acceptance. It was alleged that, on the vigil of Easter, after the great lamps in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre had been extinguished, they were rekindled by God himself; and people flocked in crowds to behold the radiant miracle. When reading of these things, one is at a loss to say in what respect the mental condition of the believers differed from that of Pagan worshippers in the temples of Greece and Rome. In both cases, the present deity was expected to reveal himself in some striking manner; in neither case was there any sense of the mystery, the immensity, the abysmal depth and far-withdrawal, of the Divine nature. Yet we must take account of such facts before we can understand the state of mind out of which the Crusades arose.

By a singular association, which, however, it is not difficult to understand, these religious journeys were frequently connected with the pursuit of gain. The pilgrim found his way into lands abounding in commodities of which his own quarter of the world was entirely destitute. He returned laden with many natural products and objects of art which found a ready sale; and commerce was thus stimulated between the West and the East. After a time, it became usual for pilgrims connected with trade to take advantage of their journey to Asia for purposes which, though having no relation to faith, were not in themselves objectionable. The Mussulmans in their pilgrimages to Mecca, the Hindoos in visiting sacred spots of their own, act in a similar way; and the prosperity of the world is increased by practices which spring from motives of a wholly different character. The small republic of Amalfi grew wealthy and powerful on commerce fostered by visits to the Holy Land. The vessels of these merchant-princes conveyed the Latin pilgrims to Egypt and Palestine, and the Caliphs granted special favours to the Italian State which poured riches into the East, and benefited Europe in equal measure by importations of utility and beauty. The maritime laws of Amalfi were universally respected; its money was current throughout Western Asia; and its merchants were permitted to erect a church in Jerusalem, where they celebrated religious services according to the Latin ritual. Hospitals for the relief of pilgrims on the road to Jerusalem had existed long before; but two were added, about the middle of the eleventh century, by the citizens of Amalfi. These establishments were supported by the people of Southern Italy, and afterwards by the Normans of Apulia; and even Mohammedans were not excluded from the benefits of Western charity. The hospitals of the Christians were resting-places for the caravans of the desert; and humanity might have been permanently a gainer by this meeting of distinct religions on the common ground of benevolence, had not the animosities of dogma put to flight the gentler inspirations of the human heart. From the Convent and Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem—the principal of the two institutions founded by the people of Amalfi—arose the monastic and military Order afterwards established in the islands of Rhodes and Malta.

Under the Ommiad and Abbasside Caliphs, as under the immediate successors of Omar, little occurred to disturb the feeling of amity existing between the professors of the two religions. A large amount of freedom was permitted by the Mohammedans to their Christian visitors, and to those of the same faith who resided in Jerusalem. The Greeks, Latins, Nestorians, Jacobites, Copts, Abyssinians, Armenians, and Georgians, were allowed to maintain the chapels and clergy of their several communions. An annual fair was held on Mount Calvary, and processions to the Holy Sepulchre, accompanied by the display of lights and the clash of cymbals, took place through the streets of a city where Moslem soldiers and a Moslem population looked with contempt, and perhaps with indignation, on practices which to them had no little savour of idolatry. In the desert, the pilgrims may often have been treated roughly by the nomadic Arabs, at all times little better than gangs of robbers; but in Jerusalem itself, and the other cities of Palestine, their position was generally respected. In the time of Charlemagne, the Caliph Haroun-al-Raschid sent the keys of the Holy Sepulchre to the monarch of the Western world, whose power guaranteed the safety both of Latins and Greeks. The same spirit of toleration continued long after the time of Charlemagne, and, although a tax of two pieces

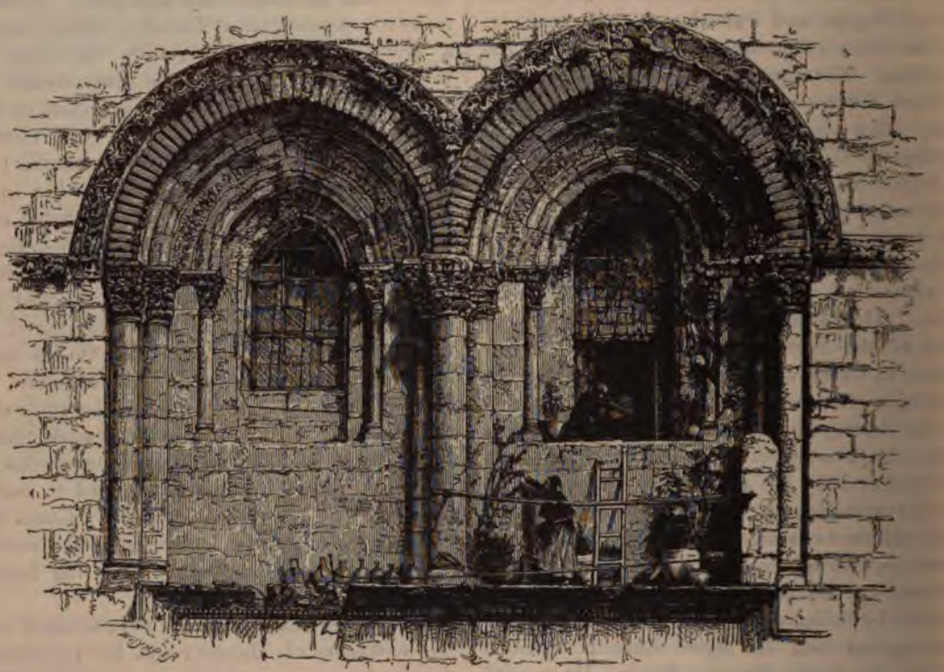
was annually levied on every Christian
salem, and certain distinctions of an
nature were imposed on the whole
ity, it cannot be said that they were
l to any serious hardships during several
ns. Three-fourths of Jerusalem were
d by the Mohammedans; the other fourth,
the Sepulchre of Christ, and the church
over it, was appropriated to the Christian
h, his clergy, and those who followed the
th, whether residents or visitors.

ccession of the Fatimites to the govern-
Egypt and Palestine, in 969, made at
little difference in the condition of the
ns. But a great change took place under
d Fatimite Caliph, Hakem Biamr Allah,
reign (commencing in 996) has been
l by Gibbon as "a wild mixture of vice
." His tyranny provoked the citizens of
an insurrection, which was suppressed
sparing cruelty; but, on finding his power
tablished, the Caliph made pretensions to
utation of a peculiarly devout Moham-
He caused twelve hundred and ninety
of the Koran to be transcribed, at his
in letters of gold; and, that the Prophet's
ion of wine-drinking might be fully carried
destroyed all the vineyards of Upper
Such were the edicts and achievements
rlier life; but in 1018—twenty-two years
s accession to the throne—he adopted a
different character, and aspired not merely
ate, but to surpass, the sacred functions of
ned. Hakem began by being a fanatic;
l by being a madman. His claims became
geous that he styled himself a visible
tation of the Supreme Being. He exacted
is subjects all the forms of worship and
n; and such is the tendency of Oriental
to the utmost extravagance of belief, that
ot long before he found sixteen thousand
s to ratify his enormous assumptions. The
es of his religion (which was connected
e Ismailitic heresy) were celebrated on a
in near Cairo, and the Druses of Lebanon
ate to this day some of the doctrines of
. The ideas of this insane or presumptuous
r spread with extraordinary rapidity
out Egypt and Syria, and even into India.
ief feature of the system was a vehement
n of the Unitarian principle. So far, it
alogous with Mohammedanism; but the
ces were sufficiently great to make Hakem
persecutor of the Moslems than an oppressor
Christians. It was apparently before his
assertion of special powers, and while he was still a Mussulman, that he acted with tyranny towards the pilgrims of Jerusalem.* During this time, which is referred to the year 1009, the Easter miracle of the lamps was prohibited as an imposture, the Church of the Sepulchre was burnt, and an attempt was made to destroy the cave in the rock which is regarded as the burial-place itself. It might have been supposed that this outrage would have provoked a Crusade nearly a hundred years before the first of those enterprises; but no such movement then took place. With his monstrous assumption of Divinity, Hakem adopted a policy of toleration towards the Jews and Christians, and at the same time treated the Mohammedans (or at any rate the Sunnite division of Islam) with great severity. A royal mandate was issued for the restitution of the churches; and the Caliph might have proceeded further in the same direction, had he not been assassinated, about 1021, or, according to some authorities, several years later. His followers, finding it impossible to admit that a deity could be thus removed, gave out that he had miraculously disappeared, but would afterwards return to earth. On his second appearance, the Resurrection is to follow, and Unitarianism to be established on the ruins of all other systems. It is worthy of remark that, in the teaching of this sometime Mohammedan, the temple of Mecca is specially devoted to destruction, and that the second coming of Hakem is to be preceded, amongst other signs, by the manifest predominance of Christianity over the faith of Islam.

Mohammedanism was fully re-established under the successors of Hakem; but the toleration of former times continued to be the rule at Jerusalem. The reigning Emperor at Constantinople (Basil II.) restored the Sepulchre, and pilgrims were again numerous in the chief city of Palestine. The zeal for these expeditions even increased after the death or disappearance of Hakem, and all ranks of life, from royalty itself to the humblest labourers, were represented in the caravans which pursued their way through many kingdoms to the point of attraction. About the year 1066, the Archbishop of Mainz, and the Bishops of Utrecht, Bamberg, and Ratisbon, undertook a pilgrimage, in which they were followed by seven thousand persons. The assemblage had all the character of an army,

* Such is the view of M. Silvestre de Sacy, who in 1838 published an exposition of the religion of the Druses, based on writings of their own, existing in the libraries of Paris and Oxford; to which he prefixed a life of Hakem. The statement of Gibbon is to the contrary.

and, like an army, it had to fight for its existence. The wealthy travelled with an ostentatious display of grandeur, and were attacked by the wandering Arabs of the desert. Retiring into the village of Capernaum, the pilgrims were for a long time besieged by the enemy, and would probably have been overcome, had they not been rescued by the local Emir. Of these seven thousand travellers, only two thousand returned to Germany; the others perished of fatigue and disease, or under the assaults of the Arabs. The expedition to Judæa was often attended by great loss of life; but it satisfied a religious aspiration, and was thought to possess a sanctifying virtue which more than compensated for its hardships.



WINDOWS OF THE CHURCH OF THE HOLY SEPULCHRE, JERUSALEM.

The conquest of Jerusalem by the Seljukian Turks was effected, in the year 1076, by Atsiz the Carismian, who was sent thither by Malek Shah. After reducing Damascus, and other cities of Syria, the Emir advanced to the banks of the Nile, and in the neighbourhood of Cairo encountered a resistance which compelled him to retire from Egypt altogether. In his retreat, he vented his fury and disappointment on the people of Jerusalem, whom he massacred to the number of three thousand. The Seljukians remained in Jerusalem after the recall of Atsiz, and in 1084 the city was bestowed by Tutush, the brother of Malek Shah, upon Ortok, the chief of a Turkish horde serving in Syria and Judæa. Ortok retained this position until his death in 1091, and Jerusalem was then held as a kind of fief by his two sons, who acted with great cruelty towards the Christians. The barbarian soldiers who fought under Ortok and his successors were men of a far inferior stamp to the cultured and often liberal Saracens. They knew scarcely anything even of the religion they professed; the Fatimites, as Shiite heretics, they regarded with as much detestation as the followers of Jesus; and the blood of Moslems mingled with that of Christians. These savage warriors lived in tents near the towns which they had conquered, and every idea of civil government, or of orderly obedience to the law, was foreign to their natures. The Christians suffered terribly. Their tribute was increased; their religious ceremonies and processions were suppressed; many unoffending persons were slaughtered, and numerous children were sold into captivity. The pilgrims often died of famine or disease, without being allowed to enter the Holy City; and on one occasion the Patriarch of Jerusalem was dragged by the hair of his head along the streets, and cast into a dungeon, that a ransom might be extorted



PETER THE HERMIT PREACHING THE FIRST CRUSADE

from the compassion of his fellow-Christians. This reign of violence, however, did not last very long. In 1096—or possibly a year or two after—Jerusalem was retaken by the Egyptian Caliph, and the excessive persecution of the Seljukian Turks gave place to a milder rule. Yet the condition of the Christians was less favourable than it had been at an earlier date. Moreover, the indignation of Europe had been roused by the insults and atrocities of the Seljukians, and a state of mind had been created which required nothing more than a passionate appeal to flame out into deeds of martial valour.

The necessity of taking steps against the growing power of the Moslems had for several years engaged the thoughts of Christian princes. Even as far back as the close of the tenth century, Pope Sylvester II. had entreated the Universal Church to succour the Church of Jerusalem, and to rescue the Holy Sepulchre from the hands of unbelievers. At that time, however, the Christians seem to have had no real grievance to redress. They resented the humiliation of dwelling in Jerusalem by the permission of those whom they denominated infidels; but the infidels behaved with substantial justice, and the appeal of Sylvester was answered only by the republic of Pisa, which in 1003 made a few predatory incursions on the Syrian coast. Seventy years later, the triumphs of Alp Arslan over the Greek Empire excited a more earnest feeling on the part of the Christian Powers. The Emperor Manuel VII. made an appeal to Pope Gregory VII., about 1073, representing to him the danger to which Christendom was exposed. In response to this communication, Gregory despatched the Patriarch of Venice to Constantinople, and arranged terms of amity with the Byzantine sovereign. An encyclical letter was sent from Rome to the States and Princes of the West, acquainting them with the fact that Christians were being subjugated by Mohammedans, and that the Imperial city of Constantinople was threatened by the enemies of their common faith. The result of this circular was that fifty thousand men undertook to oppose the inroads of the Seljukian Turks, and Gregory himself determined to lead the sacred host, in the meanwhile placing the custody of the Holy See in the hands of Henry IV. of Germany. But it was not the rescue of Jerusalem, it was the repulse of the Seljukians, which mainly engaged his thoughts. The union of the Eastern and Western Churches, and the triumph of Christendom over Islam, were the grand objects of this powerful and ambitious Pope; but his long contest with Henry IV. diverted his mind from an enterprise which, could he have brought it to bear, would have conferred much greater renown on his Pontificate.

Twenty years after the proposal of Gregory VII., and three years before the return of the Fatimite Caliphs to Jerusalem, Peter the Hermit, a man specially qualified for the special task he undertook, conceived the idea of a religious war. This remarkable leader—remarkable more for the results he produced than for his own abilities—was a native of Amiens, and in his youth had performed military service under Eustace de Bouillon, father of Godfrey VI., Duke of Lorraine. He afterwards married a lady of noble family, but ultimately became a priest, lived after the manner of a recluse, and performed the pilgrimage to Jerusalem. This was during the predominance of the Seljukians, and therefore while the followers of Christ were suffering their greatest afflictions. Of those afflictions, Peter had abundant evidence during his stay in the Holy City, which seems to have been in 1093. The Patriarch Simeon told him that no succour was to be expected from the effete Eastern Empire, but that the more vigorous nations of the West might redeem Palestine and its capital from the hands of their oppressors. Peter begged him to write a circular letter to the Pope, and to all the princes of the Latin world; and he vowed that, as a penance for his sins, he would travel far and wide, rousing kings and nations to the miseries of the Oriental Christians, and of the pilgrims to Jerusalem.

Provided with the necessary credentials, Peter returned to Europe, and at once proceeded to Rome, where he was received by Pope Urban II., himself a Frenchman. The personal appearance of the emissary was such as to bespeak attention. His thin and careworn face, his kindling eye, his small and meagre person, emaciated by the self-denial of years, pointed him out as a man of intense convictions, qualified by Nature and by habit to influence the minds of others, and to originate great movements. The Pope regarded him in the light of a prophet, and, promising to support his design in a General Council, exhorted him to proclaim the deliverance of the Holy Land. With this commission from the head of the Church, Peter travelled through Italy and France, frequently haranguing the people, and impressing on them, by the fervour of his eloquence, the paramount importance of rescuing Jerusalem from the Mohammedans. The populace, always quick to be excited by such appeals, was still further edified by the external marks of holiness which distinguished the orator. The dress of Peter consisted solely

of a woollen shirt and a hermit's mantle. He rode upon an ass, bareheaded and barefooted; in his hands he bore aloft a heavy crucifix; and his mode of living was abstemious as that of an anchorite from the desert. His enthusiasm made him insensible of fatigue. He entered the houses of rich and poor, exhorting them to the holy war which should wipe away the sins of Christendom. His voice was heard in the churches, in the streets, at the cross of the market-place, and on the dusty highway. At the same time, he relieved the necessities of the poor, by transferring to them the gifts he had received from the wealthy; and, while terminating disputes, and encouraging the active virtues of humanity, he prepared the way for a movement which, however mistaken in its means, however deeply disgraced by incidental crimes, undoubtedly sprang from a conscientious motive, and a sense of genuine compassion. The effect of Peter's addresses was rapid and extraordinary. The whole of Western Europe caught the flame, and before the close of 1094 a spirit had been awakened, of which monarchs themselves were compelled to take notice. It was an age of chivalry and of romantic daring. The wonderful deeds of Norman knights in Southern Italy, and in the provinces of the Eastern Empire, had excited a love of military adventure which inclined the nobility of the North-West to any enterprise combining the fascination of peril with the satisfaction of religious scruples. Desire of conquest mingled with the sentiment of devotion; and before the eyes of all opened an immense prospect of glory and success, made the more entrancing by the mystery and splendour of those distant lands where the infidel was to be vanquished, and the cross to be upreared.

The Council summoned by Pope Urban II. met at Piacenza in March, 1095. Strange to say, the representatives of the Church were far less eager in the sacred quarrel than the laity of Italy and France. The representative of the Greek Emperor, Alexius I., pleaded earnestly for aid against the Turks; but the Council separated without coming to any resolution. Urban, however, determined to hold another synod in the autumn of the same year, and he resolved that this should be in France. It was France that had been most powerfully stirred by the appeals of Peter; it was France which had given birth both to the Hermit and the Pope. The second Council was held at Clermont, in Auvergne, during the month of November. Thousands of the people flocked to witness the proceedings, and it was found necessary to assemble, first in the market-place, and then in the open fields. The tenth meeting was in the great square of Clermont, where Urban addressed the people from a throne which had been planted on a lofty scaffold. In a long and laboured speech, he dwelt on the alarming progress made by the Saracens and Turks. They had seized Syria, Armenia, and all Asia Minor; they had begun to domineer over Illyricum; they had possessed themselves of the places most intimately associated with the Christian faith; they were predominant even in Jerusalem, and sold to Christian pilgrims the right of admission to the Holy Sepulchre. Moreover, they held Africa, a quarter of the world once illuminated by some of the greatest Fathers of the Church. They had established their power in Spain and the Balearic Isles; yet still they sought for more, and threatened the independence of all Europe. In this exposition of the evils from which the world was suffering, Urban seems to have regarded the Saracens and the Turks as nearly identical. There was in fact a considerable distinction between them, and it was the latter, rather than the former, whom the Christians had mainly to dread. To his auditors, however, both were alike infidels; and when the Pope exhorted the faithful to cast away the fear of death, and to embark in a war which would assure to them the eternal joys of heaven, the people—using the unformed dialect of the time—burst out into loud cries of "Deus vult!" "Deus lo vult!" "Dieux el volt!" ("God wills it!" "God wills it!") Urban, again addressing the vast assemblage, rejoined, "It is indeed the will of God, whose power alone has caused this unanimity. Let, then, the very words which his spirit has dictated be your cry of war. When you attack the enemy, let the words resound from every side: '*Deus vult!*' '*Deus vult!*'" The expression thus happily selected was long used by the Crusaders as their battle-cry. Afterwards, other words were introduced; but the popular inspiration of Clermont was long remembered by the soldiers of the Cross. Proceeding to give some general directions for the conduct of the holy war, Urban said that the old, the infirm, and the weaker sex must remain in Europe; that the clergy must not join without the licence of their Bishops; and that the people should receive a sacerdotal benediction before departing for the East. Every one was to mark on his breast or back the sign of the cross; but, as Christ carried his cross to the place of execution, the figure was generally worn on the right shoulder, or on the top of the arm. The colour was usually red, and the material was either silk or cloth, where it was not gold. Some of the more enthusiastic cut the

emblem in their very flesh; and, in returning to Europe, the martial pilgrims usually displayed it on their backs. It was the use of this symbol which gave to the Christian warriors their distinctive title of Crusaders.*

At the final meeting of the Clermont Council, Peter the Hermit was present in his coarse woollen garments, and with his pilgrim's staff in his hand. Before the Pope addressed the assemblage, he had himself worked powerfully on the popular feelings by an account of the degradations and tortures endured by the Christians in Jerusalem. His representations, as being those of an eye-witness, were perhaps even more effective than the learned oratory of the Pope; but the effect of both together was irresistible. A spirit of frenzy passed over the whole of France, and the Church offered all those inducements of which she can be so lavish when a great end is to be secured. Every Crusader was absolved from his sins by the mere fact of joining in the sacred enterprise. He obtained plenary remission of canonical penance; was placed under the special protection of the Apostles Peter and Paul; and was shielded from violence, both as to his person and property, by the declaration that any one who should presume to injure him incurred thereby the sentence of excommunication until he should make amends. The general excitement was further stimulated by the Patriarch of Jerusalem, who, carrying letters of credit from the Pope, travelled through Europe, repeating the story of Christian wrongs. The departure of the relieving army for the Holy Land was to take place on the Festival of the Assumption (the 15th of August) in the following year, 1096; and the chief command of the expedition was to be in the hands of Godfrey de Bouillon, Duke of Lower Lorraine, who on his mother's side was descended from Charlemagne, and who had already distinguished himself as a warrior in the assault of Rome under Henry IV. of Germany. Godfrey was a man of unblemished life and noble character—a sincere enthusiast, whose eagerness to join the Crusade is said to have proceeded from poignant remorse at having lifted his hand against the head of the Church and the metropolis of Western Christendom. The preparations of the leaders occupied so long a time that the popular impatience suddenly broke loose, with lamentable results. The excitement roused by Peter the Hermit had penetrated the lowest depths of society, and the very dregs of poverty, ignorance, and crime, came darkly heaving to the surface. In March, 1096, a large number of volunteers, drawn chiefly from the humbler classes, and including many individuals of desperate fortunes, passed through Germany on their way to Constantinople. Nearly 100,000 persons, including numerous women and children, joined in this wild irruption. They were divided into three bodies, the first of which was commanded by a Burgundian knight, called Walter the Penniless, the second by Peter the Hermit, and the third by a priest named Gottschalk; and, although starting at slightly different periods, all pursued the same general route towards the eastern side of Europe.

The character of this preliminary movement shows how terrible a power the fanaticism of Peter had called into being, and how certain were the better elements of the enterprise to be mixed with the most lawless passions of human nature. While passing through Hungary, the soldiers of Peter the Hermit, irritated by the unfriendly character of the people, who had maltreated some of their precursors belonging to the band of Walter the Penniless, revenged themselves by acts of great atrocity. In Bulgaria, a state of actual war broke out between the natives and the adventurers from Western Europe. It would be difficult to say which side exhibited the greater ferocity; but it is certain that the Bulgarians regarded the followers of Peter as a horde of savages, whom it was justifiable to slay by every means in their power. For this opinion, indeed, they had no little warrant. The rabble of hungry fanatics loaded themselves with plunder, attacked men and women alike, and even assaulted walled towns. An attempt on Nissa was defeated; but the adventurers, resuming their journey, arrived at Philippopolis, where the eloquence of Peter procured for them some consideration and succour. The report of their evil practices reached Constantinople before the vanguard of their irregular forces; and when the main body entered the Eastern capital, the Emperor Alexius was so dismayed by their wild and ferocious appearance, and by the acts of rapine and licence in which they speedily indulged, that he hurried them across the Bosphorus into Asia Minor, where their excesses were repeated on a larger scale. Peter lost all control over his insubordinate levies, and, after a few months, returned to Constantinople, almost broken-hearted with the ill-success of his enterprise. These irregular troops had been greatly reduced in number while passing through Europe; but they were still sufficiently strong to be a terror to the population of the Anatolian cities. It is said that they murdered children at the breast; they un-

* French, *croisade*; from the Latin *crux*, a cross.

doubtedly pillaged churches, robbed private houses, and indulged in drunkenness and habitual depravity. The Greek and Latin historians, for once agreeing where disagreement was hardly possible, equally describe their conduct as a disgrace to Europe, and to the cause they represented.

The worst of these atrocities were committed by a band of ten thousand Normans, or French. These men, however, had in them the spirit of soldiers, and, quitting their companions, they took the castle of Xerigord in Bithynia, and inspired the Turkish Sultan with so much uneasiness that he marched against them in person at the head of fifteen thousand men. The marauders were beaten in the open field, and, retiring into the castle, underwent a siege. The supply of water was cut off by the Turks, and the stronghold was soon afterwards taken with great slaughter. The main body of Peter's army was drawn on to Nicæa by a false report that the Bithynian capital had surrendered to their comrades; but, on nearing the walls, the invaders were unexpectedly attacked, and driven back in sanguinary and irretrievable rout. The Mohammedans pursued the enemy to his camp, where they sacrificed the Christian priests to their conceptions of religious duty; and the number of the slain was so great that their bones were piled up in an immense heap, which remained for many years. Not more than three thousand persons survived this dreadful massacre. These retreated to the Gulf of Nicomedia, where they shut themselves up in the fortress of Civitot. At the request of Peter the Hermit, Alexius sent a body of troops to their relief; and under the protection of Byzantine arms they regained the Eastern capital.

The division of Gottschalk penetrated no farther than Hungary, where, after committing great barbarities, they were nearly annihilated by the rage of the people. At about the same time, another body of fanatics, collected from England, France, Lorraine, and Flanders, and numbering some 200,000, made their way towards the East, with the professed object of redeeming the Holy Sepulchre. Notwithstanding the assumption of Christian motives, they seem to have been little better than pagans of the grossest order. It is related of them that they adored a goat and a goose, which they alleged to be filled with the divine spirit; and their conduct was in harmony with their opinions. The fury of these wretches was directed chiefly against the Jews of Germany, several of whom they slew in the Archiepiscopal Palace at Mainz. At Treves and Worms, the Israelites were treated with equal ferocity, and many destroyed themselves to escape the outrages of their persecutors. Some of those belonging to Worms retired into a chamber of the Bishop's residence, under pretence of deliberating on a change of faith; for the ecclesiastical authorities, both of Worms and Treves, had taken advantage of their necessities to make attempts at conversion. The result, however, was that they committed suicide, as the only means of preserving their religion. At Treves, mothers killed their infants, fathers and sons slew one another, and women cast themselves into the Moselle. After bringing about these frightful tragedies (which caused the German Emperor to take the Jews thenceforth under his special protection, the desperadoes poured on towards the south-east, leaving a track of blood behind them wherever they passed. On approaching the borders of Hungary, they were opposed by the royal army, but made a fierce assault on Mersbourg, which they would probably have taken, but for an unaccountable panic among their ranks. The Hungarians pursued them with unsparing slaughter, and the waters of the Danube were reddened with their gore. Not many escaped, and those few carried back with them a report which was not calculated to encourage others in the prosecution of the sacred war. Such were the preliminaries to the First Crusade. The enthusiasm of Peter the Hermit had borne evil and monstrous fruit; but the true chivalry of Europe had not yet set forth on the enterprise to which their valour and their devotion were so deeply pledged.



BEYROUT ROAD, DAMASCUS.

CHAPTER XXIV.

THE FIRST CRUSADE.

General Character of the Crusades—Effects produced on Europe—Formation of more Liberal Views in Religion—Want of Moral Justification in the Crusades—Leaders and Numbers of the First Expedition—Violent Opposition to the Crusaders in passing through the South-eastern Parts of Europe—Arrest of Hugh, Count of Vermandois, by the Emperor Alexius—Warlike Proceedings of Godfrey de Bouillon to obtain his Release—Demand of Alexius that the Crusaders should swear Fealty to him, and do him Homage—Final Submission of the Principal Knights—Reception in Constantinople—Mutual Distrust and Dislike of the Crusaders and the Byzantine Greeks—State of Half-suppressed Animosity—Removal of the Liberating Army to Asia Minor—Siege and Capture of Nicæa—Progress through a Devastated Country—Dissensions of Baldwin (the Brother of Godfrey) and Tancred at Tarsus—Invasion of Mesopotamia by Baldwin, and Founding of the Principality of Edessa—Siege of Antioch—Terrible Sufferings of the Christians—Treacherous Surrender of the City to the Crusaders—Arrival of Turkish Succours, and Siege of the Christian Position—The Miracle of the Holy Lance—Defeat of the Moslems—March to Palestine—First Sight of Jerusalem—Siege of the City, Final Assault, and Capture (1099)—Frightful Massacre, Religious Ceremonials, and Second Massacre—Election of Godfrey de Bouillon to the Sovereignty of Jerusalem—Events of his Brief Reign—His Death in 1100—Kings of Jerusalem down to Baldwin III.—Extent of the Kingdom—Constitution of the State—Military Orders of the Knights of Jerusalem and the Templars.

SELDOM has the world been affected by so important a movement as that of the Crusades. The migrations of primitive races, by which new nations were produced—the vast deluge of Northern force and barbarism which overthrew the Roman Empire—the gradual spread of Christianity, and the sudden apparition of armed Mohammedanism—can alone be compared with it in those portions of the earth with which we are most familiar, and in those ages which preceded the Holy Wars. The action of various influences beyond the Indus may have been equally remarkable; but everything in those regions has for us the vagueness and uncertainty of a dream. For want of sufficient [illegible]nd from the absence of anything like exact dates, we are there oppressed by a phantasmagorial sense which almost defies analysis. The Crusades originated in our own part of the globe, and were directed against lands with which we are scarcely less familiar. They brought into the field of active contest the two great religions of the modern world. They ranged the chivalry of Christendom against the chivalry of Islam. They made the East and the West better acquainted with each other's valour, each other's modes of thought, each other's sincerity and devotion. Jerusalem was not permanently delivered, nor was the Holy Sepulchre, except for a brief season, rescued from the custody of Moslems. But a check was imposed upon the energy of

Mussulman conquest, and various indirect benefits were conferred on Europe. The later Middle Ages were coloured by gorgeous reflections of the jewelled and sumptuous East. Feudalism acquired a graceful and splendid character from contact with the glittering warriors of Asia. Romance and poetry received new life and larger sympathies from the touch of Persian genius, and the affluent



TYRE.

sunlight of more favoured regions. Architecture inherited a subtler beauty by assimilating the spirit, though not the forms, of Saracenic structures. We seem to discern a process of education as one of the results of these great wars: the mind of Europe was never quite the same—never again so childish and unformed—after this vivid contact of two long-divided worlds. For it must be recollected that the Crusaders were introduced to cities and localities associated with the highest intellect and culture of the ancient civilisation. Nicæa, Antioch, Laodicea, Tyre, Sidon, Acre, Ephesus, Smyrna, Damascus, Rhodes, Chios, Cyprus—not to speak of Jerusalem itself—are some of the majestic names that sweep in solemn pageant across the annals of the time. The grandeur of the struggle acted as an inspiration which centuries failed to exhaust. It kindled the lyric fervour of contemporary minstrels; in a later age it furnished brilliant materials to the shaping muse of Tasso.

Increase of commercial intercourse between Europe and Asia, with all its attendant influences of a softening and ennobling character, was another of the good effects resulting from the religious wars of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Better still was the gradual formation of more tolerant views with respect to the Mohammedans. Those who had previously been regarded as infidels, idolaters, or incarnate devils, were found to be human beings, often generous and noble in their feelings, and professing a religion which had much in common with Christianity. Europe and Asia came to understand one another better, and the

effect was mutually beneficial. It is true that the very contrary had been the effect of the frequent wars between the Saracens and the nations of Eastern Europe; but the struggle there was for life or death, whereas the battles of the Crusades were for the sake of a principle on both sides, and the people of the West began to discover that the followers of the Prophet were not the practisers of unholy rites which an ignorant imagination had painted them. Acquaintance with another form of religion, moreover, produced a liberality of thought unknown for centuries, which acted as a powerful counterpoise to the ever-increasing pretensions of the Roman Church. Some writers have even traced the first germs of Luther's Reformation in the effect on the European intellect produced by its collision with the East. The operation, in that case, was slow; but it is very possible that the minds of men were favourably influenced in the direction of free thought by familiarity with new spiritual forms. Infallibility trembled beneath the touch of larger knowledge.

Yet it can hardly be said that the Crusades were morally justifiable. As long as the Seljukian Turks retained possession of Jerusalem, their cruel oppressions called for punishment, and the Christian Powers may rightly have considered themselves under an obligation to protect their fellow-believers. But the dominion of these savages ceased the very year that the Crusaders set out, or shortly after; the Fatimite Caliphs were restored; and there was every reason to believe that the former state of tolerance would be resumed.* The excuse for the war had therefore passed away before the invaders entered Palestine, and the expedition was continued more from religious pride and love of predominance than from any better motive. The Christian leaders could not plead ignorance of what had occurred since Peter the Hermit roused the conscience of Europe by his tale of intolerable wrongs; for they were informed by Afdal, the Vizier of the Egyptian Caliph Mostaali, that they might perform their vows if they came unarmed, and that pilgrims would thenceforth experience the fair treatment of earlier times. But these offers of accommodation were repulsed, and a war of religious hatred—always the bitterest of wars—was pursued in a spirit of manifest aggression. Some allowance must of course be made on account of the immense excitement of popular feeling which had passed over the whole West of Europe, and which perhaps rendered it difficult for the chivalry of the associated nations to disband without performing the feat of arms they had undertaken. But, considering the execrable atrocities which disgraced the struggle, and the extreme misery it inflicted on vast numbers of the human race, it is impossible not to deplore the outbreak of impassioned feeling which drew such evils in its train.

The leaders of the First Crusade were Godfrey of Bouillon, Duke of Lower Lorraine; Eustace and Baldwin, his brothers; Baldwin du Bourg, a cousin; Hugh the Great, brother of Philip, King of France; Robert, Duke of Normandy, son of William the Conqueror; Raymond de St. Gilles, Count of Toulouse; Bohemond, Prince of Tarentum, a son of Robert Guiscard; his cousin Tancred; Robert, Count of Flanders; Stephen, Count of Chartres; and Adhemar, Bishop of Puy, who acted as the Pope's Legate, and as a military commander also. None of the great sovereigns joined the expedition; but the feudal system furnished an enormous body of soldiers, commanded by knights of the most perfect valour and the most adventurous spirit. France and Normandy undoubtedly produced the greater number of these enthusiasts; but England, Germany, Flanders, Italy, and other countries, supplied valuable contingents. Tasso makes his stanzas resound with a sonorous proclamation of nationalities, and perhaps in no spirit of exaggeration. It seems not improbable that the horsemen numbered 100,000, and that the humbler multitude on foot amounted to 600,000, including women and children, priests and monks. A large part of Christendom, therefore, must have contributed to this vast total; yet the East of Europe was not greatly moved by an enterprise which might seem to concern it even more than the West. The place of meeting was to be Constantinople, and the period of starting was August, 1096, according to the original engagement. A promise having been given to succour the Eastern Emperor against the inroads of the Seljukian Turks, it was necessary to proceed, in the first instance, to the great capital on the Bosphorus; but, for the main purpose of the expedition, it would have been better to approach Judæa by the direct route of the Mediterranean. The army of Godfrey of Bouillon passed through Germany, Hungary, and Bulgaria. Raymond, Count of Toulouse, marched to Aquileia in the north-east of Italy, and thence into Dalmatia and Sclavonia. Between Durazzo and Constantinople, his bands (already thinned by fatigue and deprivation) were repeatedly attacked by the country

* The years 1096, 1097, and 1098, have been given for the recovery of Jerusalem by the Caliphs of Egypt; but, in any case, the event took place before the arrival of the Christian hr

people, aided by some troops of the Greek Emperor, Alexius I.; and a similar reception was given to the followers of Bohemond, who crossed the Adriatic from the coast of Italy. Recollection of the atrocities committed by the irregular hordes of a few months earlier, and of which a repetition was not unnaturally dreaded, had doubtless much to do with this hostile attitude of the Eastern populations. Certain prisoners taken by Bohemond plainly told him that the motive of the Crusaders was not religion, but ambition—that they preferred Constantinople to Jerusalem.

Some of the French leaders were delayed in their passage through Italy by the hospitalities of the Pope, whom they met at Lucca, and by the attractions of the wealthy and pleasure-loving Italian cities, where many of their troops were permanently diverted from the enterprise they had undertaken. The earliest to reach Thrace was the band commanded by Godfrey of Bouillon, who, on arriving at Philippopolis in the early winter of 1096, was met by a piece of intelligence which at once established an uneasy feeling between himself and the Greek Emperor. Hugh, Count of Vermandois, brother of the French King, had been wrecked in a tempest which scattered his vessels, and Alexius, violating the usual laws of hospitality, had made him a prisoner. He who had received a consecrated banner from the Pope himself, when at Lucca, was detained at Constantinople in a sort of honourable captivity, which, however it might be soothed by external compliments, was none the less real. On learning the fact, Godfrey sent an embassy to demand the immediate release of his comrade. Alexius refused to comply, and Godfrey, advancing by Adrianople and Selymbria, laid the whole country waste, until, about Christmas, he reached the walls of the capital. Hugh was then sent to the camp of the Crusaders; but the expedition had made an ominous commencement, and it seemed not unlikely that further trouble was in front.

It is clear that Alexius was alarmed at the immense influx of Western troops into his dominions. At the Council of Piacenza, he had, indeed, requested a body of ten thousand soldiers, to aid him in repelling the advances of the Seljukian Turks; but he felt no great interest in Jerusalem, and to find his dominions inundated by countless multitudes of fighting-men, all belonging to the Latin Church, and therefore regarding him and his subjects as obstinate heretics, was a fact calculated to inspire considerable distrust. Bohemond was expected shortly from Southern Italy, and Bohemond, as the son of Robert Guiscard, and the successor to his father's command in the western provinces of the Byzantine Empire during the disastrous invasion of 1081-2, could hardly be regarded as other than a possible enemy. The Greek Emperor therefore desired to protect himself against eventualities by exacting an oath of fidelity from the Crusaders, and requiring them to do homage as his vassals. Such a demand was naturally very distasteful to the Western knights, since it placed them in a position of disloyalty to their own sovereigns, and seemed to imply a confession on their part that the Emperor had grounds for suspicion. Alexius, however, was not to be diverted from his purpose, and he carried it out with remarkable skill and address. Had the various bodies of the Crusaders been united in one force, they might possibly have borne down all opposition by the strength of their arms; but, during the early months of 1097, Alexius adroitly managed to prevent the union of any two of the Western armies under the walls of Constantinople. In the meanwhile, he worked by flattery on the impressionable mind of Count Hugh, who was persuaded to give his sanction to the demands of Alexius. So important a convert might reasonably be expected to have great influence with the others; but Godfrey of Bouillon still held out, and actual warfare ensued between his soldiers and those of the Greek sovereign. At length, perceiving the impossibility of crossing the sea, and pursuing his enterprise, without the aid of the Imperial vessels, Godfrey consented to make a promise of fealty, and it was agreed that, on the entrance of the Crusaders into Constantinople, John, a son of the Emperor, should be given as a hostage to the French.

John was soon afterwards sent into the Latin camp, and Godfrey entered Constantinople with his companions-in-arms. The scene at the palace was one of great magnificence. The members of the court were arrayed in their utmost splendour, and the Western knights appeared in tunics of ermine, vair, and other rich skins, adorned with gold, and worn over the armour. But the constrained relations of the two parties were painfully obvious throughout. Alexius was cold and distant in his manner; but, on Godfrey prostrating himself before the throne, with those marks of subserviency which the Emperors had long required, he adopted him as his son, clothed him with Imperial robes, and declared that he placed his dominions under the protection of the Crusaders' arms. The Western chiefs swore fidelity to the Emperor, promised to deliver to him such places as they should recapture from the Turks, and undertook to

do homage for any other acquisitions. On the other hand, Alexius engaged to help the cause with his Imperial troops, and with stores of arms and provisions, the latter to be furnished in the open market at reasonable prices. But his manner was still distinguished by an offensive haughtiness, and, during a temporary absence from the throne, Robert of Paris, one of the companions of Godfrey, planted himself on the Imperial seat, and, notwithstanding the expostulations of Baldwin, refused for some time to quit the place which he had seized. Such an incident might have resulted in a sanguinary collision, but the Emperor contented himself with some ironical remarks as to the safest place for the daring Frenchman when he should meet the Turks. A comparatively good understanding was for a time established between the Latins and the Greeks. Alexius sent valuable presents to Godfrey, and soon afterwards persuaded him to remove on to the Asiatic side of the Bosphorus. In March, 1097, his troops encamped round Chalcedon, and Alexius then withdrew the Grecian vessels by which they had been conveyed across, so that communication with Europe was effectually cut off.

As the other divisions of the Western armies successively arrived in the neighbourhood of Constantinople, the contrast between their feelings and those of the Greeks became more strikingly apparent. To the former, the highly-organised political system of the Empire, with its maxims of law, its science of administration, its hierarchy of officials, its ancient civilisation, and its stately memories of Roman supremacy, was little else than a mixture of craft and folly; to the latter, the rugged ways of feudalism were mere savageness and brutality. The character of the Eastern and Western nations was, indeed, entirely distinct, and each distrusted and scorned the other. The vast numbers of the Crusaders alarmed the Emperor; the demand of the Emperor, that his visitors should swear fealty to himself, incensed the warriors of Western Christendom. The result was an absolute want of accord, which not even the fact of their common Christianity could hide from ordinary observers. The objects of the Emperor and of the Crusaders were wholly different. The first wanted to drive the Seljukians out of Asia Minor—a task to which his own armies had proved inadequate. The enthusiasts from France and Italy, from England and the Low Countries, were mainly animated by a passionate desire to rescue Jerusalem from the grasp of Mohammedans. The claims of the Emperor to the allegiance of his guests were by some of the chiefs, even after Godfrey of Bouillon had consented. Bohemond avoided doing homage as long as he could, and, although he and the Emperor abounded in mutual compliments, the former was so suspicious of his Imperial flatterer that, when served with a splendid banquet in the palace consigned to his use, he passed by the viands untouched, for fear of poison. The suspicion was unreasonable: Alexius was too crafty for so gross and dangerous an attack upon an armed ally. Tancred avoided the humiliation of swearing fealty by crossing the Bosphorus disguised as a common soldier, without visiting Constantinople at all. Raymond, Count of Toulouse, boldly declined to become a dependent on the Greek Empire; and, although Alexius sought to starve his forces by cutting off their supplies, and even sent armed men to attack them in their camp, the Count still declared that he had not taken the Cross to enter the service of any earthly sovereign. The quarrel grew to such a height that Raymond threatened to let loose his army on the environs of Constantinople, and it was only by the interposition of Godfrey, Bohemond, and Robert of Flanders, who took a cooler view of the facts, that a compromise was effected.

As some concession to the requirements of the Emperor, Raymond swore never to undertake anything against the life or honour of Alexius; but to the last he refused to do him homage. After this agreement, the relations of the two parties became a little less hostile, but cordiality was never established between them. Anna Comnena, the daughter of Alexius, gives a very singular account of the feelings which the Greeks and the Crusaders entertained towards one another. The Western chiefs annoyed the Emperor by their loquacity and boastfulness, and his health actually suffered from the fatigue consequent on perpetual audiences and from the necessity of constant management, to avoid giving offence such as might have led to bloody and perilous reprisals. To the trained judgment of Anna, enriched by centuries of Greek and Roman culture, the strangers appeared a set of overgrown children; but at any rate they were children possessing all the rapacity of age. They demanded money and presents from the ruler of Constantinople, and so disgusted Tancred that he openly declared his annoyance. Yet it must be admitted that this greed of profit was not confined to the Western visitors. Alexius, contrary to his undertaking, endeavoured to snatch an unfair profit in selling provisions to the troops; and this conduct was continued until the Emperor feared that it might lead to an outbreak on the part of the Crusaders, when he endeavoured

to buy off their animosity by lavish distributions of money.

The removal of Godfrey of Bouillon to the eastern side of the Bosphorus was gradually followed by that of the other chieftains, and, in the beginning of May, 1097, the whole mighty host was assembled on the plains of Nicæa. It was determined to make an immediate attack on the Seljukian capital, and the siege of Nicæa was commenced on the 8th of May. The city was defended by double walls, of immense thickness and extraordinary height, and poisoned arrows were discharged from the battlements by the Turkish warriors. In the neighbouring mountains, Kilidge Arslan, the Seljukian Sultan of Roum, lay encamped with 50,000 troops; and, after an ineffectual assault by the Christians on the defences of Nicæa, he attacked their ranks, in combination with a sortie from the city. Two onslaughts, conducted with great fury, were repulsed by the Crusaders. The siege was then pressed with still greater determination and courage; but the defence was conducted in so stubborn a spirit that the city might never have been taken, had not Alexius sent a Greek envoy, who persuaded the Turks that they had more to hope from the clemency of his master, if they surrendered, than from the mercy of the invaders, should the latter force their way into the town. A secret arrangement was concluded with the Byzantine troops stationed in ships on the Ascanian lake, where they helped to blockade the city. Nicæa was given up, and the standard of the Greek Emperor at once announced the fact to his allies, and protected the inhabitants from the pillage and slaughter which the Western chiefs were evidently meditating. The siege had occupied seven weeks, and the surrender took place on the 24th of June.

Disappointed with their treatment by the Emperor, who had promised them all the riches of every captured city, whereas he gave them only a portion, but concealing their annoyance under terms of devotion and religious enthusiasm, the Western chivalry departed for Antioch on the 3rd of July. A little before reaching Dorylæum, they were attacked by Kilidge Arslan, who was signally defeated after a difficult engagement. The Seljukian Sultan was now so much disheartened that he abandoned the kingdom of Roum, and fled eastward, to implore the aid of his Turkish brethren. The Crusaders pursued their way through Asia Minor, and, for a distance of five hundred miles, saw nothing before them but a devastated land, and towns deserted by their inhabitants. In the course of this dreary march, Tancred with five hundred knights, and Baldwin, the brother of Godfrey, with seven hundred, were detached from the main body, and pursued a separate course along the sea-coast of Cilicia. The character of Baldwin was arrogant and encroaching, and in a little while he and Tancred came to a violent quarrel. The cause of their dissension was the claim of each to govern the city of Tarsus, which had been taken by the small force of Tancred, but which Baldwin, on account of his squadron consisting of the larger number, maintained should be his. The people themselves adopted the rule of Tancred, and not without reason, if they were informed that he had protected them from the savage passions of Baldwin, who, Christians though they were, would have devoted them to general spoliation. By threats and cajolery, however, Baldwin afterwards persuaded them to accept his rule, and Tancred was obliged to depart, with a feeling of enmity which led to an armed collision between the adherents of the two Crusaders. Baldwin seems to have behaved throughout with treachery to the Christians of Tarsus, to his companion-in-arms, and to the Turkish garrison; but superior numbers enabled him to prevail over Tancred. After a sharp encounter, the two leaders came to an agreement. Baldwin returned to the grand army, and Tancred, augmenting his small force with a gang of pirates from Holland and France, who had lately been cruising in the Mediterranean, carried fire and sword throughout Cilicia.

It was at Marascha, near the eastern extremity of Cilicia, that Baldwin rejoined the forces under Godfrey of Bouillon. They had had a long and most fatiguing march, and the country was so widely devastated by the Turks that the invaders suffered much from privation. Besides the difficulties of the way, and the trials of insufficient food, the Christian hosts languished under the terrible heat of the climate, to which, as Northern men, they were entirely unaccustomed. Many threw away their helmets and armour, and all were so much debilitated that, had the Turks ventured on an attack, they would probably have been successful. On gaining Marascha, the invaders rested for a time; but Baldwin did not long remain inactive. Being told by an Armenian prince that some rich countries lay on the other side of the Euphrates, and that a large Christian population was there oppressed by small Turkish garrisons, he organised a body of troops, with which he entered Mesopotamia. His march was a continual success, and the people of Edessa begged his assistance in throwing off the Turkish tribute. The citizens of

Edessa were Greeks, nominally subject to Constantinople, but really controlled by the Emir of the surrounding country. After some hard fighting with the Turks, Baldwin obtained complete possession of the city, where he established a petty monarchy, which lasted forty-seven years (viz., from 1097 to 1144), when Edessa was re-taken by the Mohammedans. This was the first principality founded by the Crusaders, and its creation was a breach of the treaty into which Godfrey and the other commanders had entered with Alexius, though it must be added that the conduct of the Emperor himself was not free from blame. Baldwin ruled his little state with all the rigour of a tyrant; but his position in the heart of Mesopotamia enabled him to do some service to his companions His power soon extended over the adjacent territory, and the entire road between Edessa and Antioch was kept open for the Crusaders.



APPROACH TO ANTIOCH.

While these events were proceeding, the main army under Godfrey of Bouillon was pursuing its march to Antioch, the next object of attack. The siege of that great city occupied seven months. The Christian army was by this time much reduced in numbers, and, although the courage of the men was admirable, their knowledge of siege operations was but slight, and the few engines of assault which they possessed were clumsily and ineffectually employed. It was now winter, and the sufferings of the army were so extreme that desertions were of frequent occurrence. Many died of famine, many others of fatigue and disease; and the attacking force was thinned to an alarming degree. It is asserted, not only by Moslem but by Christian writers, that cannibalism prevailed amongst the humbler troops, who were doubtless unable to obtain any other kind of food. The horses suffered equally with their masters, and in a few months the total number of these animals was reduced from more than seventy thousand to two thousand. Unusually heavy rains turned the whole camp into a morass; the tents rotted and decayed with the wet; and the position soon presented the appearance of a vast graveyard. To increase the difficulties of the situation, Godfrey fell sick, and the conduct of the siege passed into hands less competent than his own. The Byzantine auxiliaries, under Taticius, retired to Cyprus. Robert of Normandy departed for Laodicea, where an English colony had been formed, and would not return until after three citations from the chiefs of



THE CRUSADERS BEFORE JERUSALEM.

the expedition. Even Peter the Hermit, who had accompanied the army, fled from the accursed spot, but was pursued and brought back by Tancred, now once more co-operating with the other commanders. The genius of Peter was certainly not that of a warrior; but his desertion would have been so serious a fact that Tancred obtained from him a promise not to renew the attempt which had just been baffled.

The prospect was desperate; but at length an unexpected incident came to the relief of the besiegers. Bohemond one day declared to the council of the chiefs that he could at any moment deliver Antioch into their hands. Unknown to the others, a correspondence had been passing between him and a Syrian named Phirouz, originally a Christian, but one who had acquired the favour of the Emir by a real or pretended conversion to Mohammedanism. This man held the command of three towers, and was therefore in a good position to carry out his traitorous design. But Bohemond was determined that the incident should tend to his personal advantage, or that his comrades should not enjoy the promised relief. He demanded the sovereignty of Antioch as the price of his contemplated service, and the other chieftains, after some resistance, gave their consent to what had become a plain necessity. The Sultan of Persia was understood to have despatched a relieving army to Antioch, and it was certain that the shattered forces of the Christians would not be able to resist an external attack, combined, as it doubtless would be, with a sortie from the garrison. The plan of the surrender having been settled, the French and Norman princes ascended by night the scaling-ladders that were thrown down from the walls; the gates were speedily opened; the Christian multitude rushed in; and, on the 3rd of June, 1098, Antioch was in the power of the Crusaders.

Nevertheless, the perils of the assailants were far from their termination. The citadel was still in possession of the Mohammedans, who stoutly refused to surrender; and it was not long ere an immense force from Mosul, commanded by the prince of that city, who was accompanied by twenty-eight Turkish Emirs, arrived before Antioch. The Crusaders were now in turn the besieged, and were soon reduced to the utmost extremity by hunger and pestilence. Under these circumstances, a clever imposture turned to the advantage of the Christian forces. A certain priest of Marseilles, named Peter Barthelemy, declared to the council that St. Andrew had thrice appeared to him in sleep, and told him that in the church of his er St. Peter, near the high altar, was concealed the head of the lance which had pierced the side of Christ. In the course of three days, it was added, this sanctified weapon would be manifested to the believers, and, when borne aloft in battle, would penetrate the souls of the infidels. Count Raymond, his chaplain, and ten others, were appointed to discover the inestimable relic; and, after two days of devotion, the twelve companions, or confederates, entered the church of St. Peter. The workmen continued to dig all day long, but no lance was discovered. At nightfall, however, Peter Barthelemy descended singly into the excavation, and, having spent a sufficient time in simulated research, called out that the lance was found. It was lifted to the surface, wrapped in a veil of silk and gold, and exhibited to the worship of the Christian hosts. The Crusaders had by this time been besieged at Antioch for twenty-six days, and their courage was nearly exhausted when it was revived by this ingenious trick. At a later period, however, many persons were so sceptical as to disbelieve in the holy lance, and Peter Barthelemy, having appealed to the fiery ordeal, was burned to death in the flames which he rashly entered, bearing the weapon in his hand.

Before making a renewed attack upon the Turks, Peter the Hermit was sent to the Mohammedan commander, to inform him of the Divine vengeance which was hanging over his head, but at the same time to offer terms if he would consent to depart. The interview between Peter and the Prince of Mosul was a contest of fanaticism and mutual threatening, and it ended as any man of sense might have seen from the first that it would. Peter and his interpreter were contemptuously dismissed, and the Christians prepared for immediate action. On the following day they burst out from Antioch, headed by the chaplain of Raymond, who brandished the holy lance, and was followed by a procession of priests and monks, chanting the words, "Let the Lord arise, and let his enemies be scattered!" It was afterwards related that three knights, in white garments and resplendent arms, issued at the same moment from the hills, and that these were St. George, St. Theodore, and St. Maurice — a story bearing a suspicious resemblance to the old Roman legend of Castor and Pollux. Inspired by martial ardour and religious faith, the Crusaders pressed onwards to the plain on the other side of the Orontes. The cry of "Deus vult!" rose into the air; the fury of the combatants increased with every moment; large numbers fell on both sides; but at length the fervour of the Christians bore down all opposition, and the innumerable ranks of the Moslems

laughtered or dispersed. This great victory ained on the 28th of June, 1098, and it ed comparatively easy the remainder of the o Jerusalem. It was now that Mostaali, the ian Caliph, entered into communication with hristians, and promised to restore all the of pilgrimage, if the threat of war were oned. But the Christian leaders were re- to accomplish the main object of their rise, and preparations were made for resume march.

spirit of discord, however, had again en- the Crusading ranks. The winter passed without any movement being commenced; was not until the private soldiers demanded, loud clamours, an immediate advance, that iefs forgot their differences, and gave the to depart. In May, 1099, the remains of eat army quitted Antioch, and proceeded ds Laodicea. The effective force was now d to about 35,000 men; so vast had been epletion from deaths in battle, from disease, e, and privation, and from the desertion of int-hearted. But the sufferings of the in- were for the present at an end. Their , which was between Mount Lebanon and a-shore, presented no great difficulties, and was plentifully supplied by the coasting s of Genoa and Pisa. The soldiers of the were even assisted by the Emirs of Tyre, , Acre, and other places, who, as Seljukians unnites, were disaffected towards the Fatimite eterodox Caliph of Egypt. Having arrived sarea, the Crusaders quitted the coast, and : inland in a south-easterly direction. Jeru- , the object of their exalted aspirations,— ty to rescue which they had marched from orth-west of Europe, encountered the dead- perils, and endured sufferings innumerable,— lem itself soon rose before their eyes. The nt was one of intense excitement, of rapturous of unspeakable satisfaction. It was on a ; June morning when the towers of this mar- s city were first revealed to the eyes of the ian host. As yet it was far off; but its n mass rose darkly against the violet-tinted f the East, and its wonderful memories, de- ing the long chain of centuries, vibrated in arts of those passionate and way-worn men. flung themselves prostrate on the earth; knelt; all wept, and cried aloud, "Jeru- !" "Jerusalem!"

chief city of Palestine was at that time ded by 40,000 Egyptian troops, commanded akar, a favourite general of the Caliph. Its configuration was nearly square; but the parts most difficult to attack lay on the south and east, where deep valleys and high rocks gave an aspect of impregnability to the position. The Crusaders, therefore, resolved to proceed against the northern and western sides, and the investment was commenced on the 7th of June, 1099. Five days later, the assailants made a tumultuous attack upon the city, and one ladder was planted against the walls, to the top of which a valorous band ascended. But the onslaught was repulsed by the Mohammedans, and the Christians then resorted to the more tedious operations of a siege. The crews of some Genoese vessels which had arrived at Jaffa gave their assistance in the construction of movable towers and heavy battering-machines. It was hoped that these new engines would produce important effects; but in the meanwhile the army suffered terribly from drought, for the Saracen Emir had taken care, previous to the arrival of the Crusaders, to destroy the springs and cisterns. A common result of such extreme misery was speedily seen in the demoralisation of the troops. Not only were they turbulent and disorderly, but their viciousness moved the indignation of their leaders and the horror of their priests. The moral conduct of the vast army which besieged Nicæa, in the early days of the expedition, is said to have been most exemplary; at Antioch it underwent a great deterioration; and before the walls of Jerusalem it reached the lowest depths of abasement.

Preparatory to the general assault, the soldiers, headed by the clergy, made a religious procession round the walls of Jerusalem, singing hymns and psalms in place of the usual music of the camp. On Mount Olivet, and again on Mount Zion, they prayed for Divine assistance in the contest which was to take place on the following day. The Saracens on the battlements mocked at these sacred exercises; the Christians replied with still louder shouts, and more eager expressions of resolve. An unanimous attack was commenced next morning, when the battering-rams, towers, and other engines were brought to bear against the walls, but with so little effect that, on the approach of darkness, a retreat was sounded. One of the great wooden towers had been seriously damaged by the Greek fire of the Saracens; on the other hand, the walls of the city had been breached in several places, and the assault was renewed with returning daylight. Still the Christians were repulsed, and many were beginning to lose heart, when it was again believed that St. George had come to the succour of his

knights. At the vision of a martial figure stationed on the slopes of Mount Olivet, and waving his shield to the soldiers before the city, the courage of the besiegers sprang up afresh, and they hurled themselves in fury against the defences of Jerusalem. Even the women joined in the wild conflict, and in another hour the barbican was broken down. The inner wall was now approached, and the Crusaders prepared for a hand-to-hand struggle with the Moslems. The day was Friday, July 15th, 1099. The religious writers of the Middle Ages discovered something mystical in the fact that the final assault took place on the day of the week which is associated with the birth of Adam and the death of Jesus Christ, and even at the very hour of the afternoon when the Crucifixion occurred. At any rate, it would seem to have been about three hours after the meridian when a soldier named Letoldus of Tournay leaped upon the fortifications, and was immediately followed by his brother Engelbert and by Godfrey of Bouillon.* Tancred and the two Roberts burst through the gate of St. Stephen, and, in another direction, Raymond's Provençals ascended the walls by ladders. For a while, the Mussulmans struggled desperately against the in-rolling flood of Western chivalry, but at length, finding resistance in vain, submitted with true Oriental fatalism to the will of the stronger. The massacre which ensued is too dreadful for detailed description. It is said that ten thousand people were slaughtered in the so-called Mosque of Omar alone. Many were thrown from the tops of the churches and of the citadel. The Saracens were hunted into every place of refuge; and, if we are to believe the accounts generally received (but happily they are open to some doubt), the blood of seventy thousand Moslems atoned for the cruelties of the Seljukian Turks. When it is recollected that the real offenders had already been driven out of the city by the Fatimite Caliphs, and that offers had been made to restore the Christians to the position they had occupied, with but few exceptions, through many previous years, the enormity of the crime committed by Godfrey and his associates becomes more terribly apparent.

The rage of slaughter having now been fully satisfied, the observances of religion were solemnly conducted. Bareheaded and barefooted, without armour or weapons, in the garments of repentance, and with postures of humility, Godfrey and his companions ascended the hill of Calvary, and visited all those places that are most intimately associated with the founding of Christianity. Loud cries of thanksgiving rose into the air; all vowed that their sins should be eternally laid aside; the sick were visited, and the poor relieved by donations from the wealthy. The miraculous element was of course not wanting. The ghost of the Pope's legate, Adhemar, who had died some time before, shared in the congratulations of the living; and the spirits of many who had fallen by the way took part in these supernatural rejoicings. A few days later, the rage of fanaticism was again kindled, and a second massacre, including women and children, and even babes at the breast, deluged the streets of Jerusalem with blood. Raymond of Toulouse saved a few Mohammedans, but it was only that he might sell them as slaves at Ascalon. The Jews fared no better than the Mohammedans. Their synagogues were set on fire, and they perished in the flames.

Pope Urban II., who, next to Peter the Hermit, had been the greatest agent in promoting the Crusades, did not live to hear of the triumph at Jerusalem. Peter, however, was present at the capture of that city, and received the honours due to his enthusiasm and perseverance. It now became necessary to make some provision for the government of the conquered territory. Eight days after the capture of Jerusalem, the Latin chiefs proceeded to the election of a king. The deliberations of the council were somewhat delayed by the clergy, who, without actually objecting to the proposed creation of a monarch, considered that ecclesiastical affairs should have precedence, and that, in the first place, a Patriarch of Jerusalem and a Bishop of Bethlehem should be appointed. This suggestion, however, was set aside by the military leaders, and on the 23rd of July it was determined that the crown should be at once offered to the principal commander of the expedition, the able and heroic Godfrey. He was conducted in religious order to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, but, in the devotional spirit which seems to have been natural to his character, he protested that he could not wear a diadem of gold in a city where his Saviour had worn a crown of thorns.† He therefore contented himself with the title of Defender and Baron of the Holy

* Such, at least, is the account given by the French historians; but the Pisans claim for themselves the honour of [illegible] in the Holy City.

† Whether this ceremonial took place in what is *now* styled the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, or whether in the so-called Mosque of Omar, or Dome of the Rock, which some modern authorities consider to be the actual church built by the Emperor Constantine, or his mother Helena, over the supposed place of burial, is a matter of doubt.

Sepulchre; but in effect his power was that of a monarch. His reign was extremely brief. He died on the 18th of July, 1100, almost exactly a year after his assumption of office; yet his period of rule was distinguished by some events of importance. The territory which he had to administer consisted merely of Jerusalem and Jaffa, together with about twenty villages and minor towns. But, small as was this domain, constant vigilance was necessary to preserve it from reconquest. The Mohammedans occupied some formidable strongholds, and the Christians found themselves in a position of continual peril. A fortnight after the appointment of Godfrey to the supreme direction of affairs, the Crusaders had to encounter an attack by the Caliph of Egypt, or of his Vizier, who marched in force to the capture of Jerusalem. He was entirely defeated in the plains of Ascalon, where the French princes distinguished themselves by the brilliance of their achievements. After this important success, the French retired from the holy wars, and Godfrey was left at Jerusalem with only three hundred knights, and two thousand foot soldiers, but with the powerful support of Tancred, whose chivalry was equal to his own. Godfrey was only forty years of age at the time of his death. He was undoubtedly one of the best of the early Crusaders—one of the least stained with acts of cruelty and treachery; and his brief government was marked with so much fairness and wisdom that some even of the Mohammedans lamented his decease. His body was deposited in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, and it was decreed that that edifice should receive the ashes of the future kings.

On the death of Godfrey, a contest arose between the secular and ecclesiastical power, as to who should carry on the government. Tancred offered the throne to Bohemond, then ruling over the principality of Antioch; but that ambitious leader had recently suffered a reverse in an attempt upon the Armenian territories, which ended in his being taken prisoner. Finally the crown was accepted by Baldwin, the brother of Godfrey, who, in order that he might enjoy the supreme honour of ruling in Jerusalem itself, resigned his principality of Edessa to his cousin, Baldwin du Bourg. The reign of this second monarch of Jerusalem extended from 1100 to 1118, and during those years the boundaries of the kingdom were considerably extended. He died during an expedition into Egypt, and was succeeded by Baldwin II. The throne was occupied by that sovereign for thirteen years, and the Christian realm was still further extended by his sword. Fulk, Count of Anjou, reigned from 1131 to 1144, and the next Christian King of Jerusalem was Baldwin III., during whose reign, which terminated in 1162, the principality of Edessa was recovered by the Moslems, and the Second Crusade was undertaken. In itself, the rule of this monarch was chiefly distinguished by the siege and capture of Ascalon. By the middle of the twelfth century, the kingdom of Jerusalem embraced a very large tract of country. After the reduction of Laodicea, Tripoli, Tyre, Acre, and Ascalon (in which achievements the Crusaders were assisted by the fleets of Venice, Genoa, Pisa, Flanders, and Norway), the whole sea-coast, from Scanderoon to the borders of Egypt, was possessed by the Christian Power. The Prince of Antioch declined to recognise the supremacy of Jerusalem; but the Counts of Edessa and Tripoli admitted the superiority of Godfrey's successors. The greater part of Syria was subjected to the new rule, and the Mohammedans retained only a few cities where they had formerly been undisputed masters. Berytus became a Christian barony, and the conquest of Sarepta increased the power of the Christian monarchs over neighbouring strongholds.

The kingdom thus heroically created appears to have been administered with singular tact and ability. It was surrounded by Mohammedan armies, doubtless eager to recover the grand possessions that had been lost; and the military forces of the Christian kings are believed not to have exceeded the small number of eleven thousand men. Yet for several years the sovereignty founded by Godfrey of Bouillon preserved its independence and enlarged its sphere. The ruling genius in this remote outpost of Christianity was that of the French nation, which had commenced the movement. French laws, manners, and titles, were introduced into the kingdom of Jerusalem, and the French language, so far as it was then formed, was the language of the army and the Church. The laws of the State were contained in what is called the Assize of Jerusalem, which transferred to the East the feudal institutions established for some generations in the West. The constitution, however, was not finally settled until the reign of Fulk. The general character of the government was monarchical, aristocratical, and ecclesiastical. The commonalty were not represented, but the administration seems to have been generally popular.

Among the remarkable effects of the First Crusade was the creation of two religious Orders—the Knights of Jerusalem, instituted by Baldwin I., and the Knights Templars, established by some of the principal leaders. The second of these Orders received its name from the Jewish Temple, on the



CRUSADERS PROCLAIMING GODFREY OF BOUILLON KING OF JERUSALEM.

site of which the Church of the Holy Sepulchre was supposed to be erected. Other bodies of a similar character, combining military with religious duties, were founded in subsequent years, and for a long time their influence in the affairs of Europe and of Western Asia was very noticeable. The lives of these knights were at once soldierly and monastic. Their dress was distinguished by a cross, and one of their chief duties was the defence of Palestine. By successive donations they became possessed of great wealth, and, as their pride increased with their riches, the religious character of their institutions was in a great degree obscured. But their chivalrous spirit remained, and the kingdom of Jerusalem owed much of its security to the reputation of their valour.

CHAPTER XXV.

THE FIRST HALF OF THE TWELFTH CENTURY.

Palestine under the Rule of the Crusaders—Fresh Outbreak of Religious Zeal in Europe—Tumultuous Expedition, which Perishes in Asia Minor—Conquest of Tortosa, on the Syrian Coast, and of Tripoli—Deaths of Eminent Crusaders—War between Bohemond of Antioch and the Emperor Alexius—Combination of Western Countries against the Greek Empire—Defeat and Death of Bohemond—Reduction of the Turkish Power—A Discreditable Record—Want of Harmony between the Eastern and Western Powers—Alexius and the Seljukian Turks—Campaigns of John II.—His Temporary Alliance with the Crusading Princes—Plans for the Conquest of Syria—Succession of Manuel I.—Decline in the Prosperity of Greece—Removal of the Silk Manufacture to Sicily and Southern Italy—Change in the Composition of the Byzantine Army—Personal Qualities of the Emperor Manuel—His War with the Prince of Antioch—The Countries of the North-West—Closing Years of Henry IV. of Germany—Rebellion of his Sons, and Death of the Emperor—Reigns of Henry V., Lothaire, and Conrad III.—The Guelphs and Ghibellines—Death of Philip I. of France, and Succession of Louis VI.—The Enfranchisement of the Boroughs, and Reduction of the Power of the Feudal Barons—Municipal Privileges of the Southern Cities—Increased Possessions of the French Monarchy—Rise of the Schoolmen—Anselm, Abelard, and Bernard—Reign of Henry I. in England—Concessions to the Anglo-Saxon Population—Reign of Stephen—Civil War with the Empress Matilda—State of Anarchy—Good Qualities of Stephen.

At an immense expenditure of human life, and by an outburst of fanaticism which darkened the better feelings involved in the struggle, Palestine had been rescued from the Moslem, and Jerusalem been made the seat of a Christian monarchy. The success of the Crusaders was complete for the time being, and it seemed likely to be permanent. The invaders themselves appear never to have contemplated the humiliation of being compelled to relinquish their acquisitions. All their arrangements were made on the assumption of an uninterrupted possession of the Holy Land; and the social institutions of Europe succeeded to the manners and usages of Asia. The soil was divided among the conquerors in accordance with feudal ideas. Most of the towns were exclusively occupied by the Crusaders; but in some places the Mohammedans were allowed to live as tributaries among their Christian masters. After a time, the two races coalesced by the very necessities of their position. Marriages of Europeans and Syrians not unfrequently took place, and the children so born were called Pullani, or Poulains. It was much more often that European men wedded native women than that the males of Palestine found wives among the Christian females. Of European women there were but few in the East, and many of the Crusaders were therefore compelled to mate with the daughters of Islam. The offspring of these marriages were of course brought up as Christians; but the population was increased in other ways as well. The Christian families of Arabia, descendants of those who in former times had entered that country to avoid the persecution of their fellow-Christians, were invited into Judæa by Baldwin I. This added largely to the number of colonists pledged to support the Cross; and the well-doing of the mixed community was advanced by a law of Baldwin II., which authorised all people, whether Christians or Mussulmans, to trade with Jerusalem, free from the imposition of the customary duties.

The news that Palestine was free, and that the Holy Sepulchre was again in Christian hands, rekindled the spirit of zeal through a large part of Europe. A fresh expedition set out from the north-west in 1101, but for the most part perished in the countries of Asia Minor, after giving the utmost trouble to the Greek Emperor, and slaughtering Christians and Mohammedans alike. The number of persons who thus sacrificed their own lives, after immolating many others, is stated at

437,000. One of the principal leaders was Conrad, Constable of the Emperor Henry IV. of Germany; other bodies were commanded by the Counts of Vermandois and Blois (who had been engaged in the First Crusade, and who now both met their deaths), the Counts of Burgundy, Vendôme, and Parma, the Dukes of Aquitaine and Bavaria, the Bishop of Milan, and the Marchioness of Austria. A few of these enthusiasts escaped the perils of the way, and, about 1102, reached Jerusalem, where they helped to strengthen the small army of Baldwin I. One result of this augmented force was the conquest of Tortosa, on the Syrian coast, which was governed by Raymond, Count of Toulouse, until his death in 1105. He is accused of treachery to his companions-in-arms, and of entering into correspondence with the Mohammedans; but by Tasso he is called "the good Raimondo." When Tripoli was taken, in 1109, by the united Christian princes of Palestine, that maritime city and the neighbouring lands were erected into a county for the family of Raymond, whose eldest son, Bertrand, enjoyed the sovereignty, to which Tortosa was afterwards united. But the most illustrious of the first Crusaders were now being rapidly removed by death. Tancred died in 1112, and Peter the Hermit in 1115. The latter returned to Europe before his end, and passed the remainder of his days in a monastery which he had founded in the diocese of Liège.

The most important of the Christian States, after Jerusalem itself, was Antioch. Bohemond, the Prince of that city, had never succeeded in overcoming the dislike and distrust of the Greek Emperor Alexius, if, indeed, he ever attempted to do so. To the suspicious mind of the Byzantine sovereign, Bohemond was still the formidable enemy of an earlier time—the Norman chieftain of Southern Italy, who, with his father, had shaken the Empire by his inroads. It is true that, by the action of the Crusaders generally, Alexius had been a considerable gainer. The conquest of Nicæa had obliged the Turks to recede from the more western parts of Asia Minor, and from some of the neighbouring islands; and the Greek sovereignty was again extended over several important cities of which it had been deprived. But Alexius could not forgive Bohemond. He therefore intrigued against him at Antioch, and endeavoured to obtain his expulsion. When, in 1100, Bohemond was taken prisoner by the Emir Danishmend, who had formed a principality in Armenia, Alexius offered to ransom him, as a means of getting him into his power. Bohemond, however, found means for his release in 1102, and Alexius then demanded feudal submission of the prince. On his refusal, he attacked Antioch, but without obtaining any advantage by land. At sea, the strength of the Byzantine fleet enabled the Emperor to inflict considerable damage on his rival; but Bohemond succeeded in forming an alliance with the Pisans, who sent a naval force to his aid. Nevertheless, the ruler of Antioch was blockaded during the winter of 1103-4; nor did a subsequent league with the Genoese prove more effectual. Bohemond was reduced to such extremities that he determined to seek assistance in the West. Anna Comnena relates that he spread a report of his death, and then concealed himself in a coffin, which was carried on board a vessel, draped with black, in the port of Suda. In this or some other way, he escaped from Asia, but at the entrance to the Adriatic was delayed by a contrary wind until his stock of food and water ran out. Driven by necessity, he ventured to request a supply from the Governor of Corfu, one of the possessions of the Eastern Empire; and the representative of Alexius, not being strong enough to attack the prince, gave him what he required. On quitting the island, Bohemond sent a message to the Governor, in which he said:—"Inform your master that the Prince of Antioch has arisen from the dead, and will soon give proofs of his vitality."

Arriving in Italy, Bohemond went straight to Rome, where he enlisted the warm sympathies of the reigning Pope, Pascal II., who, like Gregory VII., desired to extend the authority of the Western Church over the whole of Christendom. He then formed an alliance with the French King, Philip I., who gave him his daughter Constance in marriage, and promised a military contingent. Alexius was alarmed at the prospect of invasion: defended himself, in letters to the republics of Pisa, Genoa, and Venice, against the charge of conspiring with the Mohammedans to procure the defeat of the Crusaders; and, forming a camp at Thessalonica in the autumn of 1105, prepared to meet the dreaded attack. As, however, Bohemond delayed his operations, the Grecian fleet made an attempt to surprise Brindisi, but failed; and some Turkish mercenaries, captured by the Normans, were sent to the Pope as a proof that the Emperor was really in alliance with the Moslems. It is possible that these Turks were Christian converts, and, a little while before, Alexius, whether from policy or from any higher motive, had obtained the release of three hundred knights who had been taken prisoners to Cairo. But those who were already inclined to think the worst of the Greek Emperor, and who hated him as a heretic, if not

as an infidel, regarded the presence of Turks in his forces as conclusive evidence of treason to their common faith. The feeling of indignation thus excited proved highly advantageous to Bohemond, who soon gathered about him a large army, drawn from various countries of the North-West. It was indeed a species of Crusade with which the Greek sovereign was threatened, and religious feelings were as much enlisted as political.

Bohemond acted with great skill and address, and, watching for an opportunity when the Adriatic should be free of the enemy's vessels, he left the port of Bari with two hundred transports and thirty war-galleys, with which he arrived at Avlona, in Illyria, on the 9th of October, 1107. Unfortunately for his designs, however, he could not bring the Imperial army to battle in the open field, but was detained before Durazzo, which, after prolonged and desperate efforts, he found himself unable to take. At length he was compelled to solicit peace, which was granted, in September, 1108, on condition that he should hold his Asiatic principality as a fief of the Byzantine Empire, should relinquish several of his possessions, and should in all respects act as the ally of the Emperor, from whom he accepted a pension of two hundred talents. Soon afterwards, Bohemond returned to Italy, where, while engaged in the formation of another army (with what object it is impossible to say), he died in February, 1111. Since his captivity in 1100, his principality had been mostly ruled by Tancred, who acted in his name; but, as we have seen, Tancred himself died in 1112, and Antioch then passed through a series of revolutions which sometimes brought it into collision with the Greek Empire. Yet the principality was powerful in itself, and occupied a position of some importance. On the whole, the progress of events had been unfavourable to the Turks. The sovereigns of Constantinople, more by the efforts of others than by their own, had recovered the whole coast of Asia Minor, from Trebizond to the borders of Syria; and the Sultans of Roum, divided from the sea, and isolated in the midst of enemies, were obliged to shift their capital to Iconium, an inland city, far removed from Constantinople, which again breathed in peace.

Notwithstanding these facts, the record of the Crusade is far from creditable to the great body of its followers. The movement had disclosed an amount of savage fanaticism which could hardly have been suspected until then. It had liberated a vast force of turbulence, anarchy, and barbarism, which devastated some of the finest countries in the world. It had revealed with startling clearness the bitter animosity which separated the two great divisions of Christendom, the Latin and the Greek—a fact of which the Moslem was certain to take advantage in the future. It had shown that, even amongst themselves, the Crusaders could not abstain from brawls, contentions, and petty wars; and it had been productive of numerous incidental evils, which, though less prominent on the merely historic stage, were quite as grave in their effects upon society. The rising nations of north-western Europe were checked in their growth by an immense loss of population, which, occurring less than a century after the prodigious famines of 1031-3, must have seriously lowered the strength of many countries. Nor was the religious triumph unmingled with reverses. The expedition of 1101, which was almost entirely destroyed in Asia Minor, gave the Turks an easy victory, and restored the spirits and confidence of Islam. Large numbers of ladies joined one of the military hordes which crossed the Bosphorus in that year; but, instead of entering Jerusalem in all the glory of religious exaltation, they fell into the hands of Mohammedan purchasers, who filled their harems with Christian slaves, related to some of the best families in Europe. The really valuable results of the Crusades had yet to be witnessed. Jerusalem had been rescued, and a few sovereignties founded; but the price had exceeded the value of the purchase.

Throughout the whole of these transactions, Alexius had shown considerable ability; but it was ability of a somewhat low and crafty order, which was better satisfied with immediate success than with the prospect of larger advantages in the future. It is tolerably certain that the Greek Emperor and the leading Crusaders acted in bad faith towards one another, though perhaps it would be difficult to say which side was chiefly blamable. But if Alexius had exhibited a more cordial spirit towards the Western knights, it is not improbable that, by their assistance, he might have repelled the Turks from the whole of Asia between the Bosphorus and the principality of Antioch. As it was, his jealousy embroiled him in petty contentions with Tancred and the other Crusaders on the coast of Syria; and the Seljukians, as a consequence, retained their ascendancy in the interior of Asia Minor. The time was extremely favourable to an assault upon the Turkish power; for the warlike Sultan, Kilidge Arslan, died in 1106, and his dominions were divided between his two sons. The strength of the Mohammedan Empire was considerably reduced

by this partition. Many of the Turkish Emirs declared their independence, and assumed the title of Sultan; civil wars broke out; and an united attack by the Christian forces of the East and West would doubtless have been fruitful in great events. Alexius, however, preferred to act by himself, and, although he obtained some marked successes, the general result of the war was not commensurate with the expenditure of life and treasure. A temporary peace with Sultan Malek was concluded in the year 1112; but war broke out again shortly afterwards, and the Greek forces were overpowered in many directions. Fresh bodies of Turks continually arrived from the more eastern parts of Asia. These armies were often defeated by the Imperial generals in the open field; yet their devastations were again and again renewed. The last campaign of Alexius against the Turks, which took place in 1116, was distinguished by great energy and some triumphs on the part of the Byzantine sovereign; but his invasion of the Seljukian territories ended in a retreat, and the Emperor, having brought off a number of Christians, with their families and property, was glad once more to conclude peace with Malek. The Turkish Sultan was soon afterwards assassinated by his brother, who succeeded him on the throne; and Alexius himself died in 1118.

John II., the successor of Alexius, conducted several campaigns against the Turks of Asia Minor, but without any permanent gain. The soldierly accomplishments of John were exhibited on many fields, and the Armenian province of Cilicia was brought into dependence on the government of Constantinople, some time before 1137. This conquest, however, made enemies of the Armenian population, whose antagonism favoured the advance of the Turks. Equally unfortunate were the operations of the Emperor against the principality of Antioch, where the reigning prince was Raymond of Poitiers, who had married Constance, the infant daughter of Bohemond II. Though successful in compelling Raymond to acknowledge the sovereignty of the Byzantine Empire, John provoked the hatred of the Christians established in Syria. In the hope of overcoming this sentiment, he promised to assist the Prince of Antioch and the Count of Edessa in expelling the Turks from Aleppo, Shizar, Hama, and Hems, the investiture of which cities was to be conferred on Raymond. But the campaign of 1138 was not altogether favourable to the Byzantine arms, and John was offended by the [illegible] and dissolute levity of his two allies, who did little or nothing to assist the general operations. Finding himself in a position of some difficulty as the winter approached, the Emperor required of Raymond that he should admit the Byzantine troops into Antioch; but a popular rising obliged him to withdraw, and he retreated from Syria with his whole army, to find that during his absence the Turks had ravaged much of the country in his rear.

John had now entirely broken with the Crusading princes, and he conceived the project of marching to Jerusalem and re-establishing the Byzantine supremacy in Syria. As a preparation for the contemplated expedition, he made war, in 1141, against the Sultan of Iconium, to secure the frontiers of his realm against invasion during the absence of the Byzantine army. He also conducted an attack on certain islands in a large fresh-water lake, surrounded by mountains, which lay on the frontiers of Lycaonia, at a distance of about forty miles from Iconium. These islands were inhabited by a Christian population, who, though nominally subject to the Sultan, enjoyed a large amount of municipal liberty, which they employed in the development of commerce. The islanders were ordered to receive Byzantine garrisons; but they feared the weight of Imperial taxation, and, on refusing compliance with the demands of John, their fortifications were assailed, and speedily reduced. The unfortunate people were compelled to emigrate; the prosperity of the islands was destroyed, and the neighbouring shores of the lake were deserted by those who had depended on their commercial dealings with the islanders. The Emperor passed the winter on the Cilician frontiers, maturing his plans for the invasion of Syria in the following spring. His life, however, was soon after terminated by an accident, and in April, 1143, he was succeeded by his son, Manuel I.

The new monarch was a man of remarkable acquirements, of brilliant courage, and of an adventurous disposition, such as powerfully affects the imaginations of men, however slight may be its real value. In person he was tall, handsome, and vigorous; the weight of his armour, shield, and spear attested his extraordinary strength; and the perfection of his knightly qualities was such that the whole of Europe could furnish no superior. In the hunting-field, and in the sports of chivalry, he was equally distinguished by energy and spirit, and his tournaments (then newly introduced into the Byzantine Empire) were widely celebrated for their unparalleled magnificence. But in many respects his character was vicious, and his wars

re often prompted more by the love of glory an by any serious or worthy intention. His ntemptuous treatment of an ambassador sent to court by Roger of Sicily led to a war with that tentate which has already been described; but, means of his navy, Manuel inflicted considerable mage on the Sicilians. Nevertheless, Manuel glected his fleet, in order that he might divert e expense of maintaining it into other channels. his policy was extremely short-sighted, for the mmerce of Greece was soon afterwards exposed the attacks of Italian pirates, and the State was prived of one of its principal defences against ternal attack. The prosperity of the Greeks as also damaged by the invasion of the Sicilian ormans in 1146, and by the transfer of the k-trade from Thebes and Corinth to Palermo. at the effect was gradual. Benjamin of Tudela, ho visited Thebes about 1161, says that it was ill a considerable city, with two thousand Jewish habitants, who were largely engaged in the anufacture of silk and of purple cloth. Thirty- years later, the Sultan of Ancyra demanded of lexius III. forty pieces of Theban silk, "such as as woven for the Emperor's own use," together ith a sum of money, as the price of his friend- ip. The decline of the silk manufacture in reece did not assume serious proportions until ear the middle of the thirteenth century. Baby- nian, Assyrian, and Italian silk was then im- orted into the Byzantine Empire, and, as a easure of protection, a law was passed to prohibit he wearing of foreign silk. But the prosperity of Greece began to decline soon after the inroad of Roger's Sicilians, and nothing was done by Manuel to revive it. When peace was concluded by the Emperor with William, the son of Roger, in 1158, no stipulation was made with respect to the silk manufacture; and that important industry took root among the Sicilians and the Southern Italians.*

Not only the navy, but the army, was deterio- rated by the parsimonious measures of the Emperor, who gave to his legions, except in a few exposed quarters, more the character of a militia than of a regular force. The change, which was not carried out until the latter part of the reign, may have had economy for its object; but it was suggested by the feudal nature of the Crusading armies, with which the Byzantine world had become familiar. Up to this time, the military system of the Empire had been to a considerable extent that of Rome. The army was a great department of State, and it was maintained by the State in a condition of scientific efficiency. It now received a territorial basis, particular districts being bound to furnish bodies of troops at their own expense. The method worked fairly well among the ruder communities of the North-West, where feudality was in force; but it was ill-adapted to a bureaucratic and military Empire like that of Constantinople, in which there were no great baronial leaders like the chieftains of France and Germany, of Normandy and England, or of some parts of Italy. Arms and armour were at the same time modified in accordance with foreign ideas, and the number of alien auxiliaries—Varangians, English, French, Germans, Italians, Turks, and others—was largely increased. The fall of the Empire was hastened by the imprudent measures of Manuel I.

Yet, although the Emperor thus sapped the main strength of his dominions, his personal inclinations were almost entirely to war. His marvellous strength, fortitude, and daring, made the perils of the field a positive source of delight to him. In one of his encounters, he is reported to have slain more than forty of the enemy with his own hand, and he returned to camp with four Turkish prisoners attached to the rings of his saddle. Every invitation to single combat was gladly accepted by this chivalric sovereign; and the fury of his onslaught, and weight of his arms, always secured the victory. The luxury of his habits during peace equalled his martial achievements in time of war; but Manuel was, after all, more a champion than a commander. His first campaign was directed against Antioch. The new Emperor lost no time in taking up his father's project for the conquest of Syria. He despatched, however, only a portion of the army collected by John II.; but this was accompanied by a powerful fleet. The difficulties of the undertaking were greater than Manuel had foreseen. Raymond, the Prince of Antioch, had by this time acquired a gravity of character which was totally wanting a few years before; and his skill as a general, no less than his courage as a soldier, was proved in his encounters with the Byzantine army. Had Manuel himself been present, he would have found a worthy opponent in Raymond, for the ruler of Antioch was himself a man of immense stature and unusual strength. It is said that he could tear a stirrup in two with his hands; yet even he was astounded at the weight of the Emperor's armour. Notwithstanding these personal gifts, and the ability with which he handled his troops, Raymond was unable to resist the progress of the Byzantine forces. The Imperial army ravaged the open country up to the walls of

* Finlay's History of Greece, Book III., chaps. 2—3.

Antioch, and the coast was simultaneously desolated by the Byzantine fleet. The invaders at length retired, but they had done so much damage that Raymond considered it prudent to make terms with his powerful foe. Appearing at Constantinople in 1145, he sued for peace, which was granted after he had sworn fealty to the Eastern Empire,



A KNIGHT TEMPLAR.

and constituted himself the vassal of Manuel. Raymond was the more willing to accept this position as the conquest of Edessa by the Turks, in the closing days of 1144, made the safety of Antioch precarious, unless the alliance of the Empire could be obtained.

The First Crusade, and the events which followed it, must not wholly divert our attention from the West of Europe, where the three leading countries of Germany, France, and England, were slowly struggling into form. The deadly contest between Pope Gregory VII. and the Emperor Henry IV. came to a close some years before the great movement inaugurated by Peter the Hermit. Gregory, as we have seen, died as early as 1085; Henry survived until 1106; but the twenty-one years elapsing between these dates were years of trouble and anxiety to the German monarch. During his absence in Italy, in 1083, when he procured the election of Pope Clement III., and received from him the Imperial Crown, the Germans elected Count Herman to the royal office, and, although he speedily resigned the position, his temporary choice gave evidence of considerable disquietude throughout the country. When Urban II. succeeded to the Papal chair, it soon became apparent that Henry had once more an enemy in the head of the Church. The Italian opponents of German rule incited the Emperor's son Conrad to rebel against his father. The movement was suppressed, but the spirit of Henry was almost broken by the undutiful attempt. Pascal II., the successor of Urban, showed the bitterest animosity

erman sovereign, and in 1104 the Emperor's son, Henry, was encouraged to throw off giance, after his father had been again ex- nicated by the Pope. The younger Henry ported by the moral influence of Pascal, and forces of the German nobles; so that the of the struggle were very much in his

tever the faults or vices of the Emperor, he stain not your own honour, for it is unseemly of a son to sit in judgment on his father." The prince, affecting remorse, asked forgiveness of the Emperor, but seized his person, and confined him in the fortress of Bingen. Ultimately, the latter was compelled, by threats and actual violence, to sign a deed of abdication, and to acknowledge his son as King of Germany. The Rhenish States soon afterwards rose in vindication of the elder Henry's



ST. DENIS.

to have been sincerely attached to his n. To Henry, as previously to Conrad, he ed letters of affectionate remonstrance, of him to withdraw from his rebellion; vain. He was therefore compelled to against his son at the head of an army. ies declared in favour of the Emperor; but f his own officers were corrupted, and losing heart and courage, appealed to the t Mainz. The prince now persuaded his to meet him at Coblenz. Old, weary, hope- d worn out, the wretched sovereign appeared appointed place, and, flinging himself at the the rebel, exclaimed, "My son! my son! if be punished by God for my sins, at least rights, but without any final success. The old antagonist of Gregory VII., who had compelled even that powerful churchman to retire into exile, was now reduced to such miserable poverty that he was obliged to sell his boots to purchase bread, after fruitlessly begging for a sub-chanter's place in a village church. He at length obtained an asylum from the Duke of Lorraine, who sent an army against the usurper, and defeated him on the banks of the Meuse, or Maas. The tender regard of Henry for a worthless and cruel son was again shown in his latest moments, when he sent him his sword and ring, together with a message of forgiveness. After his death, in 1106, his body, as being that of a man under excommunication, was refused

burial in consecrated ground, and was deposited on an island of the Meuse, where, until the removal of the Papal sentence in 1111, it was watched by a hermit who had recently returned from the Holy Land. The ashes of Henry were then removed to Spires; but the injustice of which he had been the subject was now past recall. The reader has seen what were the errors and vices of Henry IV.; yet he fell a victim, not so much to those faults as to the implacable enmity of a foreign despotism which he had opposed, and to some extent successfully. The annals of the Middle Ages hardly present a more lamentable story. Fanatical Romanists profess to regard the misfortunes of Henry as a Divine judgment; but those who value the freedom of the human mind will not fail to discern, in the arrogant pretensions of Gregory and his successors, one of the principal causes of that grand movement in the sixteenth century which shattered the power of the Roman Church in some of the most intellectual countries of the globe.

Although Henry V. was largely indebted to Pascal II. for the success of his rebellion, he at once placed himself in opposition to the Pontifical assumptions, and, crossing the Alps with an army, compelled the Pope to renounce the right of investiture, one of the principal subjects of contention between his father and Gregory VII. Immediately after he had quitted Rome, however, the populace forced the Pope to recall his concessions, and to excommunicate the German monarch. Pascal was doubtless not at all unwilling to be thus coerced; but a compromise was effected in 1122, when, by the Concordat of Worms, the rights of the Emperor and the Pontiff were respectively defined. By this arrangement, the head of the Church was obliged to rest contented with a less absolute power than had been claimed by Gregory; but he reserved to himself the right of investing newly-appointed Bishops with the ring and the pastoral staff, the emblems of their spiritual authority. Henry V. died in 1125, and with him ended the male line of the Franconian Emperors. Lothaire, Duke of Saxony, was then elected by the four principal nations of Germany—the Saxons, Franconians, Swabians, and Bavarians—to succeed the late sovereign; and the Church found an exceedingly pliant son in the new German ruler, who renounced all the advantages which his predecessor had obtained by the Concordat of Worms, and consented to hold his crown as a vassal of the Holy See.

The reign of this monarch was chiefly distinguished by internal wars, arising from the opposition of some of the German princes, and peace was not concluded until after a devastating struggle of ten years' duration. Lothaire died in 1137, when we hear for the first time of two great parties, afterwards associated rather with Italy than with Germany. These were the Guelphs, or adherents of Henry the Proud, Duke of Bavaria and Saxony, and the Waiblingers—subsequently entitled Ghibellines by the Italians—who supported the House of Hohenstaufen. The Guelphs, devoted upholders of the Papal power, derived their appellation from the family name of the Bavarian and Saxon Duke; the Ghibellines, partisans of the Empire, were so called from the little Swabian town of Wibelung. The latter party assembled a Diet at Coblenz, where they chose Conrad of Hohenstaufen as King of Germany. Henry the Proud, having been appointed sole heir by the late Emperor, laid claim to the throne, but at length consented to abandon all further opposition. He was then required to resign the duchy of Saxony, and, on refusing to do so, was placed under the ban of the Empire, and deprived of both his dukedoms. The consequence was one of those numerous civil wars which give such a depressing sameness to the early records of Germany. The war did not terminate until the death of Henry, when the dukedom of Saxony was conferred upon his son, Henry the Lion, whilst Albert the Bear, to whom it had been temporarily assigned, was indemnified by receiving the Saxon Marches as an independent sovereignty. The March of Brandenburg arose in this way, and the strength of Germany was still further reduced by an unnecessary division. Under the reign of Henry V., the vassals of the Empire had become almost entirely independent, and Conrad III. adopted a policy which was seriously prejudicial to the power and dignity of the German nation. He expired in 1152, three years after his return from the Holy Land. His death is attributed to poison; and, as it took place while he was making preparations to oppose the Guelphs, who had entered into a conspiracy against him with Roger of Naples, it seems not improbable that his enemies adopted this method of putting him out of the way.

In France, the remaining years of Philip I., after the commencement of the First Crusade, were marked by no events of importance. Having been absolved, in 1104, from his sentence of excommunication, the King devoted his declining life to what he regarded as acts of piety; assuming the habit of a Benedictine monk, and desiring that he might be buried in the church of Fleuri-sur-Loire, as being unworthy of a place in the royal sepulchre at St. Denis. He died at Melun on the

of July, 1108. The most remarkable cir-
ance in the reign of his successor, Louis VI.,
ned Le Gros, or the Fat, was the movement
he commenced, with the assistance of the
and the peasantry, against the excessive
of the feudal barons. Occupying strong
ses, which were scattered all over the
y, these turbulent nobles frequently inter-
communication between one town and
r, and carried on a system of absolute
dage, from which all classes suffered alike.
the churches and the monasteries were
red; the poor were subjected to cruel ill-
and the rich were often thrown into loath-
dungeons, that a ransom might be exacted
their friends. The vicious self-indulgence
lip I., resulting in a total failure of govern-
had been one principal cause of this disastrous
ion. In the absence of any central power
e of enforcing its will, the worst charac-
s of feudalism were developed into monstrous
tions. Louis VI. was determined to make a
us effort at reform, and the Bishops to whom
pealed armed the serfs and tenants of the
astical domains against the tyrannical lords
referred the life of freebooters to the legal
ges of their position. Nothing is more
tive in the history of those early times than
ernation of misrule between the great eccle-
s and the great nobles. Each class, when it
the upper hand, misused its opportunities,
ch, in periods of difficulty, was well disposed
ploy the unfortunate populace as a weapon
t its opponent. The Church and the aris-
y were in truth almost the only powers of
portance in North-western Europe through-
e greater part of the Middle Ages. As a
al fact, the commonalty had no existence,
xcept in a few instances, royalty was the
port of the martial chieftains and the Church.
d power of some kind, whether autocratical
ular, was needed to redress the balance; and
e extent this was provided by Louis VI.

combination of the King, the priests, and
tivators of the soil, was productive of some
e efforts. Several of the towns extorted
s from the great landed proprietors. The
atified these by affixing to them his seal, and
e the enfranchisement of the communes
e general. In this way, the foundations of
dle class were laid, and at the same time
enforced the supremacy of the crown over
vassals. A very interesting contrast is
able between the cities in the North and
in the South of France. The Northern towns, previous to the time of Louis VI., were almost wholly destitute of political rights. On the other hand, the cities near the shores of the Mediterranean, some of which had been established by the Greeks or Romans, retained those local functions which they had derived from the two great nations of antiquity. At Marseilles, Avignon, Arles, Narbonne, Toulouse, Perigueux, Bourges, and other places of the South, corporations existed which were not essentially different from those established by the Roman conquerors. Each had a ruling officer, who bore the imposing name of Consul; and the good effect of such arrangements was seen in the prosperity and orderliness of the places so governed. In various parts of France, certain towns were voluntarily enfranchised by their feudal lords; but, although the advantages thus bestowed were considerable, the citizens were not endued with the right of choosing their own magistrates.

Substantial liberties were conferred on Paris by Louis VI. and his immediate successors, and gradually the more important cities acquired sufficient power to defend themselves against the lawless assaults of the barons. In acknowledgment of these privileges, the boroughs paid an annual contribution to the royal treasury, and undertook to supply a force of civic militia whenever the sovereign should need assistance. Before the institution of these reforms, the authority of the French kings had hardly extended beyond the Duchy of France; but the power of the crown was now so largely augmented that the monarchs of the House of Capet were enabled, by gradual advances, to acquire dominion over the provinces of the South. Previously to his death, in 1137, Louis VI. saw the promise of an immense extension of his realm, consequent on the approaching marriage of his son, afterwards Louis VII., with the daughter of William, Duke of Aquitaine, who was made by her father sole heiress of his possessions, and placed under the guardianship of the French King. The Duke expired in April, 1137; his daughter was married to the prince on the 2nd of August; and the young couple were immediately afterwards met with intelligence of the death of Louis VI. on the previous day. On succeeding to the throne, Louis VII. found himself in possession of a kingdom extending from the borders of Flanders to the foot of the Pyrenees.

During the reign of Louis VI., what is called the teaching of the Schoolmen arose in France, and attained great authority in the intellectual world. This was a system of theological and metaphysical science, very abstruse in its forms,

but tending to little that was definite in its conclusions. The learned were split into two antagonistic bodies, termed the Nominalists and the Realists. The latter maintained the old Platonic theory that there are certain abstract ideas which are the bases and essence of all facts. The former denied this proposition, and a vast amount of scholastic subtlety was exhausted in the discussion. Although these dialectical tournaments appear absurd to the modern mind, they had this advantage, that they roused the reflective powers, and prepared the way (however unintentionally) for a reaction against the numbing despotism of the Papal Church. Men began to reason and challenge where they had formerly crouched; ecclesiastics themselves became more learned and accomplished; and the dark ages gradually passed away before a brighter time. The Italian Anselm, who ultimately became Archbishop of Canterbury, but who had previously been Abbot of Le Bec, in Normandy, was one of the most distinguished supporters of the Realistic view, which, with certain modifications, was afterwards adopted by Peter Abelard, whose amours with Eloisa form one of the saddest episodes of the Middle Ages. Abelard subsequently fell under the censure of the Church for what was regarded as heresy; he seems, indeed, to have adopted some opinions touching on modern scepticism; but he died in the Priory of St. Marcel, near Châlons-sur-Saône, in 1142. Another great intellectual leader of the same period was St. Bernard, who was instrumental in bringing about the Second Crusade. He was the opponent of Abelard in respect of the heretical views with which that thinker was charged; and in many other ways his influence on contemporary minds was considerable. His death took place in 1153, and he was canonised by Pope Alexander III. in 1174. At a somewhat later date, the authority of Aristotle became despotic, and continued so until shaken by the greater activity of modern thought.

In England, the amalgamation of the Norman with the Anglo-Saxon race began to take effect, though but slowly, after the death of William Rufus in 1100. Henry I., the successor of William, married Matilda, daughter of Malcolm, King of Scotland, and niece of Edgar Atheling, the last of the old English royal family, and thus gave proof of an anxiety to conciliate the conquered race, and to provide an heir for the throne who should be English as well as Norman. Still, all the great offices of State, and all the great positions in the Church, were held by aliens, and it cannot be said that the English commonalty enjoyed any important amelioration of their lot during the reign of the first Henry. While establishing the chief seat of his power in England, Henry coveted the possession of Normandy also, and deprived his elder brother, Robert, not only of the kingdom, but of the duchy, to which by priority of birth he was entitled. The conduct of Henry towards Robert, whom he confined for life in the castle of Cardiff, after having agreed to a division of the realm, is one of the blackest among the numerous crimes with which the memory of this sovereign is charged. Frequent wars with the Norman barons, the King of France, and other continental Powers, distinguished the reign of Henry I., the latter part of whose life was darkened by a terrible calamity, resulting in the death of his only legitimate son, William, together with several others, who were shipwrecked in making the passage from Normandy to England. The moral character of Henry was extremely low, but, as a sovereign, many of his acts displayed that kind of wisdom which consists in the easy management of affairs. He had the address to put forward his English birth as one of his claims upon the kindly regard of the people. His marriage with an Anglo-Saxon princess was doubtless prompted by the same feeling; and, on the day following his coronation, he published a charter, confirming the rights and liberties of the Church and nation, and promising to restore the laws of Edward the Confessor, with certain modifications. This charter was the second of those concessions which the quiet resistance of the English people, and even, perhaps, in some respects, the necessities of the Norman barons, had wrung from the sovereign. The first was granted by William the Conqueror himself, and was expressly based on the laws of the last Anglo-Saxon king before Harold. "The Norman Conquest, and all that ensued upon it," writes Hallam, "had endeared the memory of the Saxon government. Its disorders were forgotten, or rather were less odious to a rude nation than the coercive justice by which they were afterwards restrained. Hence it became the favourite cry to demand the laws of Edward the Confessor; and the Normans themselves, as they grew dissatisfied with the royal administration, fell into these English sentiments. But what these laws were, or more properly, perhaps, these customs subsisting in the Confessor's age, was not very distinctly understood. So far, however, was clear, that the rigorous feudal servitude, the weighty tributes upon poorer freemen, had never prevailed before the Conquest. In claiming the laws of Edward the Confessor, our ancestors meant but the redress

of grievances which tradition told them had not always existed."*

On his death, near the close of 1135, Henry I. was succeeded by Stephen, Count of Blois, grandson of the Conqueror by his daughter Adela. Stephen lost no time in crossing over to England when the news of Henry's death reached him. He at once secured the royal treasure, and received the crown without immediate opposition. But Henry's daughter Matilda, whom her father had made heiress of all his dominions, asserted her right to the English throne, and secured the support of her half-brother, Robert of Gloucester, and of several barons. Matilda was a personage of great importance, not only as the daughter of Henry I. of England, but as the wife of Geoffrey Plantagenet, son of Fulk, Count of Anjou, and as the widow of Henry V. of Germany. She found sufficient adherents in England to maintain a contest of nearly twenty years' duration; during which prolonged struggle the power of the crown was almost destroyed, and the barons established something like a position of independence on their several estates. The condition of England greatly deteriorated during this reign, and the northern part of the country was repeatedly overrun by King David of Scotland, Matilda's uncle. The celebrated Battle of the Standard, in 1138, effectually crushed the designs of the Scottish monarch; but, when peace was concluded with the invaders in the following year, Stephen felt himself compelled to confer on Prince Henry, the son of David, the earldom of Northumberland, with the exception of the forts of Newcastle and Bamborough, for which he promised equivalents in the south of England.

As the contest between Stephen and Matilda continued, the state of England became more and more lamentable. The King prevailed for the most part in the eastern counties; his adversary was predominant in the west. The supporters of each belligerent built numerous strong castles for the maintenance of their cause, and not only were onerous taxes imposed upon the towns, but many were set on fire when they could yield nothing more. People were tortured for their money, and men declared openly that Christ and his saints were asleep. "You might travel a day," says the Saxon Chronicle, "and not find one man living in a town, nor any land in cultivation. If two or three men were seen riding up to a town, all its inhabitants left it, taking them for plunderers." At length, when both parties to the feud were nearly worn out, and when Matilda had retired to Normandy, bequeathing the contest to her son Henry, a compromise was effected, according to which Stephen was to reign undisturbed for the rest of his life, and Henry should succeed on his death. The agreement was concluded in 1153, and in the following year Stephen expired.

The anarchy existing in England during the reign of Stephen has probably never been equalled; yet it would appear that the monarch himself possessed many amiable qualities. Stow says that, although he had to encounter a state of continual war, he never burthened his people with exactions. This is probably true: the exactions from which the people suffered were those of the military barons. Valorous, gentle, and forgiving, Stephen was a man well calculated to advance the prosperity of the land, and to heal, in some degree, the lamentable wounds inflicted by the Norman Conquest. But it was his misfortune to acquire a doubtful inheritance, and the claims of Matilda were sufficiently good, according to the ideas of that age, to obtain for her a vast number of adherents, and to create a condition of internal war which developed the fiercest and wildest passions of a barbarous time. Old writers speak of the wonderful comeliness with which Nature had endowed this unfortunate monarch. The heads of him which we possess bear out the description, and there was much in Stephen's character which answered to his refined yet manly looks. If, with his higher moral qualities, he had possessed the energy and force of the first William, he might have been the author of incalculable good to the country where, nevertheless, he was a stranger both by birth and blood. As it is, the reign of Stephen is a dark and melancholy chapter, which the memories of Englishmen conspire to forget.

* Hallam's Middle Ages, chap. 8, part 2.



VENICE: VIEW FROM THE RIVA DEGLI SCHIAVONI.

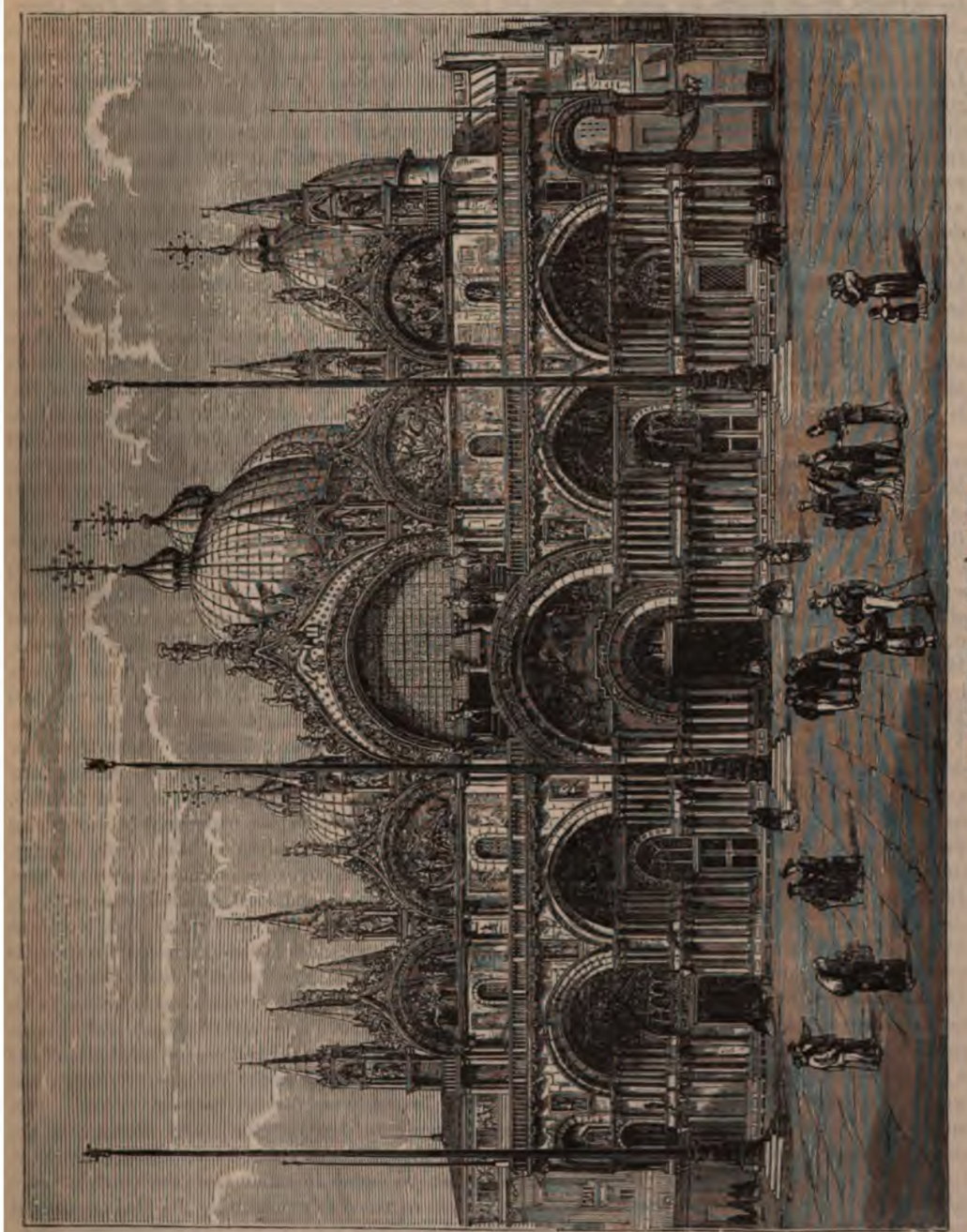
CHAPTER XXVI.

THE ITALIAN REPUBLICS.

Slow Rise of the Italian Nationality—Formation of the Language—Materials for a National Life in the Southern Peninsula—Development of Commercial Republics in the North of Italy—Relation of those States to the German Empire—The Four Chief Groups of the Italian Republics—Factions of the Guelphs and Ghibellines—Early History of Venice—Paolo Luca Anafesto, the First Doge—Changes in the Government—Attack on Venice by Pepin, the Frank King of Italy—Progress of the City—The Bones of St. Mark—Commercial Prosperity of the Venetians—Expedition against the Narentine Pirates East of the Adriatic—The Republic of Ragusa—Suppression of the Pirates, and Acquisition of Territory by Venice—The Venetian Fleet in the First Crusades—Wealth and Splendour of the Maritime City—Characteristics of Venetian Architecture—Siege and Capture of Tyre—War with the Greek Emperor, John II.—Brilliant Naval Actions of the Doge Domenico Michieli—Pope Alexander III. supported by the Republic—The Ceremony of Wedding the Adriatic—Changes in the Venetian Constitution—The Great Council, the Senate, and the Signiory—Limitation of the Power of the Doge—Method of Election—Investiture with the Cap of State—Functions of the Ducal Office—The Council of Ten—A Dark and Secret Despotism—Increased Power of the North Italian Republics—Prosperity of Milan and the other Lombard Cities—Oppression of Lodi, and Interposition of the German Emperor, Frederick Barbarossa—Destruction of Milan—Tyranny of the Emperor—The League of Lombardy—Defeat of Frederick, and Re-establishment of Freedom in the North of Italy—Early Fortunes of Genoa and Pisa.

FEW great countries have been so slow to acquire a distinct national character as Italy. In ancient times, the Italians were sunk in the overpowering predominance of Rome, and after the fall of the Western Empire the land was parcelled out among barbarian races, or subjected to the dictation of Constantinople in one part, and of Germany in another. The Gothic monarchy established by Theodoric, and the Lombard dominion created by Alboin, were destroyed before they could be thoroughly assimilated with the original population, or could extend their sway over the whole peninsula. The rule of Charlemagne and his successors was simply imperial, while that of the Popes aimed at the creation of a spiritual despotism to which the whole world was to bow, rather

than at the development of the Italian people. This failure of national unity proceeded mainly from three causes—the diversity of races, the absence of a single, native government, and the tardy formation of a national language. The first of these influences might have been easily overcome, but for the others; for the population of Italy was probably not more mixed than that of several countries. The want of a single government was due to the incursions of foreign armies;



WEST FRONT OF ST. MARK'S, VENICE.

and a language worthy of the people could hardly grow up under such disturbing influences. When Latin ceased to be spoken in Italy, towards the close of the sixth century, it was succeeded by a number of corrupt dialects, derived partly from Latin itself, and partly from those older languages which were spoken by the people before they were conquered by the Romans. These varied in different parts of the country, and community of feeling could not exist where there was little community of speech. It was not until the twelfth century that the *Romana rustica*, or *Lingua Romanza*, acquired a definite and settled form in Italy, although in Provence the same root had produced a graceful and brilliant literature two hundred years before. Invasion, dissension, and anarchy, retarded the advance of Italy for many ages, and the people were sacrificed to the ambition of military chieftains.

Yet the materials for a nation were never wanting in that favoured land. When the Picenians, Marsians, Samnites, Apulians, Lucanians and others, endeavoured to throw off the yoke of the Roman Republic, in the first century before the Christian era, it was as Italians that they rose; and it was avowedly on behalf of Italians, not of Romans, that the Gracchi, a little earlier, shook the State with popular commotions. During the Middle Ages, the first movements of national life in Italy were in the northern half of the peninsula. The people of Tuscany, Romagna, Lombardy, and Venetia, were a vigorous and enterprising race, descended from Etrurian, Roman, Celtic, Gothic, and other ancestors. Well situated for trade, they developed a commercial genius; and commerce is the greatest influence to preserve the world from the supremacy of brute force. The early German Emperors were in the habit of detaching towns, or small tracts of country, from the provinces in which they had formerly been comprised, and of granting them to rural lords upon a feudal tenure. These lords were sometimes churchmen; and as, in those ages, a Bishop could not obtain his ecclesiastical position without at least the ceremony of a popular election, the citizens in such cases were apt to regard their local ruler, even though appointed by the Emperor, as in some measure chosen by themselves. This political condition is to be noticed principally in the Lombardic and adjacent provinces, and it led by insensible degrees to the creation of republican forms. The annals of these North Italian commonwealths, in their earlier stages, are very obscure, for the archives of all the cities before the reign of Frederick Bar- (Redbeard), in the second half of the twelfth century, have been destroyed. But we can dimly perceive that petty wars were numerous amongst the semi-independent towns, and that Pisa, Lucca, Genoa, Pavia, and Milan, fought out their quarrels with their own forces, and without any reference to the German sovereignty. Genoa became a free commercial State in the year 1000; Pisa about the same time; Florence a good deal later. Henry IV. of Germany granted to the citizens of Pisa, in 1081, a charter conferring important privileges, and even promised not to name any Marquis of Tuscany without the people's consent; but, as a matter of fact, Pisa had then been independent for several years. Before the death of Henry V., in 1125, nearly all the cities of Lombardy, and many of the Tuscan cities likewise, elected their own magistrates, and acted in every respect as independent States.* A certain tradition of Republicanism had descended to these communities from ancient times; and it should be recollected that even the Imperial Government of Rome was a very different thing from the monarchies of more recent days.

In the thirteenth century, the Italian Republics (omitting two of the principal, Venice and Genoa) made four large groups, according to their geographical situation. Central Lombardy contained Milan, Cremona, Parma, Pavia, Brescia, Bergamo, Piacenza, and Mantua. The March of Verona comprised Verona itself, Vicenza, Padua, and Treviso. In Romagna were Bologna, Imola, Modena, Faenza, and Ferrara; while the chief Tuscan cities were Florence, Pisa, Lucca, and Sienna. Most of these places were well fortified, and many had had sharp experience of war during the Hungarian invasions of the tenth century. Something of a pugnacious element may have been thus developed; and local dissensions supplied it with food. The cities of Central and Northern Italy soon took sides in the quarrels of the Guelphs and Ghibellines. The Guelph faction—the party of the Popes—prevailed in the Lombard cities (with the exception of Parma and Cremona), and in those of Romagna. The Ghibellines, or adherents of the Empire, triumphed in the Veronese territory; and the Tuscans were divided between the two, Pisa inclining to the Ghibellines, and Florence to the Guelphs. In the struggles of these parties, it must be borne in mind that the Guelphs were often regarded as representing the idea of national independence quite as much as ecclesiastical supremacy, and that the Ghibellines were hated as the supporters of a foreign rule.

* Hallam.

The greatest of the Italian Republics in the Middle Ages was Venice—a city remarkable for its position amidst a waste of waters, for the industry and genius which built up its power, for its commercial greatness, and for the unique splendour of its architecture. The reader has already been informed how this singular community arose during Attila's invasion of Italy in 452, when numerous inhabitants of the mainland fled for safety to the desolate islands of the Lagune near the mouth of the Brenta. The small commonwealth thus created pursued an obscure career for some centuries; but its trade steadily increased, and in the eleventh century the city had attained great prosperity. It had by that time become a maritime power; its flag was respected in all parts of the Mediterranean, and, as we have seen, its fleet was serviceable to the Emperor Alexius in his war with Robert Guiscard. In very early times, the administration of affairs was divided amongst several Tribunes; but, in the latter part of the sixth century, the influx of a large additional population rendered a change of government desirable. Internal divisions threatened the life of the Republic, and in 697 it was determined to place the supreme power in the hands of a single officer, who was distinguished by the title of Doge, or Duke. Twelve electors, from whom afterwards sprang the most illustrious families of Venice, gave their votes in favour of Paolo Luca Anafesto, a citizen of repute, who received for his insignia of office a crown of gold and a sceptre of ivory. This person was chosen for life, and assisted by a Council of State, the members of which were nominated by himself. The powers of Anafesto were almost unlimited; but he appears to have employed them in a really patriotic spirit, and without any regard to his personal interests. He had the entire management of the public revenue, appointed the judges and tribunes, and decided all appeals from their jurisdiction. The General Assembly was summoned by his decree—a fact which seems to imply that he could abstain from calling it, if he pleased. All ecclesiastical synods were convoked by his order, and he possessed a veto on the election of prelates, which remained with the people. The prerogative of peace or war, moreover, lay with him; and it may be said that the whole power of the State was concentrated in his grasp.

The system worked so well in the hands of Anafesto that it was continued under his successor, who was equally elected for life. The third Doge, however, acted with tyrannical violence, and was assassinated in a popular tumult; it was therefore resolved that thenceforth the head of the State should be elected for no more than a year. The office of Doge was abolished in 737, and the ruler of the Republic was now styled the Master of the Militia, or Army. Five of these *Maestri* were elected in succession; but in 742 the title of Doge was revived. Again the power of the Chief Magistrate would seem to have been for life; but the insolence of the Dukes was so extreme that popular commotions, followed by deposition, and often by deprivation of sight, were of frequent occurrence. During one of these struggles, occurring in 804, the citizens solicited the intervention of Pepin, the son of Charlemagne, upon whom his father had conferred the crown of Italy. Pepin constituted himself the arbiter between contending factions, and thus obtained an influence which he afterwards turned to his own purposes. He required of the Republic to aid him in the conquest of Dalmatia, and, meeting with a refusal, attacked Heraclea and Equilo (two of the islands forming the city), which were ravaged with fire and sword. Malamocco was afterwards attacked and entered by the forces of Pepin, who found that the whole population had abandoned the place. Under the guidance of their chief citizen, Angelo Particípazio, they had taken up a position on the island of Rivoalto, in the centre of the Lagune. Here they were assailed by Pepin, who endeavoured, but in vain, to form a bridge of boats across the channel. His vessels became entangled in the shifting sands, and, after suffering much at the hands of the islanders, were compelled to withdraw to Malamocco. The Frankish King retreated to the continent, and, changing his enmity into friendship, granted the little Republic some territory along the Adige. It was now that Rivoalto and Malamocco, together with the neighbouring islets, received the general name of Venice, from the province of Venetia (formerly the territory of the Veneti), of which the islands had been a dependency.

Angelo Particípazio became Doge of Venice in 809, and did much towards founding the future greatness of the city. He connected the sixty islets gathered about Rivoalto by wooden bridges; and a Basilica and Ducal Palace were erected on spots still associated with the religious and civic glories of the Venetian Republic. Under the rule of the next Doge, Giustiniani Particípazio, the son of Angelo, the Venetians acquired possession of those so-called relics of the Evangelist Mark which afterwards gave a name to the church, and a patron saint to the city. The bones were obtained by some Venetian traders from an ancient fane in Alexandria, which was about to be dismant

When the remains arrived at Venice, the people called to mind an ancient tradition, to the effect that Mark, while on his travels, had visited Aquileia, and, having touched at the desert islands lying off the coast, had been informed in a vision that his ashes should one day be deposited in that remote and lonely spot. The winged Lion of St. Mark was placed upon the standards and coins of the Republic, and the battle-cry of the citizens was "Viva San Marco!"

There is little in the early history of Venice to require detailed exposition. Notwithstanding occasional commotions, resulting from party intrigue or popular restlessness, the commonwealth continued to prosper, and, under the reign of Pietro Orseolo II., who was elected in 991, numerous commercial treaties were concluded, which gave the Venetians command of the chief neighbouring ports and rivers of Italy. Extensive privileges were also obtained from the Greek Emperor, and the Syrian and Egyptian Sultans were glad to offer their friendship. The chief trade of the Levant—a term denoting the Eastern shores of the Mediterranean—was in the hands of the Venetians; and although the Istrians, the Liburnians, and the Dalmatians, on the other side of the Adriatic, seemed for a time not improbable rivals, their greatness paled before the superior magnificence of the insular Republic. Even yet, however, Venice was not absolutely independent. In former ages, she had been nominally subject to the Eastern Empire, and it is stated in the chronicles that Pepin ultimately restored the city to the sovereign of Constantinople. But, although the Venetians may at that time have acknowledged some species of dependence on the Byzantine rule, they paid no tribute, gave no assistance in war, and received no protection. The attacks of the Scandinavians, the Saracens, and the Sclavonians, during various parts of the ninth century, were resisted by the Venetian fleets alone; and, in the latter years of the eleventh century, the people of the maritime Republic would probably have done battle with the Eastern Empire itself, had the latter been so rash as to claim any actual jurisdiction. By the Emperor Alexius, the Doge of Venice was allowed to assume the lordship of Dalmatia and Croatia; but, in so acting, the Byzantine monarch simply recognised a fact which had been accomplished by the Venetians themselves nearly a hundred years before. The first expedition of the little sea-girt State, undertaken for increase of territory, set forth in the spring of 997, when a powerful fleet sailed from Venice

subjugation of the Illyrian countries ex-

ng the eastern shore of the Adriatic.

On this occasion, the reigning Doge, Pietro Orseolo II., received the standard of St. Mark from the hands of the Bishop. For a while, his progress was that of a peaceful triumph. The islands of Curzola and Lesina were the first places to offer resistance, and the latter, in particular, presented a formidable aspect to the Venetians. The pirates of Narenta had established on this island a depôt which they had fortified and garrisoned; but the assailants, having blockaded the port and invested the town, carried all before them at the point of the sword. The lives of the inhabitants were spared on their submission; and at the same time the small Republic of Ragusa proffered its allegiance to the greater power of Venice.

Ragusa, though now a decayed and melancholy place, held at that time a position not altogether inglorious. It appears to have been founded in 656 by refugees from Old Ragusa, the ancient Epidaurus, situated ten miles to the south-east—a city then destroyed by the Sclavonians. The population of the new town was increased by emigrants from other parts of Dalmatia and Albania; strong fortifications soon arose; and a republican form of government was constituted, under the presidency of an officer who was first entitled Count, and afterwards Rector. The prosperity of the humble commonwealth rapidly increased; yet the people thought it advisable to place themselves under the protection of the Narentine pirates—Sclavonian adventurers, whose rulers called themselves princes, but who seem to have lived by pillage. It was ostensibly with a view to putting down these corsairs that the Venetian fleet sailed upon its expedition to the opposite shores of the Adriatic; but doubtless there was also the hope of laying in this way the foundations of a maritime Empire. Narenta itself, situated in a bay protected by the islands of Curzola and Lesina, was next attacked by the Doge. The possession of these islands by the Venetian forces placed Narenta at the mercy of its assailants, and the greater number of the inhabitants were slaughtered before terms were discussed. Up to that time, the Venetians had been compelled to pay an annual tribute to the pirates, as the only means of protecting their commerce from continual depredation. This disgraceful impost was now abolished; indemnities for former plunder were enforced; and several of the coast-towns, including Narenta, were placed under the direct rule of Venice. In each of these towns, justice was administered by a Podestà, nominated by the Doge; but the government was purely despotic, as the people themselves were denied any share in the management of their own affairs.

owever, was not fated to be long a mere of the Venetian State. It soon recovered ndence, and for many centuries occupied ished place among the communities of ern Europe.

val forces of Venice were employed in the sade, and in 1099 a fleet of two hundred vessels was despatched to the aid of e Bouillon and his companions. A hostile t, acting on behalf of the Greek Emperor, ly defeated, and the reputation of Venice l power was considerably enhanced by l triumph. It was to Venice that the chiefly looked for whatever assistance it require at sea. The able managers public took advantage of the opportunity sing the trade on which their merchant- epended, and in 1111 the Doge Ordelafo nt a hundred galleys to the succour of I. in his operations against the Syrian remaining in the hands of the Moslems. ard for this service, the Venetians ob- right to possess a church, street, mill, ath, &c., in each of the Oriental towns by the Christian knights, and also presented by a local magistrate. The Venice was now rapidly increasing. great fire of 1106, when a large part of was swept away, a sumptuous style of was introduced, in place of the wooden ich had formerly prevailed. The islanders marble from the mainland of Italy, ia, and from Dalmatia, and began the f those splendid edifices which have given unique a position in the history of archi- The finest of these structures, however, somewhat later age, and the principal in the Venice of the present day belong riod of the Renaissance, which began in ith century, and lasted to the close of eenth. The most distinctive of the etian palaces and churches were in the monly described as Byzantine, though it less a modification of that style, peculiar ular city, and therefore having some claim d Venetian. To this succeeded an adap- Gothic forms; and various developments alian or revived classical manner gave character to the streets of Venice. It ngling of various architectural orders s such a wondrous charm to the Venice imes; but it should be recollected that Rialto and the Bridge of Sighs, which are associated with our impressions of the g to comparatively recent periods, and not to the epoch when Venice was at its height of power. The Cathedral of St. Mark, however, is a relic of the Middle Ages, and, with its incrustation of richly-coloured marbles, and the fantastic picturesqueness of its forms, is one of the most attractive as well as interesting churches in the whole of Italy. The Ducal Palace, on the other hand, is a compound structure belonging to various epochs—a building in which the Renaissance of the sixteenth century combines with the architecture of the fourteenth and fifteenth.

The power of the Venetian navy increased during the twelfth century, and in 1122 the Doge Domenico Michieli distinguished himself by a great victory over the Egyptian fleet, when ten Turkish galleons, richly freighted, were taken by the conquerors. The following year was signalised by the capture of Tyre, the reduction of which was necessary to the safety of the Christian kingdom at Jerusalem. Tyre, though fallen far below its ancient greatness, was still a city of considerable wealth and importance; and it is interesting to note this contest between the young mercantile Republic of the North-west and its venerable prototype in the East. Before engaging in an enterprise which promised to task their resources to the utmost, the Venetian Government obtained from the King of Jerusalem a promise that the third part of Tyre, Ascalon, and their dependencies, should be assigned to the Republic, and that the Venetian troops who were to form part of the garrisons should be maintained at the royal expense. The fortifications of Tyre, which were of immense circuit, were considered to be almost impregnable. A large army, supplied by the Sultans of Damascus and of Egypt, defended the place, and the sea flowed round on every side, except where the mole of Alexander connected it with the continent. The siege of Tyre in ancient times had almost baffled the genius and perseverance of the Macedonian conqueror, and the modern city was scarcely less strong than that of the pre-Christian ages. The siege began in the middle of February, 1123, and it was not until the end of June that the city, after repeated assaults by the Venetians and their allies, succumbed to a stratagem.

The intimate alliance of the Venetians with the Crusaders put an end to the good understanding which had long existed between the former and the Byzantine dominion. The Emperor John II. inherited his father's distrust of the Western knights who had undertaken the conquest of Palestine. He saw a power which threatened to eclipse his own rising up in Syria, and deriving its chief external support from the maritime force

of the Republic. The trade of Venice, which had formerly been more with the Eastern Empire than with any other community, was now passing away towards the richer lands conquered by Godfrey and his associates. The Greeks began to complain that the Venetians were depriving them of their trade, and the Emperor doubtless felt compelled to take some steps towards what he may have regarded as the legitimate protection of his subjects. He therefore issued an ordinance in 1123, commanding the Venetian residents in Constantinople and the other ports to quit the Imperial dominions at once. All intercourse between the two Powers was suspended, and the Imperial cruisers were ordered to intercept the Venetian commerce, and to capture the merchant-vessels of the Republic wherever they were to be found. The Venetians lost no time in making reprisals. In 1124 they captured Rhodes, and Andros and other islands, and invaded a portion of the Peloponnesus. Many of the people were carried away and sold as slaves—a traffic which had long existed amongst the Venetians, and which they pursued in the relentless spirit generally characteristic of their policy. In returning homeward, Michieli chastised some Dalmatian fiefs which had been incited to rebellion by King Stephen of Hungary; and, setting sail for Venice without having encountered a single check, brought back with him the reputation of the most brilliant admiral which the commonwealth had yet sent forth. On the conclusion of peace, the Emperor reinstated the Venetians in all the commercial privileges of which they had been deprived by his hasty and ill-judged decree.



THE GIANTS' STAIRS, VENICE.

At a somewhat later period, the Venetians joined the League of Lombardy against the German Empire, and in 1177 defeated the Ghibellines headed by Otho, son of Frederick Barbarossa.



THE WEDDING OF THE ADRIATIC

Pope Alexander III. had appealed to the Republic for assistance in repelling the attacks of his Imperial enemy, and, although Otho's squadron, furnished chiefly by Genoa and Ancona, greatly outnumbered that of Venice, the latter gained so signal a victory that the Pope, as an expression of his gratitude, presented the Doge Ziani with a ring, with which he authorised him to wed the Adriatic, so that posterity might know that the sea was subject to Venice, as a bride is subject to her husband. Thence arose one of the most picturesque ceremonies of the Republic, which was celebrated every year upon Ascension Day. On those occasions, the Doge sailed out into the open waters in a galley splendidly gilt and carved, and called the Bucentoro (a word of uncertain origin and meaning), in which were the chief officers of State, and the representatives of foreign nations. The Patriarch of Venice first poured a quantity of holy water upon the sea, and the Doge then dropped a golden ring into the waves, with the words, "We espouse thee, O Sea! in token of a real and perpetual dominion over thee." As a consequence of Ziani's victory over Otho, the Emperor Frederick agreed to a Congress, which met at Venice in 1177, when Frederick prostrated himself before the throne of Alexander III., and suffered the Pontiff to set his foot upon his neck. Ziani died in the following year. His name is associated with some of the architectural glories of the city, and he is supposed to have brought from the island of Scio the two red granite pillars which still adorn the Square of St. Mark.

Before the election of Ziani, the constitution of Venice underwent considerable modifications, and assumed a character more in accordance with the Republican traditions of an earlier time. The Doges had been long invested with a power hardly differing in any respect from that of the most absolute monarchies. The chief magistrate acted, it is true, in accordance with a General Assembly, whenever affairs of importance were to be decided; but, as a matter of fact, very little check was imposed upon his will. He was permitted to associate his son with him in the supreme administration, and the way seemed thus prepared for the establishment of hereditary kingship. It was seen that this power might be dangerous: limitations were therefore imposed upon the Doge; and in 1172, just before the election of Ziani, the Great Council was established. This was at first elective, and renewed each year; but the aristocracy gradually encroached upon the popular prerogatives, until, in 1319, all elective forms were abolished. It was then decreed that every descendant of the existing members of the Council should, on attaining the age of twenty-five, become, as a matter of right, a member of that body. The Great Council thus grew to unmanageable size, and was quite unfit for the conduct of business in a State which depended for its very existence on the force, secrecy, and acumen with which its affairs were administered. The executive government was accordingly committed to a Senate consisting of sixty members, in which the Doge presided. The number of senators was afterwards much increased, so that the original evil arose in a new form. It was the province of the Senate to impose taxes, and to make peace and war; but, although annually renewed, its members were chosen by the Great Council, which, as we have seen, had become hereditary. The government of Venice, therefore, was by this time purely aristocratical; the people, who had formerly enjoyed the right of choosing the officers of State, were entirely excluded from the political life of the Republic; and the commonwealth was swayed by a body of nobles, too few to represent the populace, too many for the effective concentration of a despotism.

When, by repeated additions to its numbers, the Senate had become too large for the convenient management of affairs, six councillors were selected from its ranks, who, together with the Doge, formed the Signiory—a body whose functions were to correspond with ambassadors, to treat with foreign States, to convoke the Councils and preside in them, and to discharge many other duties belonging to the administration. By these devices, the powers of the Doge were very greatly restricted, and, on his election, the head of the State was compelled to take an oath still further limiting his privileges and opportunities. From himself, and without the direct sanction of the Signiory, he could do scarcely anything. He could enter into no correspondence with foreign countries, nor acquire any property beyond the Venetian dominions: if he possessed any already, he was bound to resign it. He could take part in no judicial process, nor was any citizen to salute him with special marks of honour. The method of election became at length so extremely complicated that it is difficult to follow its tortuosities. All of the nobility above thirty years of age met in the Ducal Palace, where certain balls, equal in number to those present, were put into an urn. Thirty of these were gilded; the rest were covered with silver. Each noble in his turn took out a ball, when those who had drawn the thirty gilt balls retired into a separate chamber, to perform the ensuing acts of the election. By a second

ballot, the holders of the gilt balls were reduced to nine; these nine elected forty, and further balloting diminished the forty to twelve. The twelve named twenty-five, the first nominating three, and each of the others two. The twenty-five then drew lots, by which their number dwindled to nine; each of the nine chose five others; and, from the total forty-five, eleven were separated by lot, who chose forty-one others. These forty-one were confirmed by the Grand Council, and, being shut up in a chamber of the Ducal Palace, were not suffered to depart until they had chosen a new Doge. A somewhat similar method was applied



DOGE AND DOGARESSA. (*After Titian.*)

to the election of all the councils and magistrates of the Republic; and the object seems to have been to increase the trouble of the act, so as to retain the power of the State in the hands of the few privileged families who had usurped the functions of the people. For the due and legal election of a Doge, it was necessary that he should have twenty-five votes out of the forty-one; and it was not likely that any person objectionable to the main body of the nobility would ever obtain so large a proportion as this.

The election of the new Doge was followed by a species of coronation. It has been mentioned that the first Doge, Paolo Luca Anafesto, was honoured with a crown of gold; but it appears to have been thought, in subsequent ages, that this assimilated the position of a Republican chief magistrate too much to that of an hereditary king. The Doge was therefore invested with a ducal cap, the front part of which projected, as a symbol of the unlimited power claimed by the Republic. The cap was of splendid material, and terminated in a diamond of the highest value. In the centre was a ruby, and the border consisted of pearls and other jewels. This adornment was set up on the head of the Doge at his entrance into the Palace, where he was received by the Signiory on the great steps called "The Giants' Stairs." The investiture, however, did not take place until he had reached the summit of the stairs; and this, it is said, was to show that he could not attain the highest dignity of the State without first passing through all the lower degrees. The Doge of Venice has been described as in habit and state a king, in authority a councillor, in the city a prisoner, and out of it a private person. He was not to stir from Venice without the Council's permission, and, as his election was for life, this was a very serious restriction on his personal convenience. The coin was to be stamped with his name, but not with his image. The credentials of ministers to foreign courts were made out in the name of the reigning Doge; but neither his signature nor his seal was attached. His yearly income, in the later ages, was 12,000 Venetian ducats, of which sum he was to spend one half on the four grand entertainments to be given every year. In order to live up to his dignity, he was obliged to trench largely on his own fortune. He might be deposed, but was unable to resign, nor could he refuse the office when elected. He was not permitted to receive any present from a foreign prince. During his life, none of his children or brothers could hold any of the great honorary offices, or be sent on embassies; and the Doge himself was forbidden to marry the sister or other relation of a sovereign, unless with the consent of the Great Council. To render the post still more onerous, and still less desirable, the death of the Doge was succeeded by an inquiry as to whether he had abused his functions; and if found guilty of any serious offence, his heirs were fined in proportion to the magnitude of the charge. Yet, notwithstanding these manifold objections to the ducal office, the honour of this proud position was attraction sufficient for men who might have enjoyed far larger powers in the private sphere of a Venetian nobleman.

The gradual change of the Great Council, from an elected body to a mere appendage of the aristocracy, gave just offence to the masses of the people, who in the early part of the fourteenth century engaged in several commotions, with a view to the restoration of their ancient privileges. The nobility, however, proved too strong for them, and every struggle resulted in an increase of despotism. The celebrated Council of Ten was now established, as a means of securing a dictatorial authority over the Senate and the public magistrates. To the ten Councillors were added the

Doge himself and his six chief advisers, so that the body really numbered seventeen. The powers of the Council of Ten, as it is always called, became in time so large that the decisions of the Senate were overruled whenever it was thought proper, and separate understandings were effected with foreign potentates. The deliberations of the committee were secret, and its decrees were executed with an unfaltering tyranny that has never been surpassed. In the original constitution of Venice, a Council of Forty had controlled all matters of criminal justice; but these functions were now usurped by the smaller Council of Ten, who investigated not merely charges of high treason, but many other crimes and offences. The accused was never confronted with witnesses; sometimes he was not even heard in his own defence; and punishment was carried out under the same awful shadow which had cloaked the whole proceedings. An immense machinery of espionage was instituted, as the necessary adjunct to such a government. Paid informers became numerous, and every private conspiracy was at once detected and suppressed by the piercing vigilance of the State. The consequences were a remarkable prevalence of tranquillity, and an extraordinary concentration of power. But these advantages were purchased at an appalling price. The citizens of the Venetian Republic crouched like slaves before a dark omniscience, which smote whom it would, and where it pleased, with a hand and with a weapon that were seen only in their effects.

The Republics on the mainland of Italy increased in power and wealth contemporaneously with Venice, but by somewhat different means. When their independence was first established, they possessed nothing more than a narrow strip of country around their external walls; but in process of time they recovered all the territory which had formerly been associated with themselves under the rule of Counts or Bishops. This was sometimes effected by warlike operations; at other times, by treaty and purchase. A mediæval writer says that, by the middle of the twelfth century, the Marquis of Montferrat was almost the only nobleman who had not submitted to the jurisdiction of a city. The power of the feudal nobility in those parts of the Italian peninsula was nearly extinguished, and the barons, seeing their former supremacy at an end, endeavoured, and often successfully, to obtain a commanding position in the small civic commonwealths. The government in these centres of municipal freedom was administered with a practical wisdom which produced the happiest results. Milan and the other Lombard cities soon acquired a population exceeding that of many royal capitals. The enterprising and industrious were invited from other parts to settle within the walls; and under the protection afforded by well-kept fortifications, by a free yet strong government, and by the accumulation of wealth, commerce flourished, the arts were cultivated, and politics were advanced to the dignity of a science. Labour, for the first time in the history of Europe, attained a position of honour for its own sake, and for the good which it was capable of bringing to the common weal. Artisans were permitted to bear arms in the public defence; each craft had its organised company, and at its head was a tribune, or standard-bearer, called the *gonfaloniere*, who mustered his followers in the market-place when occasion arose for their services. Milan was the principal of the Lombard cities; and its power was often cruelly exhibited by wars of conquest or revenge, directed against the smaller towns in the same part of Italy, which had assumed similar liberties for themselves, but whose independence was considered dangerous to the larger Republic.

Although these little commonwealths were really self-governing, they still admitted in terms the sovereignty of the German Emperors, whose names were stamped upon the coins, and introduced into all public acts. When actually present, the German sovereigns exercised authority over the free towns; but the Lombards took the precaution of building the royal palaces outside the gates. The Emperors Lothaire and Conrad III. seldom entered Italy, and therefore put the loyalty of the Republican cities to little proof; but the next sovereign, Frederick Barbarossa, who ascended the throne in 1152, was a man of haughty temperament, not at all inclined to let any of his supposed rights lapse for want of use. The pretensions of Milan, in particular, he determined to restrain, and an excuse for interference was easily found in the tyrannical behaviour of that city towards the small town of Lodi, which, several years before, it had entirely destroyed. The unfortunate inhabitants were scattered amongst six villages, and subjected to such persistent and barbarous ill-usage that, on the accession of Frederick, two of the dispossessed citizens laid their grievances before the Imperial throne. Frederick ordered the Milanese to desist from persecution, but his message was treated with contempt. He therefore passed into Italy, and made preparations for attacking the rebellious city. Milan was besieged by an immense army in 1158, and obliged by hunger to capitulate. The Emperor then undertook a complete reconstruction of the government in the Republican cities of Lom-

ardy. In each of them he appointed an officer, alled the Podestà, to administer justice, at first in ombination with the Consuls, and afterwards in heir place. The terms of the capitulation of Milan, which in themselves were not severe, soon ave way before the imperious will of Frederick. The freedom of all Lombardy trembled in the alance, and Milan determined to appeal once more o arms, in vindication of its twofold claim, to overn itself, and to tyrannise over others. During he absence of the Emperor and his army, the Milanese renewed the war, but with no better ortune than on the previous occasion. They were ided only by Crema; but that town was speedily aken, and reduced to a mass of ruins. Milan tself capitulated for the second time in 1162—once nore vanquished by famine, and compelled to sur- ender at discretion. The citizens were ordered to uit their dwellings; the Imperial troops occupied he streets; the people of Pavia, Cremona, Lodi, nd Como, were permitted to glut their vengeance n the desolate city; and the destruction is said to have been so complete that only the churches re- mained standing. It is possible, however, that the accounts are exaggerated, and that the punishment of the offenders was not so extreme.

The Milanese had to some extent brought their fate upon themselves by similar injustice to Lodi and other small towns; but the vindictiveness of the Emperor is capable of no excuse. Not only Milan, but the whole of Lombardy, was ground beneath his iron heel, and the despotism he estab- lished was so heavy and systematic that in 1167 the principal cities secretly united in what is called the League of Lombardy. Even places which had previously supported the Imperial cause—Cremona in particular—now ranged themselves on the side of freedom. It was settled that the alliance was to last twenty years, and the con- federates pledged themselves to mutual support in the recovery of their liberties. The association was similar in its character and objects to the cele- brated Achæan League of ancient Greece; but it is difficult to understand how a people thus alive to the necessity of friendly combination in resis- tance to despotism could ever have imperilled their own future by senseless and ferocious discord. The time was favourable to the attempt at indepen- dence. Frederick had engaged in ecclesiastical intrigues at Rome, where he was endeavouring to set up an anti-Pope in opposition to Alexander III. At the head of his armies, he was now besieging the Eternal City, and had no soldiers at his disposal to check the early proceedings of the Leaguers. In a little while, his army began to suffer from the autumnal malaria of the Campagna, and he was obliged to recross the Alps. Relieved from the fear of immediate attack, the Lombard Confederacy pursued its designs without concealment, and without opposition. Milan was rebuilt; Lodi was forced to enter into the alliance; and only Pavia stood firm in the Imperial interests. When at length Frederick was in a position to make war against the Lombard rebels, as he regarded them, they had become sufficiently strong to hold his armies in check. Several years of indecisive warfare ensued; but in 1176 the Confederates gained a brilliant victory at Legnano. Frederick escaped from the field in disguise, and afterwards consented, through the mediation of Venice, to a six years' truce, which in 1183 led to the Peace of Constance. The Lombard Republics now acquired both real and nominal independence; but some members of the League showed a degree of sub- serviency to the Empire, which proved how incom- plete was the sentiment of friendship that had tem- porarily united the whole of Lombardy.

Genoa, the chief city of ancient Liguria, was a place of commercial importance even in the time of the Roman Republic, and after the fall of the Western Empire was seized by the Longobards. By Charlemagne it was placed under the govern- ment of a Count, but, on the cessation of the Carolingian dynasty, established its independence under elective magistrates. Like the Venetians, the Genoese were admirable sailors, and early in the eleventh century drove the Saracens, with the assistance of the Pisans, out of Corsica, Capraja, and Sardinia. The two first of these islands remained for a time under the dominion of Genoa, while Sardinia became a possession of Pisa. The power of the Genoese rapidly increased after this great exploit, and in 1146 they wrested Minorca from the Moors. In the following year, Almeria, in the kingdom of Granada, was taken by storm, and an immense booty rewarded the enterprise of the conquerors. The strength of the Republic may be estimated from the fact that the Genoese forces, on this occasion, numbered sixty-three galleys and one hundred and sixty-three transports, together with twelve thousand soldiers for opera- tions on land. In combination with the Catalonians the Genoese seized the Spanish town of Tortosa i 1148, and, in consequence of their successes presented so formidable an aspect to the othe powers of Northern Italy that Pisa and Veni took measures against the sister commonwealt From 1070 to 1282, frequent wars broke o between Genoa and Pisa, and this unfortuna rivalry resulted in the ruin of the latter. Yet

earlier times Pisa had had a brilliant history. Her citizens had prevailed over the Saracens and the Moors, and about 1050 took Corsica from the Genoese. In 1089 or 1091, the whole of that island was confirmed to them by Pope Urban II., who granted it as a fief of the Apostolic See. were able, in conjunction with the Count of Barcelona, to subdue the Balearic Isles, which had become a nest of Mohammedan pirates. The enterprise was one of so much difficulty that the fleet numbered three hundred ships of various sizes, carrying 35,000 men and nine hundred horses;



CREMONA.

During an interval of amity between Pisa and Genoa, the fleets of the two Republics sailed to the coast of Barbary, attacked the Saracen State of Mahadiah, and compelled the Sultan to release all his Christian slaves. The second half of the eleventh century was the era of the greatest prosperity ever enjoyed by the Pisans; but as late as 1117 their power was so considerable that they and the whole was placed under the command of the Archbishop of Pisa, Pietro Moriconi, one of the martial prelates of that Crusading age. Like the other Italian Republics of the Middle Ages, Pisa was illustrious for its architectural works; and to the present day the Cathedral, the Leaning Tower, the Baptistery, and the Campo Santo, bear noble witness to a greatness which has long passed away.



DAMASCUS.

CHAPTER XXVII.

THE SECOND CRUSADE: CONTEST OF CHURCH AND STATE.

Position of the Asiatic Mohammedans in the First Half of the Twelfth Century—Rise of the Atabeks—Capture of Edessa by the Moslems—Noureddin, the Atabek Sultan—St. Bernard, Abbot of Clairvaux—Position of Louis VII. of France towards the Papacy—Preaching of the Second Crusade—Eastward March of the Liberating Armies—Mutual Distrust of the Crusaders and the Greek Emperor, Manuel I.—Violence and Bad Faith of Both Parties—Misfortunes of the German and French Forces—Bad Reception at Antioch—Unsuccessful Siege of Damascus, and Failure of the Crusade—Profligate Conduct of the French King's Wife—Attempt of Suger, Abbot of St. Denis, to Excite another Crusade—Reign of Henry II. of England—The "Constitutions of Clarendon"—Quarrel of Henry with Thomas à Becket on the Question of Ecclesiastical Supremacy—Consequences of the Murder of the Archbishop—Power of the Roman Church in the Middle Ages—Its Popularity with the Humbler Classes—Excessive Pretensions of Adrian IV. and Innocent III.—Accession of Temporal Power to the Pontificate—Revolt of the Romans under Arnaldo de' Brescia—Fanaticism and Inhumanity of Innocent III.—Repression of the National Churches—Adrian IV., Henry II., and Ireland—Early History of the Irish People—Division, Disorder, and Anarchy—Conquest of the Island by the Anglo-Normans.

BRILLIANT as had been the success of the Western knights and their companions, in the reduction of Palestine and the rescue of the Holy Sepulchre, their position was extremely precarious. Surrounded by hostile populations and by Mohammedan sovereignties, they were liable at any moment to be overwhelmed by the enemy; and the fiery zeal which had carried Godfrey of Bouillon and his peers through every obstacle, and planted the standard of the Cross in Jerusalem itself, necessarily diminished with successive years, as such outbreaks of enthusiasm always do. On the other hand, the followers of the Prophet began to recover their spirits and their strength. The supremacy of the Seljukian Sultans, like that of the Arabian Caliphs before them, was visibly declining in the early part of the twelfth century; but the sword, if not the sceptre, was snatched

from their enfeebled grasp by the Atabeks, or rulers of small principalities, whose Turkish name signifies "Fathers of the Princes," or, according to Abulfeda, "faithful parents." The title was conferred by the sovereigns of Roum on numerous influential Emirs, of whom the most distinguished was Zenghi, the Governor of Aleppo. This powerful chieftain acquired the dignity of an independent prince, after having first advanced the fortunes of the Caliph and the Sultan in thirty magnificent campaigns. As the monarch of Aleppo and Mosul, he stormed the city of Edessa in 1144, and put an end to the Christian principality founded by Baldwin, the brother of Godfrey, in 1097. All the conquests of the Crusaders beyond the Euphrates were thus recovered; the warlike tribes of Kurdistan submitted to the conqueror; and an extensive sovereignty was begun. On the assassination of Zenghi, which occurred shortly afterwards, his dominions were divided between his sons Saphadin and Noureddin, of whom the former inherited Mosul, and the latter Aleppo. Encouraged by this alteration in the posture of affairs, the Christians made a descent on Edessa in 1145, and temporarily took possession of the city; but it was speedily recovered by the Turks, who immediately razed the fortifications, and demolished the churches.

The fall of Edessa filled the Asiatic Christians with alarm, and the feeling of apprehension spread into Europe. Noureddin proved as great a warrior as his father. During a long reign, extending from 1145 to 1174, he added the kingdom of Damascus to his other realm, and made the posterity of the Crusaders tremble before his arms. Even at the very beginning of his rule, it was evident that a most formidable enemy had arisen in the heart of Western Asia; and when St. Bernard renewed the passionate appeals of Peter the Hermit, and demanded a second Crusade to preserve the conquests of the first, the old spirit was again excited in the hearts of men and women. St. Bernard, a native of Burgundy, was abbot of a monastery at Clairvaux, in Champagne; an ascetic, a student, and a leader of opinion on those subjects of disputation which, in the Middle Ages, were half philosophic, half theological. The "mellifluous doctor," as he was called, was in some respects a man beyond his time, and his resistance to the persecution of the Jews in Germany will do him more lasting honour than his incentives to another holy war. It would seem that his exertions in the latter respect were undertaken at the request of Pope Eugenius III.; but he acted with all the zeal of an enthusiast. He was in many respects a true fanatic—a man intensely devoted to the priestly order which he had adopted, and to all the supposed interests of religion. When, in the reign of Louis VI., the clergy asserted their exemption from taxes, and refused submission to the secular authority, Bernard upheld the monstrous claim. But he was at all times a well-meaning man, and his indignant criticism on the luxury and licentiousness of the ecclesiastics, though carried, perhaps, to the extent of harsh extravagance, showed the better side of his nature.

The abbot of Clairvaux found a powerful supporter in the French King, Louis VII. The conscience of that sovereign reproached him for acts of cruelty and oppression, and a fit of sickness prompted a special expiation. He had quarrelled with Pope Innocent II. respecting the nomination to a bishopric, and, being excommunicated, was opposed in the open field by Thibald, Count of Champagne, thirteen hundred of whose followers, on the capture of Vitry in 1142, he burned alive in a church. It is to be feared that Louis thought more of the sacrilege than the inhumanity, and that the same act, committed in a castle or a citadal, would have troubled his after-thoughts but little. As it was, however, he sought absolution, in the following year, of Pope Celestine II., and obtained it in 1144. Nevertheless, his mind was ill at ease, and, while he was meditating a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, intelligence reached Europe of the fall of Edessa, and the subsequent victories of the Moslems. The new Pontiff, Eugenius III. (whose rule followed the brief reign of Lucius II., the successor of Celestine), addressed a letter to Louis VII. in 1145, exhorting him and his people to take up arms for the defence of the Holy Sepulchre, and the relief of the Christians in Palestine. At a great national council held at Vezelai, in Burgundy, during the Easter of 1146, Louis appeared side by side with Bernard, and took part in a scene rivalling that of Clermont in 1095, when Pope Urban II. joined with Peter the Hermit in preaching the First Crusade. Immense crowds of spectators eagerly demanded the cross, and vast numbers of the symbol were distributed among them by the attendant priests and monks. Bernard then proceeded into Germany, where he persuaded the Emperor Conrad III., and several distinguished princes, to join the contemplated enterprise. On his return to France, a council was held at Etampes in February, 1147, when a regency was appointed to administer the affairs of the kingdom during the absence of the monarch. Pope Eugenius visited Paris in the same year, and Louis received the pilgrim's staff and wallet

from his hands, together with the apostolic benediction.

When all the preparations for the Second Crusade were completed, two great armies, under the command of Louis VII. and Conrad III., set out upon their perilous expedition. It has been stated that their numbers in all amounted to 1,200,000 fighting-men. There can be no question that this is in excess of the truth; yet it is certain that the gathering was very large. In some parts of Germany, whole towns and country districts were nearly depopulated, and, as in the previous Crusade, several women and children joined the military ranks. Not only was the West affected by the eloquence of St. Bernard, but the Eastern kingdoms of Poland and Bohemia supplied contingents to the relieving army. The general course of affairs was a singular repetition of what had occurred half a century before. The Crusaders marched in a south-easterly direction through Hungary, and thus approached the confines of the Byzantine Empire. The monarch then on the throne of Constantinople was Manuel I.; and although, like his predecessor Alexius, he entered into a treaty with the Western commanders, and agreed to furnish them with provisions at a fixed price, he looked with the greatest distrust upon so formidable an inroad of armed men. By his directions, the gates of the cities were closed against the Crusaders, and the food they solicited was let down in baskets from the walls. The amount was insufficient, and, if we may credit the Byzantine historian Nicetas, the bread was poisoned by an admixture of lime and other hurtful substances.

The truth is, that a complete antagonism of sentiment and interests separated the East of Europe from the West, as it had done in the days of Godfrey and Alexius. Each side looked with the utmost suspicion and dislike upon the other; each acted in bad faith, with open violence, or with underhand craft. The plundering habits of the Crusaders were so freely indulged, that, during their progress through the Eastern Empire, Byzantine troops advanced in force along a parallel line, and did their utmost to restrain the lawlessness of the foreign chivalry. Decent conduct was hardly to be expected of men who, before starting, had received absolution for every crime they might commit, and who had been told by the Pope himself that, if a debtor were moved by the spirit of grace, the Holy See relieved him from his obligations to man. The martial pilgrims had cheated one another with false weights during the First Crusade; they were not likely to be more scrupulous during the Second. On the other hand, they were themselves defrauded by the official camp-followers. Before long, the Western soldiers regarded the subjects of the Eastern Empire as open enemies, whom they had a right to attack. The Bulgarians and Greeks retaliated, and committed many acts of atrocity; so that a state of petty warfare, irregular, unrestrained, and therefore exceptionally cruel, devastated the south-eastern parts of Europe. As the Crusaders advanced, they found the passes fortified, and the bridges broken down; stragglers were frequently murdered; and detachments of the army, when marching through the woods, were pierced by arrows which issued from the shrouded secrecy of ambuscades. Even the sick were attacked and slain, and the highways became ghastly with the dead bodies of pilgrims, suspended from gibbets by the order, or at least with the connivance, of the Emperor Manuel.

These misfortunes happened more particularly to the German division of the Crusading force. The Emperors Manuel and Conrad were related to one another, having married sisters; but a very bad understanding subsisted between the two potentates. Their correspondence has been preserved, and the mutual insults with which the letters abound show how wide was the gulf which parted them. After a time, however, the rival Emperors came to an agreement; the Byzantine navy conveyed the Germans into Asia, and Manuel supplied Conrad with a number of guides, who were subsequently accused of treachery. The Germans arrived at Constantinople before the French, and therefore preceded them in their march through Asia. It was summer when they found themselves in the parched and waterless plains of Phrygia, and men and horses died in large numbers from fever and want of forage. In this enfeebled state they were assailed by the Turkish cavalry, and driven back to Nicæa, where Louis VII. and his companions soon joined them. The French had suffered less than the Germans; but they had encountered considerable opposition, and, when encamped before Constantinople, were exasperated by learning that Manuel had concluded a truce with the Sultan of Iconium. Louis seems to have exhibited a remarkable degree of self-control, though, had he listened to the Bishop of Langres, he would have made a formal attack on the Eastern Empire for its treachery and its heretical doctrines. He punished with great severity all acts of brigandage committed by his troops, and permitted his barons to do homage to Manuel, in the hope of removing the feelings of doubt which still possessed that sovereign's mind. His march through Asia, after he had quitted Nicæa, was conducted with judg-

ment; but, on entering the Turkish dominions, he was attacked by the enemy with such vehemence and spirit that he lost considerable numbers before, in the early days of 1148, he reached Attalia, near the western extremity of the Pamphylian coast. Here he embarked for Antioch, but was compelled to leave behind him seven thousand of his troops, whom there were not sufficient transports to convey, and who, in the despair and agony of their situation, attempted to enter Syria by land, but were cut to pieces in the vain endeavour.

Louis might not unreasonably have supposed that at Antioch he would meet with friends; but the Christians of Syria disapproved of his enterprise, and sought to delay his march. When, however, the French King was again joined by the German Emperor, who had for a while returned to Constantinople, the united forces proceeded to Jerusalem. Baldwin III. gave the French and German monarchs some assistance, and the Christian army laid siege to Damascus. The attempt ended in a lamentable failure, and it was believed that the Prince of Antioch, the Syrian barons, and the Knights Templars, conspired to render the operations futile. By this time, vast numbers of the French and Germans had been destroyed, either by the sword of the enemy, or the effects of disease. The divisions were mere skeletons as compared with their original strength, and a feeling of extreme despondency took possession of the survivors. Three thousand of the Crusaders embraced Mohammedanism, so that the exhortations of St. Bernard had led to nothing but misery and disgrace. The siege of Damascus was raised in 1149, and the remnant of the invading armies retreated to Jerusalem. The forces of Conrad soon afterwards returned to Europe; those of Louis followed in a few months. The expedition had been shameful and scandalous in all its details, and the devout were shocked by revelations of profligacy which were all the more glaring from their contrast with a sacred mission. The wife of the French King so openly disgraced herself by her intrigues that, in 1152, Louis obtained a divorce, on the pretext of consanguinity. In parting from her husband, Eleanor carried with her the duchy of Aquitaine which she had brought him, and, tempted by this prize, Henry, Duke of Normandy, soon to be Henry II. of England, married her within two months of the separation. During the Second Crusade, the double eagle was first adopted as the arms of the German Empire. It was supposed to typify the very unsubstantial and illusory alliance existing between the sovereigns of the East and West; and it is still borne, not only by the Germans, but by the Russians, who claim to be the representatives of the Greek Emperors.

When Louis again entered his own country, he had with him only three hundred knights, the remnant of that great force with which he had started rather more than two years earlier. The disappointment of the French nation was vented, however, not on the King, but on St. Bernard, who had been the active cause of the campaign. That conscientious but impracticable man confessed that he was overwhelmed by such an entire reversal of his anticipations. He attributed the failure of the Crusade to the vices of its leaders, whom he compared to the Jews of old, who, notwithstanding the Divine promise that they should enjoy the land of Canaan, were lost in the wilderness on account of their sins and unbelief. During the brief remainder of his life, which terminated in 1153, he made no further attempt to rouse the passions of Christendom against the Moslem power; but another great ecclesiastic, Suger, abbot of the religious fraternity of St. Denis, considered that the disasters of the last few years demanded reparation. This advice was the more remarkable, as Suger had been strongly opposed to the Crusade —not from any want of zeal against the Mohammedans, but because, as a practical politician, he was acquainted with the embarrassment of the national finance, and with the threatening aspect of the Crown vassals. During the absence of the King, Suger had been the chief minister of France, and his wisdom was shown by the success with which he discharged his trust. It may seem to argue some degree of inconsistency that he should afterwards have urged his countrymen to embark upon another expedition, which would perhaps have been equally disastrous with its predecessor; but Suger may not unreasonably have considered that the reputation of Christendom was at stake, and that the Mohammedans of Western Asia would become unbearably insolent, if not restrained by vigorous measures. With the benediction of the Pope, he endeavoured to arouse all France to another effort, but found little response from a people who had suffered too much in the late attempt to be willing to renew their former sacrifices. He therefore resolved to lead a small army to Palestine himself, and, at the church of St. Martin at Tours, accepted the symbols of a Christian militant. Large sums of money were collected, but, in the midst of his preparations, Suger died on the 13th of January, 1152.

The succession of Henry Plantagenet to the crown of England, in the autumn of 1154, excited

the jealous fury of Louis VII., who saw in the new monarch a dangerous rival to himself. The divorce of the French King had deprived him of a very large part of his dominions, and the marriage of Eleanor to the Duke of Normandy placed the whole of Aquitaine in the power of Henry. When, in addition to this, the latter became King of England, his realm greatly exceeded that of France, and he stood forth as one of the mightiest sovereigns in Europe. Exasperated and alarmed, Louis made an attack on Normandy, but obtained no advantages, excepting that, on the conclusion of a truce, Henry consented to do homage to Louis for the duchy of Aquitaine. Uneasy relations continued to exist between the two monarchs until the death of the French King in 1180; but their mutual enmity was mitigated by the address of Henry, and by the dread of Louis lest any serious rupture with so great a sovereign should precipitate his own ruin. The weak and simple nature of Louis was no match for the powerful intellect and political skill of Henry; and, whether in peace or in war, the latter always prevailed over the former. The infant son of the English King—a child not more than four years old—was betrothed to the young Princess Margaret, daughter of Louis by his second wife, Constance of Castile. This union did nothing towards producing a real cordiality between the two rulers; but it may have had some effect in preventing an actual rupture.

Henry II. of England was the eldest son of Geoffrey Plantagenet, Count of Anjou and Maine, and of Matilda, daughter of Henry I. of England, whose Queen, as the reader is aware, came of the old English royal line. The family name of his father was derived from the sprig of broom (in Latin *planta genista*, in French *plante genêt*) which he used to wear in his cap. Although his blood was partly English, as his fair hair and blue eyes are said to have revealed, Henry cannot be regarded as other than a Frenchman. He was born at Le Mans, the capital of Geoffrey's dominions, in March, 1133, and doubtless never at any time understood a word of the English language. From his father he inherited Anjou, Touraine, and Maine; by right of his mother, he held Normandy and England, and at the same time exercised feudal superiority over Brittany. In addition to these, his wife brought him the wealthy and extensive realm of Aquitaine. In respect of all their possessions, Henry and his descendants are called the dynasty of Anjou; but, as regards English history, they appear as Plantagenets down to the death of Richard III. in 1485, when the House of Tudor succeeded to the throne. The first of the Plantagenets was certainly one of the greatest of a line remarkable for strong and energetic sovereigns. Though not wanting in good qualities, Henry was far from scrupulous, and his great object was to create a monarchy reaching from the confines of Scotland to the vicinity of the Pyrenees. In this he succeeded, either by force or management; and within his insular possessions he enlarged his power by recovering from the Scottish King, Malcolm IV., the northern counties which had been seized by David I., and also by driving back the Welsh from certain parts of the English territory which they had occupied during the troublous days of Stephen. But Henry did not give his attention entirely to the augmentation of his dominions: he was in some respects a wise and liberal ruler, and the social state of England was improved by his measures. He found the Feudal system far too strong for a due balance of interests, and he reduced its power by substituting a tax on each knight's fief, for the personal service which had formerly been required. With the money thus obtained, he formed a regular army, which, being under his own orders, curbed the insolence of the barons. Nearly all the castles erected by the nobility during the preceding reign were thrown down by order of Henry; foreign troops were dismissed; the custom of confiscating ships which had been wrecked on the coast was disallowed; the so-called Danish tax was abolished; and, with certain exceptions, lands that had been alienated from the crown since the death of Henry I. were resumed by his grandson.

The liberties granted by the first Henry were confirmed by the second in a short charter issued soon after his accession to the throne; but the most important act of this reign was that which is called the Constitutions of Clarendon. These "Constitutions" were laws made by a general council of the nobility and prelates, held at Clarendon, a village in Wiltshire, in 1164. Their main object was to control the power of the Church, which for several years had been growing dangerous to the civil authority. The clergy had claimed total exemption from the jurisdiction of the secular magistrates; but they were now, except in some respects, brought within the range of the civil courts. By the same ordinances, which were sixteen in number, the patronage and authority of the Pope in England were subjected to strict limits, and it was provided that the Crown should be entitled to interfere in the election to all vacant offices and dignities in the Church. The evils thus amended were so extreme and menacing that

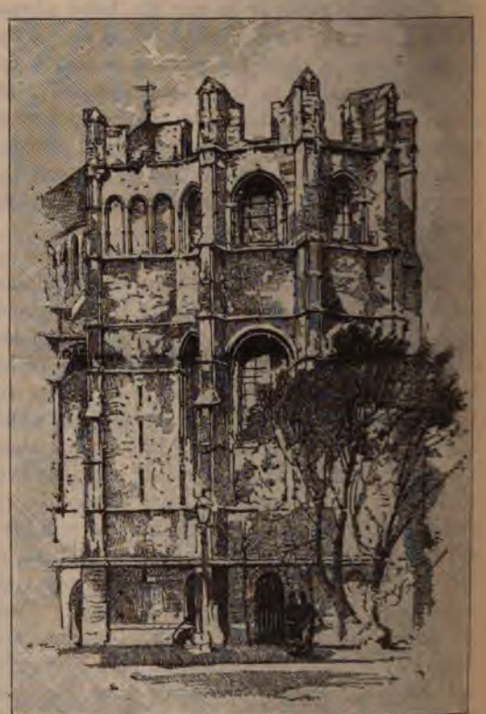
the Constitutions were unanimously adopted, and signed even by Thomas à Becket, the Archbishop of Canterbury, though undoubtedly with great distaste and reluctance. This remarkable man



HENRY II. OF ENGLAND.
(From his monumental effigy at Fontevrault.)

was born in London of English parents, unless we are to credit a romantic but doubtful legend, according to which his mother was a Saracen princess, who fell in love with his father during the First Crusade, and, after his return to England, followed him there, though unable to speak a word of English. In his earlier years, Thomas à Becket filled several important offices of State; accompanied the King in a military expedition to France, where he distinguished himself by personal gallantry in the field; and lived the life of a courtier, a spendthrift, and a man of the world. Becket was the first person of really English race who had been appointed to any high office since the Conquest; but his commanding abilities, and, at first, his compliant disposition, recommended him to a sovereign like Henry II., whose own force of character made him appreciate the same quality in others.

A complete change passed over the habits of à Becket after his appointment to the Primacy in 1162. He affected great austerity of living, arrayed himself in sackcloth, mortified his body by repeated flagellations, washed the feet of beggars, and lost no opportunity of asserting the power of the Church. He and the King soon came to a rupture, and, although the Archbishop, in compliance with the requests of others, set his seal to the Constitutions of Clarendon, it was evident that he did so as a mere makeshift, in order to gain time for more successful opposition. Being at length alarmed for his safety, he fled from England, and took up his residence in France. His influence at Rome, where he was recognised as one of the most vigorous champions of Pontifical claims, enabled him to obtain from Pope Alexander III. a formal condemnation of the Constitutions of Clarendon, together with the excommunication of several persons accused of violating the rights of the Church, amongst whom were some of the principal officers of the Crown. The quarrel continued for the next four years, in spite of numerous attempts to effect a reconciliation. Compromise was impossible, for neither party to the dispute was inclined to yield the slightest iota of his pretensions. It was not merely a contest between two men; it was the bitter opposition of two



BECKET'S CROWN, CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL.

irreconcilable principles—the supremacy of the Church and the supremacy of the State. Becket had received from the Pope the position of Legate in every part of England except the see of York;

and this, from his point of view, carried with it the power to issue orders to the Bishops, entirely irrespective of the King's pleasure.

An apparent understanding between the sovereign and the prelate was effected in 1170, and à Becket, returning to England, entered Canterbury amidst popular rejoicings; for the commonalty loved him as one of their own race, and perhaps hoped that he might curb the tyranny of their Norman lords. The conduct of the Archbishop continued as antagonistic to the royal claims as ever, and the arrogance with which he set aside some recent acts of Henry stung the monarch into an exclamation of impatience that he had no followers capable of revenging him upon an insolent priest. The consequence of these intemperate expressions was the murder of à Becket in Canterbury Cathedral, on the 29th of December, 1170. This atrocious deed, which throws the balance of sympathy on the side of the Archbishop, even while we condemn his objects and his methods, was committed by four barons, who appear, however, to have proceeded without actual design so far as the assassination was concerned, and who were certainly provoked by the insults, and even the personal violence, of the Archbishop. The assassins ended their days as penitents at Jerusalem, and in 1174 Henry himself did penance at the tomb of Becket for having, whether directly or indirectly, instigated the murder. The prelate was canonised by the Pope, and in 1221, during the reign of Henry III., his body was deposited in a magnificent shrine on the east side of Canterbury Cathedral, where, for three hundred years, it was one of the favourite resorts of pilgrims. The Constitutions of Clarendon, which had led to the rupture between à Becket and the King, fell into disuse after their annulment by the Pope, and were at length abandoned by Henry himself, in April, 1174. Yet they seem always to have retained some force, and, according to Hallam, were not entirely without effect in restraining the undue power of the Church. Had Louis VII. combined with the English monarch in resisting the en-



TRANSEPT OF THE MARTYRDOM, CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL.

croachments of the Papal See, more solid good might have been effected. But the weak nature of the French monarch made him the willing slave of Rome; and the crime which terminated the life of à Becket weakened the hands of the English sovereign in the arduous struggle he had undertaken.

Even, however, supposing no such crime to have been committed, the battle of the State against the Church would have been extremely difficult to fight at that period of the world's history. If the Popes were tyrannical in one sense, the Kings were tyrannical in another; and there can be no doubt that the sympathies of the poor were with the priestly rather than the secular power. As a matter of fact, the Church not unfrequently protected the weak against the strong, where its own interests were not concerned; and, as many of the clerical order were of lowly origin, and even Bishops, and Popes themselves, had sprung from the humblest families, the masses of the people, ignorant, debased, and incapable of understanding subtle distinctions between the rights of the individual conscience and the just powers of the State, inclined towards the institution which seemed most in harmony with their needs and aspirations. The Church, moreover, increased its power—as we have seen once more in modern times—by taking up popular questions in a familiar way, that had an inexpressible charm for the great majority. The priests directed the amusements of the vulgar; provided them with miracle-plays, shows, and music; and made the Church itself a seat of pageantry and spectacular parade. The immorality of many ecclesiastics was extreme; the idleness and gluttony of the monks and friars were notorious; but the people believed in them none the less. St. Bernard declared that he knew several abbots, each of whom had more than sixty horses in his stable, and such an immense variety of wines in his cellar that it was impossible to taste half of them at one entertainment. But those who were fed by the broken victuals of the monasteries, and grew sleek on the overflowings of the buttery-hatch, did not grudge excesses which turned to their own advantage. Such were the influences which strengthened the cause of the Church, and for a long while baffled the efforts of kings and statesmen to create a satisfactory balance of opposing interests.

We have seen how great was the increase of Papal pretensions during the Pontificate of Gregory VII.; but the claims of the Church grew even more extravagant as time wore on. After that imperious ruler, no Pontiff ever thought of waiting for the Imperial confirmation which in earlier days had always been solicited. It was maintained by some that the Emperor should rather be confirmed by the Pontiff, and it would almost seem that the German Empire was regarded as a fief of the Popedom. From 1154 to 1159, the Papal chair was filled by the only Englishman who ever sat there—Nicholas Breakspeare, a native of Langley, near St. Albans, who reigned as Adrian IV. This Pontiff maintained the powers of the Church at a great height, and, when sanctioning the expedition of Henry II. against Ireland, spoke of all Christian lands as being the property of St. Peter. His successor was Alexander III., with whom, as we have seen, Henry came into direct collision; and from that time forth the antagonism between Church and State was still more strongly accentuated. Innocent III., who occupied the Papal throne from 1198 to 1216, asserted that the kingdoms of the earth were Christ's, and therefore his vicar's. He aimed, in fact, at an universal dominion such as Imperial Rome itself had never reached, or even sought. The fears, the necessities, or the self-seeking of monarchs abetted his designs, and helped him to make some advance towards their realisation. John of England actually surrendered his kingdom, and received it back as a fief. Peter II. of Aragon did the same. Germany and France were submissive to the Pontifical will, and nowhere was there any courage to resist a dictation upheld by spiritual influences before which all men cowered. The Countess Matilda, whose support of Gregory VII. endeared her to all Romanists, left the reversion of her large possessions, in Tuscany, Mantua, Modena, and other parts of Italy, to the Papal See; and although, for many years, the claims of the Pontiffs in this respect were disregarded, Innocent III. managed to obtain the coveted provinces. Until that time, the Popes had really held no territorial possessions whatever. Even in Rome itself they were curbed by the Imperial Prefect, and by the frequent outbreak of popular commotions. From the days of Innocent, however, the Church of Rome became a temporal Power, and was thus in a far better position to impose its will on other nations. But we are here somewhat anticipating the course of events, for the sake of illustrating a general statement.

The most serious of the popular outbreaks which threatened the Popes in their own capital was that headed by the celebrated Arnaldo de Brescia, more commonly known to English readers as Arnold of Brescia. Although himself a monk, Arnaldo, whose lofty mind was scandalised by the immorali-

the clergy, boldly maintained, about the 139, that ecclesiastics, as well as laymen, be subordinate to the civil power; that the was not entitled to dispose of kingdoms incipalities; and that the clergy ought not l sovereign lordships and feudal estates. the stimulus of these opinions, which were y powerful eloquence, and recommended by t sincerity, Brescia revolted against its and the agitation soon spread to other Arnaldo was banished from Italy, and, entered France, encountered the vehement ion of St. Bernard. In 1143 he returned , where he learned that the Romans had l against Pope Innocent II. After the ign of Celestine II., Lucius II. was killed ffray, and Eugenius III. succeeded to the chair in 1145. The Romans had by this -established the Republic under the head- Arnaldo, and it is singular to find what that venerable name still exercised over the of the populace, after the lapse of many es, and a vast change both in manners and s. The Capitol again displayed a standard oned with the letters S.P.Q.R. (*Senatus sque Romanus*—"The Roman Senate and ") Eugenius was driven from the city; uses of the Cardinals and their adherents ttacked and destroyed; several persons were and a large amount of plunder was divided the less scrupulous of the revolutionists. ertain that Arnaldo himself had no part e excesses, and that he was a man of perfect and disinterestedness. But he had com- l a movement which he was unable to con- d for which a debased and ignorant popu- like that of Rome in the twelfth century, tally unfitted. The capital of the Western remained in a state of anarchy for full ars. Eugenius III. died in 1153; his or, Anastasius IV., expired soon after; and glishman, Adrian IV., became Pope in 1154. rigorous measures were now adopted against urbulent citizens. Adrian placed Rome an interdict—an unparalleled circumstance history of the Papal metropolis. All s services were suspended, and the people much alarmed at this measure that Arnaldo is principal friends were banished. They to Campania; and when Frederick Bar- was on his way to Rome for the purpose g crowned, the Pope's Legates met him on d, and requested that Arnaldo should be p for trial. This was done, and the un- te patriot was hanged in 1155. The move- ment of the brave and high-spirited monk had ended in failure; but it was something that for no less a period than ten years the dictation of the Pontiffs had been defied in their own citadel. The Papal tyranny was re-established with as much force as ever; but the world had been taught that beneath the splendours of priestly rule was a festering mass of discontent, which would assuredly make itself felt in future ages.

The determination of Innocent III. to advance the power of Rome to the utmost may have partly proceeded from a strong perception of the counter-acting forces which lay around him, and to which, half a century earlier, Arnaldo of Brescia had given such formidable concentration. But he was also a bigot of the most extreme order—one who regarded heresy as the greatest of sins, and who considered no cruelty unjustifiable which might secure its extirpation. His actions of this nature will appear as we proceed. Fear may have had much to do with prompting them; but a far deeper cause lay in the enormous assumption of infallible judgment and illimitable power. It may be granted that Innocent III. was not personally a vicious man, and that his motives were as sincere in one direction as those of Arnaldo in the other; but when a man's conscience enlists him on the side of immeasurable cruelty, the appalling aberration of his principles becomes still more apparent. The grand idea in the mind of Innocent III. may have been, as Dean Milman observes, the establishment of a Christian commonwealth with the Pope at its head; but if it was necessary to shed seas of blood, and to outrage every principle of humanity, before the ideal could be attained, it is evident that both the object and the methods were equally false. A system which can stand only by such diabolical help is neither Divine nor human; and the conscience of Innocent is condemned by the conscience of the world.

As the power of Rome increased, the independence of the national Churches was largely impaired. No Bishop was to exercise his functions until he had received confirmation from the Holy See. The authority of the Metropolitans was progressively circumscribed, and citations to appear at Rome were frequently directed to prelates who were thought not to have conformed sufficiently to the spiritual despotism of the Papal throne. Legates, charged with extensive powers, were sent into all the countries of Christendom; heavy taxes were levied on the clergy; and, finally, the right of appointing to Bishoprics, and to all other benefices, was taken away from monarchs, and engrossed by the head of the Church. The superior clergy

moved uneasily under many of these assumptions, which diminished their pride, and contracted their local influence; but the poorer orders of the priesthood, and the mendicant friars, who arose under the Pontificate of Innocent III., supported the most egregious claims of the Romish See. The intellectual subtlety of the Schoolmen was exerted on the same behalf; and, until the inevitable reaction set in, the demands of the Pontiffs became more extravagant and more confirmed.

The conquest of Ireland by Henry II. was very intimately connected with these Papal usurpations. Ireland had always been a rather heretical country, and, in the days of the English Heptarchy, the Irish monks of Northumbria had resolutely opposed themselves to the claims of the existing Popes, in opposition to the English ecclesiastics, who favoured them. At a later period, the Anglo-Saxon kings assumed a position of much greater freedom towards Rome; and it was on this account that Pope Alexander II. conspired with William of Normandy for the conquest of England. But the Anglo-Norman kings, down to Henry II., were the humble servants of the Pontiff, and at the commencement of the latter reign it was not yet seen that a different man had arisen. The independence of the Irish Church still existed in the middle of the twelfth century; and when, in 1155 or 1156 (for the date is variously given by different authorities), Henry II. contemplated an expedition into the sister island, he received a missive from Adrian IV., highly approving of his project, and distinctly placing it on the footing of a service done to religion. "You have advertised us, most dear son in Christ," said the Papal Bull, "of your design of an expedition into Ireland, to subject the island to just laws, and to root out vice, which has long flourished there. You promise to pay us out of every house a yearly acknowledgment of one penny, and to maintain the rights of the Church without the least detriment or diminution. Upon which promise, giving a ready ear to your request, we consent and allow that you make a descent on that island, to enlarge the bounds of the Church, to check the progress of immorality, to reform the manners of the natives, and to promote the growth of virtue and the Christian religion. We exhort you to do whatever you think proper to advance the honour of God and the salvation of the people, whom we charge to submit to your jurisdiction, and own you for their sovereign lord; provided always that the rights of the Church are inviolably preserved, and the Peter's Pence duly paid." Ireland in those days was Catholic rather than Papal. She gloried in her national Church, and resented undue interference from beyond the seas. England, on the other hand, was devoted to the Roman supremacy; for the contest with à Becket had not yet begun, nor were the Constitutions of Clarendon enacted until eight years after the later of the dates assigned to Adrian's Bull. Here, then, we have the commencement of that supremacy of England over Ireland which, in later centuries, by a singular reversal of the original position, took the character of a subjection of the Romish Church, in that particular country, to the predominance of Protestantism.

The history of Ireland, previous to its conquest by the Anglo-Normans, is of little consequence in the general records of the human race. The remoteness of the island cut it off from association with the great communities of Europe, except where particular Irishmen of genius and learning made themselves conspicuous in foreign lands. After the introduction of Christianity, the Irish were distinguished for their devotional character. Extensive monasteries were built in various parts of the country, and Irish ecclesiastics did much towards the conversion of the early English, and of several other nations. In this respect the Irish became so widely famous that their land was frequented by students of theology from many parts of Europe. But the Irish monks were often remarkable, not only for piety and learning, but for a certain artistic aptitude which was shown in their illuminated manuscripts.* Nevertheless, the people seem to have been wanting in that practical genius which is of greater value to the world than the knowledge of the library, or the art of the cloister. The Irish could study theology with unremitting application; they could paint exquisite miniatures in their missals and Testaments; they could sing to the harp, and build enduring works in stone, of which the most celebrated are those Round Towers which were once the subjects of elaborate speculation, but are now believed to have been erected as places of refuge for ecclesiastics during times of disturbance. All these things they could do; but the faculty of governing themselves was an unknown science. Their prosperity, and with it their political education, may, however, have been indefinitely thrown back by the incursions of the Danes and other

* The Irish are said to have distinguished themselves in this way as early as the fifth century—the century of St. Patrick. But it is not improbable that the so-called Irish work of that date was performed by Romanised Britons, or by their immediate pupils. Subsequently, however, the Irish monks were singularly proficient in the art of illuminating, which they taught to the early English.

men, which commenced towards the close of ghth century, and continued for between nd four hundred years. In 1014, these in- s were entirely overthrown at the battle of rf, near Dublin, by Brian Boroimhe, who s life in the heroic struggle. But, even after eat victory, bodies of Scandinavian pirates mally descended on the Irish coasts, and did e mischief by their barbarous rapacity. For st part, the independence of the country was ained ; yet its internal divisions were as great r, for Ireland was cut up into five petty ms, in each of which were several clans, ed by chiefs who often considered their will or to any other law or authority. The tendencies were observable among the Scots edonia, who derived their ancestry and their from Ireland. All the Irish kingdoms were ally subject to one chief monarch, whose lar territory was Meath, and who usually l at Tara. But the jurisdiction of this ign does not appear to have been very ally exercised, and the early history of l is a history of perpetual civil war. The ere administered by judges called *Brehons*, ere endowed with lands and many important ges, and who received the veneration both of ople and their rulers, but who had little in preserving the general peace. The Brehon are undoubtedly of great antiquity, and, gh modified in several respects after the anising of Ireland, are said to show some of their pagan origin.

Henry II., as we have said, contemplated the subjection of Ireland as early as 1155 or 1156 ; yet it was not until several years later that he made any approach towards the fulfilment of his great design. In 1166, Dermot Mac Murragh, the sovereign of Leinster, having been driven from his kingdom, in consequence of a grievous wrong which he had inflicted on the ruler of Meath, begged the assistance of Henry in the recovery of his possessions. He promised to become his vassal, if the favour were granted ; and the English King was glad of the opportunity for an easy conquest. Being then at war with France, Henry was unable to conduct an immediate invasion ; but he permitted Dermot to enlist the services of the Anglo-Norman barons, the principal of whom was Richard de Clare, Earl of Pembroke, the celebrated "Strongbow," as his companions delighted to call him. Thus strengthened, the expelled chieftain returned to Ireland in 1169, recovered his former territories, and captured some towns upon the eastern coast, including Dublin. His death occurred in 1171, and in the following year Henry himself, accompanied by a powerful army, entered Ireland, received homage from several of the native chiefs, and formally took possession of the country, in virtue of the grant made to him by Pope Adrian IV. Such was the beginning of English rule in Ireland—a rule productive of many bitter consequences to both nations, yet one which, in the nature of things, and considering the relative position of the two islands, seems to have been inevitable at an earlier or a later epoch.



STRONGBOW'S TOMB, CHRIST CHURCH, DUBLIN.



PARIS IN THE TIME OF PHILIP AUGUSTUS.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

FROM THE SECOND TO THE THIRD CRUSADE.

Interval between the Second and Third Crusades—German Resistance to the Papal Claims—Position of the Emperor Frederick Barbarossa towards Adrian IV.—Schism in the Church, and Election of Anti-Popes—Recognition by Barbarossa of the Pontificate of Innocent III.—State of Germany under his Rule—Reduction of the Baronial Power—Quarrel with Henry of Saxony—Reign of Philip Augustus in France—Rebellions of the Sons of Henry II. of England—Ignominious Treaty of Henry with Philip Augustus, and Death of the English Monarch—State of Affairs in Palestine—Early Career of Saladin—Interference of the Syrian Atabek in the Affairs of Egypt - War in that Country between the Turks and the Christians of Jerusalem—Deposition of the Fatimite Dynasty of Cairo—Death of Noureddin—Assumption of Royal Dignity by Saladin—The Sect of the Assassins—Secret Terrorism of Hassan, the "Old Man of the Mountains," and his Successors—Chastisement of the Sect by Saladin—War in Palestine, and Capture of Jerusalem by the Mohammedans—Tolerant and Humane Conduct of the Sultan—Rejoicings of the Conquerors—Unsuccessful Siege of Tyre—Rapid Subjugation of the Principality of Antioch—Degeneracy of the Descendants of the Early Crusaders—Mutual Jealousy and Disunion—Noble Character of Saladin—A Great Opportunity missed.

BETWEEN the Second and the Third Crusades, the state of Europe was that of a community (variously governed, and presenting different degrees of civilisation) which was assiduously occupied in an endeavour to emerge from the barbarism of ages into a settled and organised condition. The attempt might have been crowned with more immediate success, had it not been for the deadly feud between the assumptions of the Papacy and the claims of the State. Yet it is possible that, in the course of years, mankind may have benefited by the contest, which at any rate had the effect of rousing the intellectual powers by the energy of discussion. The darkest of the Dark Ages had passed. It was not simply that a few men of genius and learning arose out of the general waste, for they had never been wholly wanting; it was that there was a widening of men's thoughts in several directions—an outlook from the cloister and the camp into the world of many interests and many needs. In quitting Western Europe for the East, the Crusaders had immeasurably enlarged the scope of their ideas. The Byzantine Empire revealed to them a Government of scientific and methodical character, which obviously possessed many valuable qualities. At Constantinople, affairs could be conducted without the perpetual intermeddling of a foreign priest. The interests of religion were guarded by the Patriarch; but that functionary was a subject of the monarch, and did not consider it one of his rights to arrest the whole machinery of the State because his will was thwarted. Entering Asia, the Western adventurers saw races of men professing a faith which was

clearly not incompatible either with a splendid and prosperous civilisation, or with the authority of the secular head. All these facts passed in time into the minds of Germans, of Frenchmen, and of Englishmen; and they had an important influence on the course of affairs.

Germany—the country which was in time to be the native land of the Reformation—was always foremost in resisting the extreme demands of the Papacy. The motive may have been nothing better than love of power, and jealousy of a competing interest; but opposition of some kind was necessary, whatever the sentiment that prompted it. Frederick I. (Barbarossa) was certainly more intent on securing his own authority than on promoting any species of religious or political reform; yet he made successive Popes understand that the Empire was not simply a fief of the Holy See. He helped, it is true, to put down Arnaldo de Brescia in 1155; he addressed his messengers with insulting speeches; he held the stirrup of Pope Adrian's mule (though not without considerable reluctance and hesitation), and received the Imperial crown from that Pontiff as a dutiful son of the Church. But when he beheld at Rome a picture representing the Emperor Lothaire accepting the supreme dignity as a fief from the Pope, he ordered it to be obliterated, saying, "God has raised the Church by means of the Empire, and the Church desires to overthrow it. You begin with painting, and follow it up by writing, in the expectation of treading us under foot. Destroy your pictures, and take back your letters, if you desire that there should be peace between us." The words were befitting an independent monarch; yet the policy of Frederick towards Rome was vacillating and inconsistent. By Adrian he was regarded with distrust as a rival sovereign, and by the Roman people with hatred as the suppressor of their republican liberties.



PHILIP AUGUSTUS.

The execution of Arnaldo was followed by renewed disturbance, and the German forces were attacked with such fury and resolution that, after a sanguinary contest lasting until nightfall, and a little temporary success, they withdrew to Tivoli. In 1156, the insincere pact between the Emperor and the Pope came to an end. The former complained that the latter had violated his faith by receiving ambassadors and entering into treaties without the Imperial sanction, and resented the assumption that the Imperial crown was bestowed by the Popes as a *beneficium*. Adrian, on the other hand, asserted that the representatives of Frederick at Rome made exactions without his authority. He maintained that the patrimony of the Church should be exempt from paying feudal tribute to the Emperor; and he demanded restitution of the lands and

revenues bequeathed by the Countess Matilda, of the duchy of Spoleto, and of the islands of Corsica and Sardinia. These matters were still unsettled when Adrian died in 1159.

A schism in the Church ensued. Some of the Cardinals elected Victor IV. as the new Pope; others chose Alexander III. As the friend of Imperial interests, Victor was supported by Frederick. Alexander excommunicated the Emperor, but was compelled to retire into France. Ultimately, however, Frederick was obliged to acknowledge Alexander, to kiss his feet, and to hold his stirrup. This was in 1176, after the disastrous battle of Legnano, when the utter defeat of the Emperor by the forces of the Lombard Confederacy inclined him to a conciliatory mood. Victor IV. had died in 1164; but, between that date and 1176, two other anti-Popes had been elected with the approval of Frederick—Pascal III. and Calixtus III. The Emperor lay under the ban of excommunication pronounced by Alexander; but this was removed on his acknowledging that ruler as the true Pope. The cause of Calixtus was thus abandoned, and the disappointed ecclesiastic (whose position as Pope, or anti-Pope, dated from 1168) was soothed by the gift of a rich abbey. Alexander died in 1181, after a reign of nearly twenty-two years. His period of rule was disturbed and anxious; yet he had finally prevailed over his opponents, and even Barbarossa, one of the greatest monarchs of the twelfth century, considered it prudent to recognise his Pontificate. It was he, as the reader is aware, who upheld à Becket in his contest with Henry II. of England, and canonised the prelate after his death. His conception of the Papal prerogatives was equal to that of any of his predecessors, and it was only the prolonged opposition of Frederick which imposed the least check on him. As for the Roman people, their interests were held of little account by either party to the dispute. The German sovereigns had no right in Italy at all, according to any modern conception of right; but their intrusion is not altogether to be condemned, if in some degree it curbed the still worse despotism of the Popes.

In Germany itself, the rule of Frederick was attended by many excellent results. He found the country distracted by continual feuds amongst the great barons, and these he suppressed with an unflinching hand. Some of the nobles had been in the habit of carrying off priests, merchants, and other travellers to their castles, from which they were not released except on payment of heavy indemnities. Frederick destroyed many of the feudal strongholds, and drafted several of the peasantry into the cities, where they added to the industrial population, and increased the national wealth, while enjoying protection from lawless chieftains, who had ranged the open country with all the licence of banditti. At about the same period, Louis II., Landgrave of Thuringia, controlled the power of his own nobles in a similar manner, though not until after an actual war, in which his troops gained the advantage. Defeating the nobles in a battle near Naumburg, he harnessed several to ploughs, and turned them into a field, which was afterwards called "the nobles' acre." Germany increased in prosperity and internal peace during this epoch, and much was due to the vigorous administration of Frederick Barbarossa. The dominions of the Emperor were enlarged by his marriage with a daughter of the Duke of Burgundy. The rulers of Poland and Denmark held their crowns as fiefs of the Empire, and Frederick interfered in the latter kingdom to the extent of directing the succession when it was in dispute between two claimants. Henry II. of England was the only sovereign of Western Europe whose power could make any comparison with his own; and even Henry is said to have sought the friendship of the German Emperor, and to have confessed his superiority. The good qualities of Frederick as a ruler may be sufficiently inferred from what has just been related; but his pride and arrogance were often extreme. His conduct to the Lombards, with which the reader is already acquainted, was marked by all the fury of an exasperated tyrant, and in his dealings with other sovereigns he frequently gave the most offensive character to the assertion of his predominance. He behaved with considerable severity to his cousin, Henry of Saxony, who had saved his life during the contentions at Rome, but who afterwards refused assistance in the war with the Lombard Confederates. For this want of compliance, his possessions were confiscated in 1181, and the Duke was ordered to the court of his father-in-law, Henry II. of England. After the lapse of three years, some of his estates were restored, but, half a century later, became Imperial fiefs, and appear as the two Duchies of Brunswick, whose rulers inherited the name of Guelph.

The throne of France, on the death of Louis VII. in 1180, was occupied by his only son, Philip Augustus. Like his great contemporary, Frederick Barbarossa, the new monarch determined on reducing the power of the nobles, and augmenting that of the crown. He was the better able to accomplish this task by a fortunate marriage, which he contracted almost immediately after his accession to

one. His bride was Isabella, daughter of
, Count of Hainault, and niece of Philip of
, a princess descended in the female line
harles of Lorraine, the last of the Carolin-
Her dowry was the town of Amiens, and
her uncle's dominion was to be inherited by
nch sovereign. The measures of Philip
as with respect to the great nobles were
by the Duke of Burgundy, who fortified
in his castle of Châtillon-sur-Seine. The
f the King, however, prevailed over that of
e, and the former then turned to questions
ion, which, unhappily, he treated in the
f intolerance common to that epoch. The
ere compelled to leave the kingdom within
months of the royal decree, and heretics
uld not repent were condemned to death
ecuted. With this fervent assertion of
x views in matters of faith, was combined
d for morality more in accordance with
ritanism than with the views of the twelfth
. Profane swearers and blasphemers, game-
d buffoons, were subjected to heavy penal-
d Philip Augustus aimed at the character
universal reformer, who would tolerate
a feudal baron nor a Jew, neither a heretic
idler, neither a libertine nor a mountebank.
s not long, however, before other matters
his attention. He had a formidable rival
y II. of England, and it was an important
in his policy to reduce the power of that
a on the Continent. War broke out be-
the two sovereigns in 1187, and, before
could reach France, Philip attacked and
several towns belonging to him in the
e of Berri. On the arrival of Henry,
es were suspended, and arrangements fol-
or the conclusion of a definitive peace. The
l reign of Henry were now drawing to a
nd his latter years were troubled by an
n which, in those days, frequently visited
age of kings. His sons were not merely at
mong themselves, but rebellious towards
ther. As early as 1170, the eldest son,
though then only sixteen years of age, had
owned in Westminster Abbey as heir-
t, and had even received the title of "the
king," with the designation of Henry III.
prudent arrangement encouraged extrava-
ims on the part of the young prince, and
rth he and his brothers considered them-
ntitled to the Continental possessions of the
crown. Their pretensions were supported
is of France and William of Scotland, as
by several of the Norman and English
barons. Henry prevailed over both his royal foes; but the enmity of the young princes could not be so readily overcome. After a few years of comparative placidity, family dissensions again broke out, encouraged, possibly, as they were before, by Queen Eleanor, whose hatred had been roused by the gallantries of her husband, and whose influence was still considerable, though she had for some years been confined in prison. Prince Henry died at Château Martel on the 11th of June, 1183, while in rebellion against his father. Geoffrey, though supported by the chief nobility of Aquitaine, made his submission shortly after; but his insubordination was renewed in a few months, when, having fled to the court of France, he obtained the countenance of Philip Augustus. His death, in August, 1186, consequent on being thrown from his horse at a tournament, left the King with only two legitimate sons to disturb his remaining days by either their quarrels or their claims. Richard, who had already, on more than one occasion, placed himself in violent opposition to his parent, now attempted to excite a new revolt in Aquitaine, but without success. It was at this juncture that Philip Augustus commenced his attack upon the English possessions in Berri; and the arrangement effected after the arrival of Henry in France, in 1187, was almost immediately followed by those tidings from Palestine which led to the Third Crusade.

Excited by the appeals of the Archbishop of Tyre, the rulers of France and England determined to embark on an expedition to the Holy Land. Two years, however, were appointed for the necessary preparations, and, before the expiration of many months, Philip and Henry were again at issue. Richard, taking advantage of the crisis, and utterly forgetting his zeal for Christianity in the East, once more broke into revolt, and did homage to the French King for what he regarded as his Continental possessions. Henry was prematurely old, feeble, and broken-hearted. He had no longer any spirit to resist, and, on the failure of an attempt at reconciliation made by Pope Clement III., he sued Philip for terms of peace. These were granted on various humiliating conditions, including a proviso that Henry's vassals, both Continental and English, should do homage to Richard, in acknowledgment of his rights as heir-apparent. The stipulations were in themselves painful enough; but when Henry discovered that amongst the disaffected was his favourite son John, whose loyalty he had always held to be above suspicion, he pronounced a curse upon him and his brother, and declared that thenceforword all his

interest in the world was at an end. He died of a lingering malady on the 6th of July, 1189. The place of his decease was Chinon, and he was buried in the Abbey of Fontevrault; so little of an Englishman, either in his birth or in his death, was he who for nearly thirty-five years had swayed, and not ingloriously, the sceptre of the English realm.

The new aspect of affairs in Palestine might well, according to the ideas of that age, have suspended all animosity amongst Christian princes, for the sake of restoring the damaged fortunes of Christendom in the west of Asia. The forces of Mohammedanism had passed into the hands of a singularly gifted warrior, who seemed born to redeem the calamities of previous years. Salah-ed-deen, more generally known as Saladin, was born in 1137 at a castle on the Tigris, of which his father was the governor. The family were Kurds, subjects of the Seljukian rulers over Persia, and distinguished by those martial virtues which are often found amongst wandering tribes. Ayub, the father of Saladin, ultimately transferred his services to Zenghi, the Atabek of Syria, and was accompanied by his brother Shirakoh. By Noureddin, the son of Zenghi, both these chieftains were raised to high military position, and in 1163 Shirakoh was appointed to the command of a body of troops destined to act in Egypt. The Caliphs of that country had for several years been growing weaker, and their power was now entirely usurped by the Viziers, as that of the Baghdad Caliphs had been usurped by the Seljukian Turks, and theirs by the Atabeks. At the period to which we are referring, the Egyptian Grand Vizier, Shawer, who had originally been a slave, was deposed by a soldier named Dargham, and fled for assistance to the court of Noureddin. The Atabek had long been desirous of interfering in the concerns of Egypt, the Fatimite sovereigns of which country were detestable to him as heretics; and the grievances of Shawer presented him with a decent pretext.

This, then, was the occasion of that expedition in which Saladin was to achieve his earliest renown. He accompanied his uncle Shirakoh in a subordinate capacity. Shawer was reinstated in his dignity, after Dargham had been defeated and slain; but the Vizier feared the designs of his powerful allies, and, refusing to fulfil the promises he had made in the time of his distress, commanded the Turks to quit Egypt without delay. Shirakoh seized Pelusium, and Shawer obtained the assistance of Almeric, the Christian King of Palestine. Thus aided, he induced the Kurdish general to withdraw from Egypt; but the Christians, shortly afterwards, sustained a defeat at the hands of Noureddin in the province of Antioch. At a somewhat later date, the Turks and Christians contended for the mastery of Egypt. Noureddin and Shirakoh concerted plans for the subjugation of that country, and persuaded the Caliph of Baghdad to summon all the Mussulmans of Syria to the chastisement of the Shiite sovereigns of Cairo. Almeric was equally zealous in demanding the help of Christians for the conquest of a land which would have given the utmost splendour to his sovereignty. In 1166, Shirakoh, accompanied by his nephew Saladin, again marched into Egypt at the head of a large force, but, on reaching Pelusium, found that the Frankish King had anticipated his movements, and already established himself in that city. The Kurdish chieftain then crossed the Nile, and took up a position on the western bank, opposite Cairo. Pressed by the Franks, he turned in a southerly direction, and, after five days, was overtaken by the forces of Almeric.* The ensuing battle ended in the defeat of the Christians; but they were able next morning to retreat to Cairo in good order.

The actual commander of the Turks on this occasion was Saladin, who gave convincing proof of the military genius which was afterwards to be so brilliantly exhibited on more important fields. Alexandria was surrendered to Shirakoh, who was soon blockaded there by Almeric. He managed, however, to escape with a thousand men into the upper provinces of Egypt, leaving his nephew in command of Alexandria, which was already beginning to suffer from scarcity of provisions. A hollow truce in 1167 was followed by renewed war in 1168. Pelusium was stormed and sacked by the Christians, and the Egyptian Caliph, trembling for the safety of his dominions, implored aid of Noureddin. In the meanwhile, the Vizier Shawer had acted with so much vigour and promptitude that, on the arrival of Shirakoh and his forces in the early part of 1169, the Christians retreated into Syria. Shawer was afterwards seized by Saladin, on the discovery of a plot for getting rid of Shirakoh; and the Caliph, glad to be delivered from an imperious servant, ordered his head to be struck off. Shirakoh succeeded to the post of Grand Vizier; but it was as the subject and the lieutenant of Noureddin that he exercised his powers. Dying in a couple of months, his

* The word "Frank" was the term by which the Eastern nations described all the Western Europeans. In this sense, therefore, "Franks" and "Latins" were the same.

y passed to Saladin, who was appointed by liph from a mistaken impression of his r. Notwithstanding his valour and ability, ng chieftain had reluctantly accompanied e to the wars, and would rather have spent e in the harem than in the camp. The sovereign imagined that he had found a ool in Saladin; but events soon disproved gment. By order of Noureddin, he deposed imite dynasty in 1171, and Adhed, the last Egyptian Caliphs, died eleven days after.

time before this event, the Christians had ntered Egypt, where, in 1170, they obtained uccesses. Saladin, however, drove them heir conquests, and took possession of the f Gaza and Darum, which were regarded as s of Palestine in the direction of Egypt. lened by repeated successes, the Kurdish n aspired to the position of an independent gn, but was checked by the anger of din, who threatened to enter Egypt him- the coercion of his lieutenant. He would y have fulfilled his menace, had it not been submission of Saladin, whose premature n was restrained by the advice of his Ayub. The great Atabek died in 1174, behind him a reputation for justice, y, and religion, which was acknowledged Archbishop of Tyre. By some it was as- hat Noureddin wished to be a Christian; by t was alleged that he had actually become nd Matthew of Paris has preserved a long aid to have been addressed to him by the The fact of his conversion is extremely l; but his character was distinguished by f the noblest virtues to be found in ion with any religion. His simplicity of ood in remarkable contrast to the self- nce of most Oriental sovereigns. He to oppress his people that great revenues e wrung from their sufferings. Education stered; mosques, hospitals, and places of ment for travellers, were built in every ; and a tribunal was established for the of wrongs committed by local governors. ilities as a warrior were equal to those father Zenghi, while in other respects tues surpassed the merits of any contem- sovereign, whether in the East or in the

during the life of Noureddin, Saladin, professing a dutiful submission to his r, had evaded all requisitions for military ce. After the death of the Sultan, he dvantage of the political confusion which ensued, and, marching to Damascus, reduced that ancient city to his command. Other towns were seized in rapid succession, and Saladin, having conquered a considerable part of Syria, assumed the title of Sultan, with all the prerogatives of royalty. It is impossible, in these respects, to vindicate his conduct, which seems to have been characterised by want of faith towards those from whom his power had been originally derived; but his vigorous rule was productive of good results, and his chastisement of the Assassins of Lebanon (about 1175) was a distinct gain to humanity. These wretches formed a branch of the Ismailis, of whom the Karamites, or Karmathians, were another division. In the opinion of the Ismailis, as in that of the Shiites, Ali was the first legitimate successor of Mohammed, to the entire exclusion of Abu Beker, Omar, and Othman. The Ismailis counted the Imâms, or representative prophets, from Ali; and the seventh of these inspired teachers was Ismaïl, who lived in the eighth Christian century, and was an object of worship to his followers. The Imâms were supposed to reappear from time to time, and to be embodiments of Ali himself: a religious conception similar to that of the Divine Avatars of the Brahminical faith, and totally opposed to the spirit of Mohammedanism. The head-quarters of the sect were at Cairo, and the Egyptian Caliph Hakem, whose blasphemous assumptions and cruel extravagances preceded the First Crusade, was to some extent associated with this band of daring speculators, though he seems to have given their views a direction peculiar to himself. The spiritual object of the Ismailis was to destroy, by a gradual and cautious method of initiation, every vestige of religious belief in the minds of their followers, and to substitute a mystical system, derived partly from Plato, Aristotle, and Pythagoras, and partly from Oriental schools of thought, with the ultimate intention of preaching the eternity of the universe as the one cardinal doctrine of the whole body. Their political design was to depose the Sunnite Caliphs of Baghdad, and to establish the supremacy over all Islam of the Shiite Caliphs of Egypt, whom they regarded as the descendants of Mohammed through his daughter Fatima, the wife of Ali. On this account alone, the Assassins, who shared the same views, would have been repugnant to Saladin as a faithful Sunnite; but the organisation of the sect at Lebanon was a danger of such grave magnitude that no prudent sovereign could overlook its existence.

The Ismailis appear to have regarded all actions



GENERAL VIEW OF CAIRO.

as morally indifferent, and the Assassins carried out this mischievous doctrine with remorseless logic. The founder of their community was a man of Persian race, named Hassan-ben-Sabbah-el-Homairi, living in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, and partially imbued with the Ismailitic doctrines. Although to some extent adopting the views of his teachers, he aimed at the creation of a distinct body, more in accordance with his own conceptions of what was needed for the conversion of others. He determined to proceed, not by persuasion, but by the secret exercise of force; and having, in 1090, conquered the hill-fortress of Alamut (the Vulture's Nest), in the Persian district of Rudbar, he formed an association of devoted followers, who committed numerous murders, and established a system of terrorism which spread far and wide. The modern word "assassin" is by some derived from the principal name borne by the founder of the sect; but it comes more probably from the Persian word *Hashishim*, meaning "hemp-eaters," as it was usual for the agents of the confederation to be intoxicated by the influence of *hashish*, or the hemp-plant, previous to departing on their murderous errands. By activity and valour, Hassan gained possession of several fortified castles, together with a large extent of territory; but the chief seat of his dominion was among the rocky fastnesses of Syria, where he was known as the Old Man of the Mountain, and exercised



THE CITADEL OF CAIRO (BUILT BY SALADIN).

a power and authority of the most tremendous kind. The constitution of the body was strictly despotic, and consisted of seven degrees, beginning with the Sheikh himself, and ending with the common people. Only the upper class was initiated in the true principles of the order; the others were enjoined to pay respect to the very letter of the Koran which their masters explained away, so as to harmonize it with their negative ideas on the subjects of religion and morality.

The Jesuits have never exacted from their disciples so absolute an obedience as that which Hassan and his successors demanded and obtained from the agents of their imperious will. The active work of the society was executed by certain youths, who had, not unfrequently, been stolen from their parents in childhood, and who were taught, as the first article of faith, that the orders of their prince were as the decrees of destiny, and could not possibly be evaded. They were clothed in white, with red caps and girdles; but disguises were assumed when any difficult service had to be executed. The heaven of Mohammed, which the rulers of the sect regarded with entire incredulity, remained as a powerful incentive with these unhappy dupes, who believed that complete subjection to the will of their superiors would give them instant admission, after death, to a sensual paradise. The orders of the Sheikh were carried out with a secrecy and certainty that were truly appalling. The youthful wielders of the dagger were prepared to meet death in its most terrific forms, rather than fail in their missions; and their courage was never found wanting in the hour of trial. Sultans and Viziers were attacked and slain with impunity; even the powerful Seljukians were glad to make terms with the Prince of the Assassins; and Hassan received several districts as the price of his amity. It is related that on one occasion the Sultan Sandjar, son of Malek Shah, headed a powerful army against the leaders of the sect, but, on waking from his sleep, was dismayed at finding a dagger close to his head. Some days after, he received a letter, intimating that, had the brotherhood not been well-affected towards him, the dagger would have been planted in his heart. Hereupon he made peace with the fraternity; and there can be no question that death would have struck him in some mysterious form, had he proceeded with his expedition.

Hassan, the founder of the body, died at Alamut in 1124, after a reign of thirty-five years. His authority was carried on by able and resolute successors, one of whom even entered into an alliance with Baldwin II., King of Jerusalem, against the Seljukian Turks, the common enemy of both. This agreement, which did not last very long, was brought about through the agency of Hugo de Payens, Grand Master of the Templars, and is one of the earliest of those equivocal transactions which ultimately obtained an unenviable notoriety for the religious Knights. A little before the time of Saladin, the reigning Sheikh of the Assassins announced that he was the promised Imâm, and openly absolved all his followers from the obligations of Mohammedanism. But this was too frank an avowal to suit the purposes of the body, and the imprudent ruler, after committing a series of frightful crimes, was slain by his brother-in-law. Nevertheless, he was succeeded by a son who proceeded on the same principle of entire separation from Islam; but the Mohammedan faith was again recognised by the next chief, as a necessary part of the system by which the fraternity had attained their greatest height of power. It was during the reign of this Sheikh, or his successor, that Saladin took measures against the terrorism of the Assassins. His own life had been attempted several times, and he was therefore not without personal reasons for desiring to abate a secret despotism, before which many rulers had already fallen. His operations were attended with success, and the Assassins were reduced to something like submission; but their power afterwards revived, and was not finally extinguished until many years later.

The ascendency of Saladin was now fully confirmed, and, although he was seriously defeated by the Christians at Ascalon in 1177, his successes in other directions were sufficient to establish his reputation as the greatest warrior of the time. Edessa, Amida, and other towns belonging to the Syrian Atabeks, were taken by his armies, and in 1183 he obtained possession of Aleppo. Being thus in entire command of Egypt and Syria, his title to both provinces was confirmed by the Caliph of Baghdad. The magnitude of his empire was such as to ensure general respect; but the kingdom of Jerusalem interposed between the two main divisions, and was an obstruction which an ambitious ruler like Saladin was not disposed to tolerate. As a sovereign, and as a Mohammedan, the highest ambition of Saladin was to expel the Christians from Palestine, and bring back Jerusalem to the condition of a Moslem city. Moreover, he had a personal quarrel with Reginald de Châtillon, one of the Christian lords of Palestine, who, in spite of a convention concluded between Saladin and the Franks, had committed ravages on the Arabian border, and attacked a caravan of

pilgrims to Mecca, several of whom he massacred, while the rest were carried into captivity. The offenders were attacked in the plain of Tiberias in 1187, when Guy de Lusignan, King of Jerusalem, was entirely defeated and taken prisoner, together with Châtillon, the Masters of the Templars and Hospitallers, and a large number of knights. The members of the two religious Orders were offered their choice between death and conversion to Mohammedanism, and, choosing the former, were slaughtered before the tent of Saladin. Reginald de Châtillon was decapitated by the Sultan himself, but the others were spared; and the conqueror, flushed by his new success, penetrated still farther into the Holy Land, everywhere receiving the submission of the principal cities.

At length he appeared before Jerusalem itself. The city was crowded by refugees from other parts of Christendom, but the soldiers were few, and, in the absence of the King, affairs were weakly administered by his consort. Saladin, professing his unwillingness to shed blood in a city which Mohammedans reverence almost equally with Christians, offered the people money, together with settlements in Syria, if they would surrender the position. The offer was contemptuously rejected, and Saladin then swore that he would enter the place sword in hand, and revenge by an equal massacre the slaughter authorised by Godfrey of Bouillon. The defence was conducted with great resolution; but in fourteen days the walls were shattered by the engines of the Mussulmans, or sapped by their mines. The Christians now sent a deputation to Saladin, imploring a renewal of his former terms, but were answered that it was ridiculous to make conditions for the capitulation of a town which in effect had already fallen. The besieged finally determined to rely on the generosity of a resistless foe, and their trust was not in vain. Saladin behaved with great kindness to the Christian inhabitants of Jerusalem. Entering the city on the 2nd of October, 1187, he was much impressed with the tenderness exhibited by the military friars of St. John in their treatment of the sick; and he allowed some of the Order to remain, that they might pursue their benevolent labours. Only a few thousands were permanently held as prisoners. Of the great majority, some were redeemed by money payments, and others suffered to depart by favour of the Sultan.

The conquest of Jerusalem by the Mohammedans was not followed by the terrific massacre which disgraced the success of the Christians in 1099; but religious fanaticism and pride found means for their expression. The great cross on the Church of the Holy Sepulchre was torn down by the warriors of Saladin, and dragged for two days through the mire of the streets. Bells were melted; the Mosque of Omar was purified with the rose-water of Damascus; and, in the religious services that followed, the recent triumph was ascribed to the desire of God for the universal influence of Islam. The success was indeed momentous, for the fall of Jerusalem ensured that of all the neighbouring cities. Tyre still held out for the Christians, but it stood almost alone. Saladin laid siege to its walls, but was compelled to withdraw without accomplishing his design. The title of the Sultan to the kingdom of Jerusalem was, however, very generally acknowledged, and it was seen that, if the power of the Mohammedans was to be successfully resisted, it could only be by a new accession of military adventurers from Europe. There was no Christian State in Asia capable of resisting the military genius and the serried hosts of Saladin. The arms of the Sultan were speedily carried into the principality of Antioch, where five-and-twenty towns, including the capital itself, submitted to the will of the stronger in 1188. The Christians probably relied on the arrival of assistance from the martial countries of the North-west; at any rate, they made, excepting in a few places, but a faint resistance after the fall of Jerusalem. Much of the old ardour had died out, and something of Oriental languor had infected the descendants of the earlier Crusaders. They are said, even by contemporary writers of their own faith, to have been inordinately vicious. The clergy were as immoral as the laity; justice was inefficiently administered; the Christians quarrelled among themselves; and some French barons, who returned to Europe after the failure to take Damascus in 1149, alleged that the divisions of the Latin rulers had much to do with the Mussulman successes. The Christians were so few in number, and the Mohammedans so multitudinous, that nothing could possibly be effected save by union and self-abnegation. But these qualities were wanting, and the result was accumulated disaster. The Knights of St. John were at issue with the Patriarch of Jerusalem; the Templars had a quarrel with the Knights of St. John; the sovereign lords of Palestine and Syria frequently disagreed with respect to the highest matters of policy; and the community thus weakened by dissension was broken into fragments by the concentrated force and compact organisation of the Moslem Sultan.

The power of Saladin was now advanced to the utmost height. His authority as a temporal

prince was acknowledged both at Mecca and Medina; the province of Yemen, or Arabia Felix, was subdued by his brother; and his empire spread from Tripoli in Africa to the banks of the Tigris, from the shores of the Indian Ocean to the mountains of Armenia. It would perhaps have been wiser had the monarchs of Europe come to some agreement with this mighty sovereign, for the just and reasonable protection of his Christian subjects, instead of entering upon a third Crusade. The Mohammedans had often evinced a willingness to treat their theological opponents in the spirit of conciliation; and Saladin himself, fanatic though he was, displayed many noble qualities in the hour of his triumph. He now showed himself a brave, temperate, and virtuous man, sincere in the profession of his own religion, and therefore not disinclined to respect the sincerity of others. His inflexibility in the execution of justice was truly exemplary: he heard appeals, even from his own sentences, or those of his ministers, with rigid impartiality; and the poverty of a suppliant never invalidated his claim. Nor was he simply just; his generosity was overflowing and unstinted. The subject was not ground down by heavy imposts, nor were the great suffered to oppress the humble and the industrious. It is recorded of Saladin that he would diligently peruse the Koran even in front of his advancing line of battle; but when we find this devotion to the letter accompanied by so high a spirit of equity and benevolence, we are compelled to admit that the conqueror of Jerusalem was not a hypocritical pretender to virtues which he did not really possess. His fame extended far beyond the limits of his realm, and, had he been content to leave Palestine unconquered, he might have avoided the war which afterwards tried his resources to the utmost. Before the capture of Jerusalem, the Western Emperor had boasted of his friendship, and the Eastern Emperor had sought his alliance. A more tolerant age might have extracted golden results from this mutual approach of two religions not wholly wanting in affinity. Unhappily, it was otherwise. Pride and mutual antagonism precipitated a bloody contest, and relegated to a distant future the natural combination of the East and West.

CHAPTER XXIX.

EASTERN EUROPE AND WESTERN ASIA: THE THIRD CRUSADE.

Rising States in the Vicinity of the Byzantine Empire—Manuel I. and the Servian Prince—Wars with Hungary, and Dismemberment of the Kingdom—Bohemia and the German Empire—Martial Enterprises of Manuel—The Islands of the Greek Archipelago Ravaged by Raymond, Count of Tripoli—Byzantine Expedition into Egypt—War with the Seljukian Turks in 1157—Further Hostilities in 1176—Great Defeat of the Emperor Manuel in the Pass of Zibrica—Conclusion of Peace, and Subsequent Renewal of the War—Death of Manuel—Decay of the Empire during his Rule—Brief Reign of Alexius II.—Usurpation, Tyrannical Government, and Murder, of Andronicus—Succession of Isaac II.—Expulsion of the Sicilians from Thessalonica—Commencement of the Wallachian Monarchy—Attack on Constantinople—The Third Crusade—German Expedition to Palestine under Frederick Barbarossa—Dissensions between the Western and the Eastern Emperors—Treachery of Isaac—The German Army in Asia, and Death of the Emperor Frederick—Failure of the Teutonic Crusade—The French and English Expeditions—Richard I. in Sicily—His Operations in Cyprus—Siege of Acre—Dissensions of Richard I. and Philip Augustus—Surrender of Acre—Defeat of Saladin near Azotus—Further Progress of the Crusade—Proposals for Peace—Interchange of Courtesies between Saladin and King Richard—Advance to Jerusalem, and Retreat of the Christians—Disorganisation of the Crusading Force—Desperate Action before Jaffa—Conclusion of Peace—Departure of Richard for England.

BORDERING on the Empire of Constantinople, towards the north and west, were certain States which began to acquire importance about the middle of the twelfth century. The authority of the Byzantine sovereigns had always been rather laxly imposed on the barbaric races situated in the vicinity of the Danube; and as the Empire declined in power, the vassal principalities asserted a larger independence. Nothing could be more natural than such a result, for the rising nationalities had little interest in maintaining a connection from which they no longer derived any profit, and the Emperors often lacked the force to compel obedience. The Servians had been glad to pay fealty to the great city on the Bosphorus as long as they could send the produce of their fields to the large populations of the south and east; but when, owing to the decay of the Empire, the fine roads of an earlier time were broken up, the people of the mountainous districts of Servia looked only to

selves, while the maritime towns of Dalmatia oped a thriving commerce with Italy. In the of the Byzantine Emperor, Manuel I., Servia Dalmatia were united under one sceptre, and, g the Sicilian war which commenced in 1146, uling Prince formed an alliance with King r, and encroached on the territory of his rial neighbour. Alarmed at the possible ts of such a movement, Manuel hastened to seat of peril, and encountered the Servian s, augmented by a large Hungarian army, on anks of the Drina, near its junction with the

With his usual chivalric valour, Manuel ed the enemy at the head of his troops, and, a personal encounter with the opposing al, in which he was wounded, gained a com- victory. The Prince of Servia was glad to peace, to swear fidelity to the Emperor, and omise a military contingent whenever it was red. The treaty was violated by subsequent s, and Manuel was repeatedly obliged to ise a people who kept faith only so long as were compelled, and took advantage of every le to renounce their engagements.

e assistance rendered to Servia by the Hun- n monarch, Geysa II., at the battle of the a, was made the pretext for a war against the -Danubian kingdom. Manuel desired to gain ssion of that extensive country, which had ted a good deal of the commerce formerly ng by Cherson and Trebizond to Constantinople. herefore invaded Hungary in 1151, while the was engaged in an expedition to Russia, laid e a large tract of land, took numerous cities, appropriated an immense booty. Peace was uded in 1153, and lasted until 1161, when, on eath of Geysa II., Manuel interfered in the ssion to the throne. It was the custom in the garian monarchy, as in some others, to allow rown to pass from the deceased sovereign to his er; but it was known that Geysa desired the ty to be enjoyed by his son Stephen. The er number of the Hungarians entertained the wish; but Manuel supported Ladislaus, the of Geysa's brothers, and, after his death, h occurred in a few months, the younger er, Stephen. The result of this interposition that Stephen the son of Geysa (the Stephen of Hungarian history) was driven from the e, and remained in a private station until the e, exasperated by the oppressive government s uncle, the other Stephen, recalled him to the e. Manuel again took up the cause of the er, and a period of trouble commenced, during h the sceptre was sometimes held by the elder Stephen (called Stephen IV.), and sometimes by the younger.

The death of the former, in 1163, might perhaps have restored peace to the kingdom, had it not been that Stephen III. had recently taken the strong city of Zeugmin, which had previously been held for the other faction, and that the pride of Manuel could not endure so great a reverse. He therefore formed alliances with Frederick Barbarossa, with the Venetians, and with several of the Russian princes, attacked Zeugmin in 1166, and took it by storm. The whole of Hungary between the Save and the Danube was subdued by the Emperor himself, while another Greek army, under John Ducas, conquered all Hungarian Dalmatia, which contained many cities of importance, including the famous Spalatro, once the residence of Diocletian. A great defeat of the Hungarians in 1168 brought the war to a close, and Stephen III., overcome by repeated disasters, ceded Zeugmin, Sirmium, and Southern Dalmatia, to his powerful antagonist. In some of his battles he had been assisted by Ladislaus, King of Bohemia—a country mainly peopled by the Sclavonic Zechs, the rulers of whom (formerly called Dukes of Prague) had received the regal dignity from the Emperor Henry IV. in 1061. At that time, Bohemia was held to be a portion of the German Empire; but the population had little in common with the Teutonic race, and, like the Hungarians, were preparing a distinct nationality, which was afterwards to become famous.

The martial character of Manuel I. gave the prevailing tone to his reign. He was almost constantly at war, and in the course of his rule encountered—for the most part successfully—the Christians of Antioch, the Normans of Sicily, the Servians and Hungarians, the Venetians and Cilicians, the Egyptians and Seljukian Turks. His object in many of these campaigns was to compel an acknowledgment of vassalage, and to maintain, or even extend, his Imperial authority. Sometimes, however, his quarrel was just, and this was eminently the case when Reginald de Châtillon, who had married Constance of Antioch, the widow of Raymond of Poitiers, invaded Cyprus, and behaved with great barbarity to the people. The offender was compelled, in 1155, to solicit the Emperor's mercy in the ignominious fashion of a criminal, but was then suffered to retain his dominions. Manuel afterwards made a triumphal entry into Antioch in the midst of his Varangian guard; distinguished himself at a grand tournament, in which he unhorsed every antagonist; and acquired so wide a renown that the Sulta

Noureddin propitiated him by releasing Bertrand, the Grand Master of the Templars, together with six thousand French and German prisoners, who had been captured during the Second Crusade. The Greek Emperor subsequently aided the Lombard cities in their struggle with Barbarossa, and even indulged the hope of acquiring Italy and the whole Western Empire. With this view, he attached to his cause several of the Roman nobles, and married his niece to one of the powerful family of Frangipani. The design, however, was fruitless, but he had usually an eye, either to the extension of his territory, or the replenishing of his exchequer. When Almeric of Jerusalem was preparing for his attack on the last Fatimite Caliph of Egypt, in 1166, he obtained the assistance of a Byzantine fleet, consisting of a hundred and fifty galleys and sixty cavalry transports, together with an army, a supply of provisions, and numerous engines for the siege of fortified towns. Cupidity was the motive which prompted Manuel to engage in this expedition; but his hopes were disappointed.



SPALATRO, FROM THE HARBOUR.

owing mainly to the difference between the Greek and Roman Churches.

It was towards the East that the real power of Manuel lay, and he was probably actuated by a perception of this truth when, in 1161, he espoused Maria, daughter of Raymond of Poitiers, and of Constance, Princess of Antioch. Raymond, Count of Tripoli, took offence at this marriage, as he had been led to believe that the Emperor would wed his sister Melisenda. He accordingly revenged himself by plundering the islands of the Greek Archipelago, and committing a series of atrocities so prolonged and unsparing that many places were depopulated. The morality of those times is strongly illustrated, not merely by the infliction of such barbarities on an unoffending people in pursuance of an individual quarrel, but by the indifference of Manuel, who took no steps either to protect his subjects, or to punish their assailant. The Greek Emperor was fond of war; The Byzantines and the Franks soon developed that mutual distrust which seemed natural to them; and the former, after taking part in the siege of Damietta, retired into Syria in 1170. The fleet, on its return, was nearly destroyed by a series of storms, and Manuel was all the poorer for his avaricious design.

The progress of the Seljukian Turks was always a subject of uneasiness to Manuel, and on several occasions he came into collision with their forces. He would doubtless have acted more wisely in observing a pacific policy towards contemporary princes, and in developing the wealth and commercial enterprise of his Greek subjects. But Manuel was before all things a warrior, and the military strength of the Seljukians acted on his mind as a perpetual incentive to combat. The Christian population of the Asiatic provinces was continually declining; the Mohammedans made numerous converts, and frequently added to their



IN SPALATRO, SHOWING THE CAMPANILE AND THE PERISTYLE OF THE PALACE OF DIOCLETIAN.

possessions; yet Manuel would not acknowledge that his power was insufficient to cope successfully with the resources of the Moslem ruler. An unfortunate series of events arose out of an attack made by the Turks on Manuel and his escort as they were returning from Antioch in the early part of 1157. Bent on revenge, the Byzantine Emperor brought together an immense army, with which he invaded the Turkish territory, and struck such terror into Kilidge Arslan, who had not then risen to his height of power, that he sued for peace, which was granted on terms favourable to the Greeks. The war, however, was renewed in 1176, when the Emperor, having penetrated some way into the dominions of his adversary, was again solicited to make peace. Presuming on his former successes, Manuel returned for answer that he would treat with the Sultan at Iconium, his capital. Arslan had by this time consolidated his realm; his forces were largely augmented by contingents from Mesopotamia; and, although he was well disposed to disarm on reasonable terms, he would not consent to be bearded by an insolent enemy, whose power might, after all, be less than it appeared. He therefore occupied the pass of Zibrica, and awaited the Emperor's advance.

Large numbers of the Mohammedan troops had already gathered on the flanks of the invading army; forage had been carried away, and wells destroyed; and the Christians began to suffer from fatigue and deprivation. Everything looked ominous and menacing; yet Manuel hurried forward, without taking any measures to protect his columns, or secure his rear. In that spirit of fatal confidence which generally precedes a defeat, the Byzantine army entered a series of close ravines, overhung on one side by precipitous rocks, and bounded on the other by a maze of hills. The divisions marched at intervals of ten miles, with the baggage-waggons between; and all around were legions of Turks, lying in ambuscade without any sign of their presence. When the baggage had reached the middle of the pass, the front and rear of the invaders were simultaneously attacked. The advanced guard prevailed against the opposing cavalry, and succeeded in forming a camp on some of the high ground; but fresh bodies of Turks soon arrived from all sides. The narrow defile was blocked by the baggage-waggons, which were upset by the Moslem troops. The cavalry were quite incapable of acting in so confined a space; the infantry became entangled amongst the masses of camp-followers, the slaughtered oxen, and the overturned vehicles. A terrible slaughter ensued, and the Emperor himself, surrounded by a few attendants, cut his way through the serried ranks of the enemy, and escaped with difficulty from the murderous trap into which he had fallen. On calling for a draught of water from a neighbouring stream, he saw that it was reddened with the fearful massacre. "This is horrible!" he exclaimed; "it is the blood of Christians." One of his officers boldly retorted, "Heed not, O Emperor! You have often drained Christian blood when expending the treasures extorted from your subjects." The Emperor's principal lieutenant afterwards contrived, by a masterly handling of his troops, to force a way through the whole length of the valley, and effect a junction with the advanced guard at the farther end of the defile, where Manuel had taken refuge, but where his position was attended by the gravest and most immediate peril.

Whatever his faults, the Emperor was certainly a brave man; yet, persuaded by some of his courtiers, and possibly by the reflection that, if he fell, the State would be exposed to great dangers, as he would leave behind him only an infant son, he now proposed to save himself by flight, leaving his generals to do the best they could for the army. But the suggestion was overruled, and Manuel remained with the remnants of his force. The scattered divisions were brought together, and discipline was speedily re-established. The Turks, on the other hand, were losing their cohesion in the intoxication of success, and the excitement of dividing the booty. Kilidge Arslan considered it prudent to make proposals for an arrangement, and Manuel gladly assented to his terms. Certain fortifications, recently erected at Dorylæum and Subleon, were to be destroyed, and the Turks were to receive all the country they had colonised during the reign of Manuel. As soon, however, as he was out of the reach of danger, the Emperor dishonourably violated his engagements, and refused to destroy the fortifications of Dorylæum. The war recommenced in the following year (1177); the Turks wasted Phrygia and the adjoining countries with fire and sword, but, on returning to their own territory, were attacked on the banks of the Mæander by a body of Byzantine troops, and completely defeated. The spirits of the Imperial army were restored by this triumph, and the Turks for some time refrained from any further movement. But Manuel himself never recovered his self-reliance after the terrible experience of the previous year. He was afflicted with melancholy, and fell into a state of confirmed ill-health. Having made various family arrangements, and appointed his son Alexius as the next successor, he laid aside his Imperial robes, adopted the habit of

, and expired on the 24th of September,
the age of fifty-eight.
el had reigned thirty-seven years, and to
tent they had been years of glory. But
overshadowed the close of his rule, and it
lent that the Empire was hastening on the
rd path that leads to total destruction.
terial prosperity of his subjects had very
ably declined since the year 1143, when
nded the throne; and the Emperor had
solutely nothing towards arresting a deca-
hich he ought to have known would lead
results. Trade was rapidly passing away
e Greek dominion to the younger States
its borders, or to the vigorous Republics of
n Italy. The silk manufacture had been
by King Roger in Sicily, and its decay in
though slow, was sufficiently alarming.
ulation was falling off; in every quarter
eheld the signs of an ancient civilisa-
ich had outlived its day, and seemed in-
of a second youth. The brilliant victories
uel served only to hide, with the false
f military triumph, the rottenness which
eady penetrated deeply into the social
Yet such was the perfection of the political
ry which Constantinople had inherited
me, that the fabric of the Eastern Empire
intained for nearly three centuries after
h of Manuel.

us II. was about twelve years of age at
th of his father. Another Alexius, grand-
the Emperor John II., secured for himself
e of Prime Minister, and used his power
arrogance which made him generally un-

Intrigues and insurrections were of
occurrence, and, after a period of anarchy,
ontented fixed their hopes on Andronicus,
of the Emperor Manuel. This person
t some years in exile, and was known to
n of violent passions and depraved habits.
e time past, however, he had made a pre-
religious devotion, and the memory of his
iniquities was softened by the lapse of
His return to Constantinople was solicited:
e arrived, in 1182, Alexius, the Prime
r, was driven from power, and deprived of
Those who adhered to him were ruthlessly
ed; even women, children, and priests,
ain by the partisans of Andronicus. The
belonged chiefly to the Latin community,
horrors of the time deepened and in-
the animosity long existing between the
and the Eastern Christians. Some of the
ed escaped to their ships, and indemnified themselves by pillaging the Greek islands and the coasts of the Propontis. The Ægean Sea was filled with Frankish pirates, and the capital of the Eastern Empire became the object of a general detestation, which some years later found expression in an armed attack, resulting in its conquest.

Having obtained full possession of power in 1183, Andronicus swept from his path all remaining enemies who were likely to prove formidable. The Empress Maria of Antioch, widow of the late sovereign, was strangled on a charge of treasonable correspondence with her brother-in-law, Bela III., King of Hungary. The sister of the reigning Emperor, and her husband, died of poison, and some of the most eminent servants of the State were violently removed. In September, 1184, Andronicus caused himself to be made Emperor, after having murdered the unhappy boy Alexius II. in prison. The government of the usurper was not wholly infamous; sometimes he appeared to act for the good of his subjects; but the vices of his character were predominant, and he had made a host of enemies, whose animosity he feared. To protect himself against their plots, he was compelled to act with systematic violence, and the number of his foes increased with the endeavour to repress them. Many persons of high family escaped from Constantinople to Asia Minor, to Sicily, and to Cyprus. For two years, Andronicus suppressed all attempts at rebellion, and even inflicted punishment on States which had showed hospitality to his opponents; but the day of reckoning came in 1185. The tyrant had marked for destruction a certain Isaac Angelus, descended in the female line from Alexius I. The people believed that in Isaac they would find a better monarch than Andronicus; and they raised him to the throne by one of those revolutions which were not unusual in the Eastern capital. The usurper suddenly found himself bereft of friends and supporters, and sought precarious safety in flight. He was overtaken, subjected to prolonged and horrible tortures in the streets of Constantinople, and finally hung up by the feet between two pillars, when some Italian soldiers drove their swords into his body, and brought his miserable existence to an end.

Unfortunately, Isaac II. was no better than the sovereign he displaced; in some respects, he seems to have been even worse. He succeeded to a decaying Empire, afflicted with poverty, oppressed with taxation, weakened by vice, and reduced to a condition bordering upon barbarism. Bridges, roads, and aqueducts were falling into ruin; the fortifications of important cities were

abandoned to decay; ports and harbours were choked by accumulating sand, and no longer capable of receiving the ships which once found easy entrance. The capital was a scene of riot and debauchery; and so little power was possessed by the Government, that the mob which placed Isaac on the throne remained for several days in possession of the Imperial palace. The place was literally plundered before the eyes of the new Emperor, and vast amounts in money, plate, bullion, ornaments, furniture, and images, were carried off without any attempt at opposition. Had Isaac II. been a man of capacity and principle, he might have elicited some order out of all this chaos; but he was at once vicious and frivolous. Nevertheless, he had sufficient regard for the safety of his Empire to take measures for repelling an invasion by the Normans of Sicily, which had been commenced under the rule of Andronicus. Thessalonica had been seized by the strangers, whose fleet entered the Propontis, and arrived within sight of Constantinople. The Sicilians aroused the utmost indignation by the cruelty and insolence of their conduct. Many of the Thessalonicans were slaughtered in cold blood; others were tortured, that they might give up their treasures. The invaders entered the churches, profaned the rites of what they deemed a heresy, and mocked, with the simulated howling of dogs, the nasal chant of the Greek priests. When Constantinople itself was threatened, the danger became so imminent that Isaac sent large bodies of troops against the Sicilians, and compelled an evacuation of the territory they had seized.

This success was soon followed by numerous reverses, and the Empire was still further curtailed by revolts which were provoked by the despotism and incapacity of the prince. The Wallachian and Bulgarian population, occupying the country between the Balkans and the Danube, rose against the dictation of Constantinople, and, about 1186, effected a final severance from the Eastern Empire. The movement resulted in the formation of a new European monarchy, called the Wallachian or second Bulgarian Kingdom; but the Byzantine writers comprise, under the general designation of Wallachia, the Wallachia and Moldavia of the present day, the country round the plain of Thessaly, the modern Bulgaria (which was the province that revolted from Isaac II.), and a part of Transylvania. In the opinion of some authors, the people derived their origin from the ancient Thracians, who were a race of some importance before the Hellenes acquired the rudiments of civilisation, and who formed a large and valuable element in the population of the Roman Empire during the first century of the Christian era. Others dispute this conclusion, and it seems probable that the Wallachians are a mixed race, in whom, however, the Sclavonic element prevails. The inhabitants of the country lying on the northern shore of the Danube called themselves Romans, and the title of the kingdom recently formed out of the union of Wallachia and Moldavia is Roumania. It is very possible that the blood of the legions settled by Trajan in those parts may still run in the veins of the modern Roumanians; but the immense tract included under the name of Wallachia in the time of Isaac II. was largely peopled by a very different stock, exhibiting qualities entirely distinct from those of any Italian race.

Isaac had not been long upon the throne before his weakness and misgovernment provoked a rebellion which threatened Constantinople with capture. The head of the movement was a commander named Alexis Branas, who in 1187 had been employed against the independent Wallachians. This man took advantage of the general disruption, and of Isaac's unpopularity, to prefer a title to the throne, and, assuming the position of Emperor, appeared with a numerous army before the walls of the Imperial city. The imbecility of Isaac was so great that he would probably have been hurled from power, had it not been for the Crusader, Conrad of Montferrat, who was at that moment in Constantinople on his way to Palestine. Conrad had married Theodora, the sister of the reigning Emperor, and had received the rank of Cæsar. He was therefore in a position to speak with authority, and his remonstrances stung the feeble Isaac into taking some measures for the defence of his capital. When a sufficient force had been collected, Conrad entered the field against the rebels, whom he astonished by his valour and activity. Branas was defeated and slain, and Conrad soon afterwards left Constantinople for the East, where he conducted the successful defence of Tyre against Saladin. He had saved the Emperor from a great reverse; but he was unable to restore pacific feelings between the Greek and Latin inhabitants of the metropolis, who fought against one another in the streets, and could scarcely be separated by the Imperial officers.

But the attention of Isaac was now diverted by the commencement of the Third Crusade. The capture of Jerusalem by Saladin had aroused the spirit of Western Europe, and great preparations for a renewed expedition to the East were made by Germany, France, and England. The feeling by which men were chiefly actuated was rather that of

ride than any more practical sentiment. ould readily have granted to the Christians of visiting the Holy Sepulchre; but it idered intolerable that that should be s a concession which had for eighty-eight n guaranteed by the sword. It is said n Bishop William of Tyre arrived at th news that Jerusalem had fallen, the ved fatal to the reigning Pope, Urban III. y to imagine how terrible must have blow to men who believed with the nd unquestioning faith of the Middle r is it difficult to understand that, on the of a new Crusade, the Cross was assumed arnestness equal to that of former times. man Emperor, Frederick Barbarossa, as- Diet at Mainz early in 1188, when the umber of the nobles followed his own and that of his son, in adopting the sym- igious war. An earnest appeal was also Philip Augustus of France; and Prince son of Henry II. of England, who was ie French dominions, showed a disposition k at once. The Emperor Frederick was st in the field. Although nearly seventy age, he threw himself with the utmost to the contemplated expedition, received from the hands of Cardinal Albano, and tter of defiance to Saladin. From the edan conqueror he demanded restitution lem, and threatened, in case of his non- e, to overwhelm Palestine with all the orce of Germany. Saladin replied with ghtiness, but undertook to admit Chris- ims to Jerusalem, on condition of Tyre li being delivered into his hands.

ace of meeting for the Teutonic Crusaders bon, whence they started in April, 1189, personal conduct of Barbarossa. Passing he Hungarian States, where they were ved, the Germans arrived on the borders astern Empire, which had always shown friendly to these Western enterprises. s now much less excuse for the exhibition feeling, as the German Emperor had tringent measures for the preservation of o pilgrim was to join his standard who ossess three marks of silver, to defray his and remove all excuse for pillaging. uitting Germany, Barbarossa had de- an embassy to Constantinople, asking per- f his brother sovereign to pass through tine Empire; and Isaac sent forward one ief officials, to arrange the articles of a ring reference to the supply of provisions and forage at reasonable prices. The Eastern Emperor, however, secretly acted against the German Crusaders, and gave directions for blocking the roads and passes with trees and other obstacles. Frederick was accompanied by 100,000 fighting men, and, with so large a force at his disposal, would not long endure the bad faith of Isaac. The armies of the East and of the West speedily came to blows, and the Greek troops were defeated by the Germans. Towards the end of the year, Frederick took up his winter quarters in Thrace, and, while thus reduced to inaction, made arrangements for bringing together a fleet of Venetian, Genoese, and Pisan vessels, that he might be prepared for any eventuality. In February, 1190, hostilities again broke out with the Emperor Isaac, who, however, speedily solicited peace on any terms. This was granted on a renewal of his former promises, which, however, were to be ratified by an oath taken in the Church of St. Sophia in the presence of the Patriarch, and to be further guaranteed by the delivery of hostages.

On the 28th of March, 1190, Frederick passed over into Asia Minor with the last division of his army, and presently entered the dominions of the Turkish Sultan ruling at Iconium. It was not to be expected that that potentate would exhibit very friendly sentiments; but his opposition may have been stimulated by the underhand suggestions of Isaac, for it is recorded that the Greek Emperor actually addressed a letter to Saladin, in which he boasted of having done everything he could to stop the advance of the Crusaders. The Sultan of Iconium made promises of amity to the German warriors, but imitated the policy of Isaac in creating numerous embarrassments. Barbarossa soon perceived that he should be compelled to fight for his existence, and, having defeated the Turkish army at Philomelium, pushed forward to the capital itself, which he took by storm. Ample supplies being thus obtained, Frederick resumed his march under favourable conditions. As the Christian warriors advanced through Cilicia, however, the heat became terrible, and the movements of the army were temporarily arrested by a stream which has been variously described as the Cydnus and the Calycadnus. The bridge was so narrow that it took a long while for the troops to cross; and Frederick, tired of waiting on the bank, spurred his horse into the stream, with the intention of swimming to the opposite shore. According to some accounts, his steed foundered under him; according to others, he himself dropped into the current. A less probable tradition declares that he bathed in water rendered icy by the melted snow

descending from Mount Taurus, and that in this way he contracted a fever, which terminated his life in a few days. Whether he perished by a natural malady, or was swept away, it is at any rate certain that he died in Cilicia in the summer of 1190.

Barbarossa was succeeded in the German monarchy by his eldest son, Henry VI., who held the regency during his father's absence, and the command of the German forces in the East devolved on a younger son, the Duke of Swabia. The enthusiasm of the soldiers was greatly damped by the loss of their Emperor; the spirits of the enemy were proportionately raised; and the further progress of the invading army was now continually obstructed. The numbers of the Christians had largely diminished, owing to the effects of climate, deprivation, and fatigue, in addition to the losses of battle. After the death of the great Frederick, the German hosts were reduced to a tenth of their original number; yet, on the withdrawal of Saladin from Antioch, they were able to re-establish a Christian Government in that city. They next passed on to Acre, where, in the autumn of 1190, the Duke of Swabia established the Teutonic Order of Knighthood. This Order subsequently distinguished itself; but for the present the confidence of the German troops was broken, and, with the exception of about 7,000 infantry and 700 cavalry, who stayed with Frederick of Swabia, the remnant of the immense army which had set out in 1189 returned to Germany. The younger Frederick soon afterwards died of the plague, in the twentieth year of his age, after giving proof of a valour worthy of his parentage. The remains of the late Emperor were buried at Antioch; but in time a legend grew up amongst the German peasantry, to the effect that the mighty Barbarossa slumbers in the cleft of a Thuringian rock, with his beard growing through the stone table at which he sits, resting his head upon his hand. Some day he is to waken,



RICHARD I. OF ENGLAND (CŒUR-DE-LION).



TRIUMPHAL ENTRY OF RICHARD I. AND PHILIP AUGUSTUS INTO ACRE.

and return to his beloved people, who will then enjoy a prosperity wholly unequalled in the past.

The departure of Philip Augustus and his subjects was delayed by the quarrels of the French monarch with Henry II., of England. On the death of the latter, in the summer of 1189, arrangements were made for an expedition, and Richard I., after a brief visit to England, to secure his throne, joined Philip at Vezelai. The two monarchs marched together as far as Lyons, where they separated; Richard pursuing his way to Marseilles, and Philip crossing the Alps, that he might embark at Genoa. The appointed place of meeting was to be the port of Messina, and the winter of 1190 was passed by the English and French Crusaders in that Sicilian town. The delay was productive of unfortunate results. Richard, whose sister was the widow of the late King of Sicily, interfered in the domestic affairs of the island, at first opposing, and afterwards supporting, the prince who then occupied the throne. During these transactions, he conducted himself with so much pride and arrogance that Philip Augustus interposed on behalf of the people. A war between the two western sovereigns was averted with difficulty; cordiality was not restored, and each continued to suspect the other of treacherous and selfish designs. The Sicilians disliked both, and were well pleased when first the French, and afterwards the English, departed in the spring of 1191. The army, horses, and stores of Richard filled two hundred ships of different sizes; but a storm dispersed the fleet, and, on arriving at Rhodes, Richard learned that two of his vessels had been stranded on the shores of Cyprus, where the crews were plundered and imprisoned. Another vessel, in which was the Princess Berengaria, daughter of the King of Navarre, and the betrothed of Richard, was compelled to run before the storm into the roadstead of Limasol, on the southern coast of Cyprus.

The island had revolted from the Byzantine Empire during the reign of Andronicus, and was now under the rule of a man calling himself Isaac Comnenus. This person, whose character was as base as his intellectual powers were small, had formed an alliance with Saladin, and considered that he might do him a service by intercepting the English sailors who had been cast upon his shores. The presence of Berengaria seemed to offer an opportunity of benefiting himself by the extortion of a heavy ransom. He therefore tendered hospitality to the Princess, but with so evident an intention of acting treacherously that the vessel hastily put to sea, and shortly afterwards fell in with Richard and the rest of the English fleet. The King at once sailed to Cyprus, landed a portion of his army, and set out in quest of the petty despot. Comnenus, however, had taken flight to the mountains; but a message from the English sovereign, expressed in considerate language, induced him to return at the head of a small body of troops. Presenting himself with much humility before the encampment of Richard, he promised to send two hundred men to join the Christian army before Acre (the ancient Ptolemais), which had surrendered after the battle of Tiberias, and offered to give his daughter as a hostage. But he escaped during the night, again gathered his troops about him, and threatened to attack the English King, if he did not immediately quit the island. Richard was not the man to be defied with impunity. He instantly landed his cavalry, followed the presumptuous tyrant to his stronghold at Colosse, and utterly defeated him. In his flight, Comnenus left behind a large amount of treasure, together with a regal standard, which the conqueror sent to the Abbey of Bury St. Edmunds. On the 12th of May, Richard was married to Berengaria, and soon afterwards followed his enemy into the interior of the island, where, in the vicinity of Nicosia, Comnenus was defeated a second time, and taken prisoner. Nicosia was then occupied by the English Crusaders, and Richard speedily subdued the whole island. All these events had been transacted within the short period of a month. On the 5th of June, Richard continued his voyage to the East, leaving a garrison in Cyprus; but, as these men were needed to assist at the siege of Acre, the island was sold a few months later to the Knights Templar, who undertook to pay for it a sum held to have been equal to £320,000 sterling. The arrangement, however, did not endure, and Cyprus passed into the hands of Guy de Lusignan, the last King of Jerusalem, who repaid to the Templars that portion of the purchase-money which they had already handed over to the English monarch. Counting from 1192, when Guy took possession of his new territory, the island remained under the dominion of the Lusignans for two hundred and ninty-seven years, when it passed to the Venetians.

His Cyprus adventure delayed the arrival of Richard at Acre, before which city the army of Philip Augustus had appeared about the middle of April, 1191. An immense Christian host was now arrayed against the place; but the enterprise demanded the deepest devotion, as well as the greatest accumulation of force. The fortifications were unusually strong; a large army of Moham-

ledans defended the walls; and the situation was o important as to stimulate the utmost efforts oth of the besiegers and the besieged. The fate f Acre generally determined that of all Palestine, nd the adjacent plain had been the scene of many reat battles from an early age. When Richard rrived before this famous city, on the 8th of une, 1191, the siege had already lasted twenty-wo months. The operations had been conducted y Guy de Lusignan, who, from the first, was in ommand of a vast army, with which he had been urnished, not by the organised Governments of Europe, but by the spontaneous enthusiasm of nany nations. Saladin had shown some remiss-ess in allowing these forces to collect, without lestroying them in detail; but he was now en-amped on some adjacent heights, where he vatched his opportunities for attack. The Chris-ians were drawn up on the large plain south of Acre, and the position of Saladin was near the own of Khorouba, still farther in the same lirection. Several battles had taken place in the ong interval between August, 1189, and June, 1191. These contests were not confined to the and, for each belligerent had a powerful force at ea; but, although sometimes one and sometimes he other side prevailed, nothing decisive had occurred before the appearance on the scene of Richard I.

Famine and pestilence afflicted both armies, which nevertheless maintained their positions be-fore the walls of the beleaguered city. The arrival of the English warriors was hailed with shouts of joy; but dissensions speedily arose between the monarchs of France and England. The quarrel seems to have arisen from military emulation carried to the extent of jealousy; but the feeling was stronger on the part of Philip than on that of Richard. The latter was much the more chivalric monarch, and the French sovereign fretted under the restless daring of his colleague. Notwith-standing a serious illness, which confined him to his litter, Richard entered with extraordinary spirit into all the details of the siege, and the operations of the war were quickened by his vigour and animation. The rival kings were ulti-mately reconciled; proposals of surrender were soon afterwards made by the inhabitants of Acre; and, all hope of succour being at an end, the city was given up to the Christians on the 12th of July, 1191. The people were at first treated with a moderation that favourably contrasts with the horrors committed by Godfrey of Bouillon after the capture of Jerusalem. Previous to the sur-render, proclamation had been made in the French and English camps that no one should injure or insult such of the Turks as quitted the place. Many of the people left the city, and adopted the Christian faith; but, some weeks later, the Mus-sulmans who could not obtain a ransom were ruth-lessly slaughtered. Philip Augustus now returned to France; but the larger portion of his army was left behind, under the command of Richard. If we may believe the old chronicler, Robert of Gloucester, the French monarch abandoned his post in consequence of the far greater honour that was paid to his ally.

Thirty thousand French, German, and English soldiers, with Richard at their head, left the neighbourhood of Acre on the 22nd of August, and, marching along the sea-shore in a southerly direction, accompanied by their ships, which were generally within sight, proceeded towards Azotus. Immense bodies of Turks hung on their line of march, and frequently attacked the head of the advancing columns; but it was not until Azotus had been nearly reached that a general action took place. The forces of Saladin were defeated, and the Sultan, fearing the worst, commanded the dis-mantling of all his fortresses in Palestine. In the field of Azotus, Richard had exhibited not merely the brilliant courage of a knight, but the cool judgment of a commander; and his success was soon followed by another. Jaffa speedily capi-tulated, while Saladin, listening to some proposals from the English monarch, offered to give up Palestine from the Jordan to the sea. Richard, however, required more than this, and the nego-tiations were broken off. The invaders pursued their way to Ramula, but, as winter advanced, suffered much from the violence of the weather. Richard would have pushed on to Jerusalem with-out delay; but the Templars, Hospitallers, and Pisans, dissuaded him from the enterprise, which they considered would be fraught with danger, He therefore fell back on Ascalon. The hardships consequent on their position introduced a spirit of discontent and mutiny amongst the incongruous elements of the Christian army. The French soldiers retired to Acre, because, owing to the exhaustion of the royal coffers, their pay was not forthcoming. The Genoese and Pisans fought out their quarrels with unrestrained animosity; and the Holy Land became the scene of petty rivalries, discreditable to all concerned. Conrad of Mont-ferrat, who had now become the Marquis of Tyre, entered into alliance with Saladin; and Richard was so dismayed at the situation that, in March, 1192, he renewed his proposals for a terminati of the war. All he now required was possessi

of Jerusalem, and of what was understood as the True Cross. Saladin replied that Jerusalem was equally dear to the Moslems, and that he would never connive at idolatry by permitting the worship of a piece of wood—an answer which might have provoked the retort that the Mohammedans themselves worshipped a stone at Mecca. Richard then proposed the establishment of a mixed government at Jerusalem, partly European and partly Asiatic—partly Christian and partly Mohammedan; he even suggested that Saphadin, the brother of the Egyptian Sultan, should espouse the widow of William the Good, King of Sicily. Saladin was not disinclined to the arrangement; but the Mussulman priests exclaimed loudly against the scandal of such a marriage, and, under the pressure of this opinion, the scheme was abandoned.

During the progress of the negotiations, the people of the two armies lived in friendly intercourse, mingled in the amusements of the tournament, and even joined in the dance. Saladin and Richard entertained the highest respect for each other's heroism and devotion. If the English King was ill, as he happened to be not unfrequently, the Egyptian monarch sent him Damascene pears, peaches, and other fruits, and in the hot season supplied him with the luxury of snow. It is said that, in his youth, Saladin had requested and received the honour of knighthood from a French nobleman; and during the Third Crusade the son of Saphadin was knighted by Richard, at the request of his father. Such were the high-souled courtesies which, owing to a more intimate knowledge of one another, had taken the place of the insane animosities of an earlier generation.

Although the renewed negotiations for a peace proved fruitless, Richard continued anxious for a speedy return to England, where his power was threatened by many dangers. It was a difficult matter, however, to determine who should succeed to the command in Palestine, or to the titular monarchy of Jerusalem; and the perplexity became all the greater when Conrad, Marquis of Tyre, who was generally regarded as the fittest person, and whose only rival was the imbecile Guy de Lusignan, was murdered by the sect of the Assassins. Finally the throne was conferred upon Count Henry of Champagne, who strengthened his title by marrying the widow of Conrad. These matters having been arranged, the allies advanced towards Jerusalem. The Mussulmans in that city were filled with apprehension, and even Saladin was alarmed for their safety. But when the Christian hosts were actually within sight of their great object, it was decided by a council of war that the attacking force was not strong enough for the enterprise, and that, as the Turks had destroyed all the cisterns within two miles of the city, the army would probably perish of thirst if they proceeded any farther. Bitter quarrels again broke out between the English and the French; the army seemed on the point of dissolution; and Richard himself could hardly preserve discipline amongst a demoralised mob of disappointed enthusiasts. In the midst of the confusion, Saladin proceeded by quick marches to Jaffa, broke down one of the gates in the course of a few days, and was on the point of taking the city when Richard arrived on the spot. He had only five hundred men with him, for the French had refused to march under his standard. The Turks, however, fled with precipitation, but returned when they discovered how miserable was the force by which they had been scared. In the combat which followed, Richard fought like a hero of romance, and was nobly supported by every man in his company. His falchion, as at the battle of Azotus, spread death on every side, and his deeds inspired such admiration in Saphadin that, seeing the English King dismounted, he sent him two horses in token of his respect. The efforts of Richard were crowned with success, and the hard-won victory was rewarded by a truce for three years and eight months. By the terms of this arrangement, the fort of Ascalon was to be destroyed, while Jaffa and Tyre, with the country between them, were to be surrendered to the Christians. The latter were also to be at liberty to resume their former pilgrimages to Jerusalem, without the obligation of paying taxes to the Mohammedans. Saladin treated his enemies with the highest consideration and generosity; and Richard, after a visit to Jerusalem, sailed for England on the 25th of October, 1192, preceded by his Queen, Berengaria, and by the English soldiers who had shared his triumphs and his toils.

CHAPTER XXX.

RICHARD AND JOHN OF ENGLAND.

Homeward Journey of Richard I.—His Adventures in Southern Germany—Early History of Austria—Capture of Richard b the Austrian Duke, Leopold V.—Intrigues of Philip Augustus and Prince John of England—Trial and Acquittal of Richard on Various Charges—Payment of a Heavy Ransom—Designs of the German Emperor, Henry VI.—War between Richard I. and Philip Augustus—Conclusion of a Truce—Death and Character of Richard—Conquest of Southern Italy and Sicily by the Emperor Henry—Expedition against the Greek Empire—Interregnum in Germany, and Divided Rule—Otho of Brunswick and Pope Innocent III.—Reign of King John of England—Quarrel with the Pope, followed by Submission—English Naval Victory off the Flemish Coast—Success of the French at the Battle of Bouvines—Discontent amongst the English Barons—Magna Charta Extorted from the King—Revival of the National Spirit—Independence of Stephen Langton, Archbishop of Canterbury—Attempts of John to Evade the Obligations of the Charter—Rising of the Barons, and Alliance with Prince Louis of France—Death of King John—Ratification and Modification of the Charter—Union of the Saxon and Norman Races in England—Formation of the Modern English Language—The Legend of Robin Hood—Policy of Philip Augustus as Suzerain of Normandy—Augmentation of the French Monarchy.

RICHARD'S hurried departure from Palestine was not the result of caprice, or of any failing interest in the war. To a nature so soldierly and adventurous, nothing could have been more agreeable than to pursue the course of varied fortunes which the East afforded—to shine in splendid victories, or share in honourable defeats. But messengers had arrived in the camp, bringing news that his brother, Prince John, was acquiring a dangerous power in England, and that Philip Augustus was intriguing against him in France. It was evident, therefore, that an immediate return to his own dominions had become imperative, if all was not to be lost. His homeward journey (performed in a separate ship from that of his Queen) was, however, delayed by accidents of a peculiar and even romantic character. After a brief stay in the island of Corfu (which was the first place he touched at after leaving Acre), Richard again set sail, but was driven by a violent storm on to the north-eastern coast of Italy, where he landed near Aquileia. Penetrating inland to the town of Goritz, he nearly fell into the hands of Maynard, a nephew of Conrad of Montferrat, whose murder by the tribe of the Assassins was believed by some to have been prompted by the English sovereign. Shortly afterwards, a similar danger was encountered, at Freisach in Carinthia, from the enmity of Maynard's brother, Frederick of Betesow. The devotion of his companions enabled Richard to escape this peril also, and, after riding three days and nights with scarcely any intermission, he arrived near Vienna, where the Duke of Austria exercised a species of regal power, as a vassal of the German Emperor.

The name of Austria now ranks among the chief Powers of the world; but in the twelfth century the history of this State presented little that was remarkable. The territory had been formed out of the Noricum and Pannonia of the Romans; but all ancient distinctions ceased after the irruption of the northern hordes in early Christian times, and for a while everything was unsettled. Vandals, Goths, Huns, Lombards, and Avars, poured into the land, fought with one another, or combined against the original inhabitants, and left no traces of their presence but in ruin and desolation. The Avars having, in 788, entered Bavaria, which was then included in the Empire of the Franks, Charlemagne determined to dispossess them at the first opportunity; and this was accomplished in 796, when the intruders were driven back as far as the river Raab, in Hungary. The region between the Ens and the Raab was then united with Germany under the appellation of Oester-reich, the Eastern Realm, or Boundary; whence the modern or Latinised name of Austria. Bavarian and other colonists were sent into the district by the great Emperor, and a Margrave, or Marquis, was appointed as its ruler. In 944, Leopold of Babenberg was allowed by Otho I. to make the Margraviate hereditary in his own family; and the dynasty governed Austria till 1246. The State was greatly enlarged in the second half of the twelfth century, and elevated to the position of a Duchy by Frederick Barbarossa, who, with much pomp and ceremony, conferred the higher dignity on Henry Jasomirgott in 1156. The capital was then removed from Leopoldsberg to Vienna (the Vindobona of the classical writers), and the cathedral of St. Stephen progressed towards completion. At the period of Richard's visit, Austria had become a sovereignty of some importance.

The ruling Duke, Leopold V., had two grounds of quarrel with the English King, each of which

was sufficient to make him an enemy. He was the brother-in-law of Isaac Comnenus, the petty tyrant of Cyprus, whom Richard had conquered and deposed; and his self-love had been hurt by a rebuke which he suffered in the Holy Land. During the siege of Acre, Leopold took one of the towers, and planted his banner upon it.



JAFFA.

Richard, as the chief commander, and moreover the superior in rank, hotly resented what he held to be a presumption, and threw the flag down into the ditch. The Austrian Duke was not likely to forget this reproof, which was, indeed, characterised by too haughty a spirit. He was so proud a man that when, during the stay of the Crusaders at Ascalon, nobles and prelates assisted with their own hands in repairing the walls, he alone refused, saying, if tradition is to be trusted, that his father was neither a mason nor a carpenter. The opportunity for revenge now presented itself. News that Richard was in Germany had spread throughout the Austrian Duchy, and Leopold took measures to discover and arrest him. Why he ever entered the dominions of a declared enemy is unknown; but he may have done so in ignorance, and was perhaps under the mistaken impression that his route lay in the direction of England. He and his companions travelled in the disguise of non-militant pilgrims, with long hair and beards, and for some time were unrecognised. But the danger of discovery became serious when, on reaching the little town of Gynacia, near Vienna, they heard that the Duke of Austria was close at hand. A boy in the suite of the King was soon afterwards seized, and forced by torture and threats to declare the real position of his master, which was already suspected. Soldiers surrounded the house where the fugitives were staying; and Richard, worn out with fatigue, ill with prolonged hardships and excitement, and seeing the impossibility of resistance, gave up his sword to Leopold.



INVESTITURE OF HENRY JASOMIRGOTT AS FIRST DUKE OF AUSTRIA.

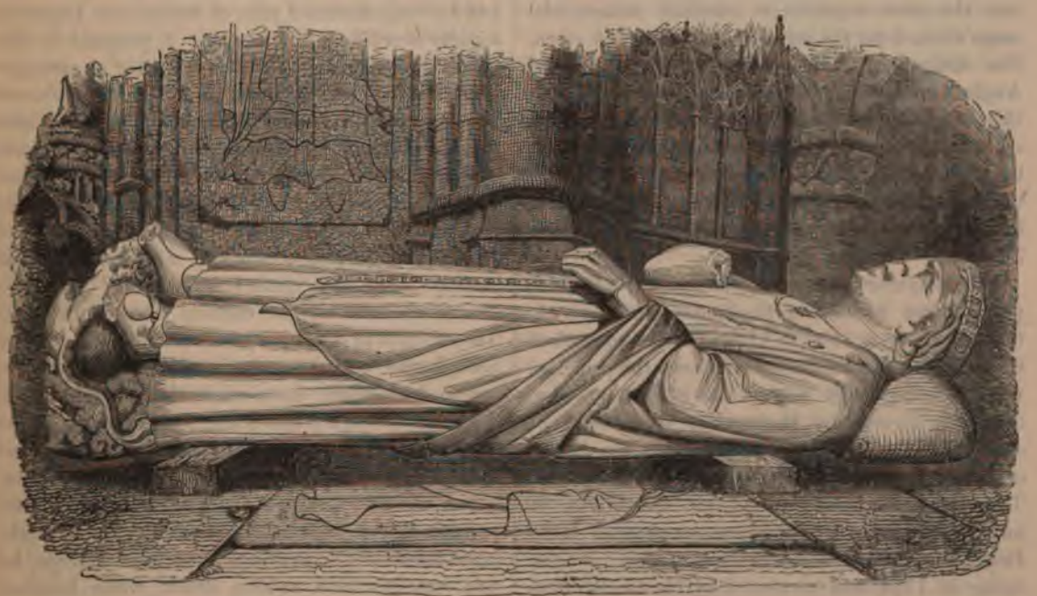
The capture of the English monarch took place near the end of 1192. He was confined in an Austrian prison until the following Easter, when Leopold, in consideration of a sum of money, parted with him to the German Emperor, Henry VI., by whom he was removed to a castle in the Tyrol, afterwards to Haguenau, and ultimately to Worms. He was charged, among other things, with procuring the murder of Conrad, who was related to the Emperor—an accusation which seems to have been baseless, but which was supported by some plausible statements. His detention proved extremely agreeable to Prince John of England and Philip Augustus of France, who pursued their hostile designs without check. The latter, before leaving Palestine, had taken an oath that he would respect the territories, rights, and interests of Richard; but it is said that, on his way back to France, he solicited from Pope Celestine III. a dispensation from this solemn engagement. Whether the Pope refused or granted the request is doubtful; but, in either case, Philip at once entered into an alliance with John, and received his homage for Normandy, for the other Continental States, and perhaps even for England. The French dominions of Richard were over-run by Philip, and several towns and castles seized. John at the same time took steps to secure the English crown for himself. He raised an army for the support of his cause, but met with so much opposition that he was glad to conclude an armistice with a Council of Regency appointed by the prelates and barons. William de Longchamp, Bishop of Ely, and Papal Legate, who had been deposed from his position as Chancellor and sole Regent, and had retired to the Continent, discovered the King's place of confinement, and persuaded the German Emperor to bring his captive to trial. Queen Eleanor had already implored the aid of the Pope on behalf of her son, and Celestine had in consequence threatened the Emperor and the French sovereign with excommunication, if they did not act differently towards their victim.

A Diet, consisting of the ecclesiastical and secular princes of Germany, assembled at Worms in July, 1193, and Richard (who was supported by the Bishops of Bath and Ely) was arraigned by the Emperor Henry on charges of supporting an usurper in Sicily, of quarrelling with the King of France, of insulting the Duke of Austria, and of murdering Conrad of Montferrat, the Marquis of Tyre. From all these accusations the English monarch cleared himself, and obtained an acquittal; but he was now regarded by the German Emperor as a prisoner of war. It is not easy to understand by what right Henry thus treated an independent monarch, with whom he was at peace; indeed, the whole transaction requires more light than can at the present day be thrown on it. A treaty was concluded between the Emperor and the King, by which it was engaged that the latter should receive his liberty on the immediate payment of one hundred thousand marks of silver, and the delivery of hostages for the ultimate rendering of thirty thousand more to the Emperor, and twenty thousand to the Duke of Austria. The money is said to have been collected with difficulty; yet when some German nobles entered London with Richard in the following year, they were astonished at the evidences of wealth, and averred that, had the Emperor known of the existence of such riches in the English capital, he would probably have demanded a still larger ransom. William Fitz-Stephen, a monk of Canterbury, who died three years before the return of Richard (namely, in 1191), speaks of the opulence and commercial prosperity of London; and the reader has already seen that the Thames was a great highway of trade even in the time of Boadicea. An English traveller in Germany towards the close of the seventeenth century observes that the ransom of Richard beautified Vienna, and that the two walls round the city were paid for by the English marks.

After being kept in prison for more than a year, Richard was set at liberty in February, 1194, and the Emperor, dreading what was likely to ensue, wrote to Philip and John that "the devil was unchained," and they must look to themselves. At one time, Henry was inclined to break his engagement, and, although the hundred thousand marks were duly paid, and the hostages were all at hand, ready to be delivered up, he listened to the suggestions of the French monarch and his confederate John, and threatened to devote his captive to perpetual imprisonment. The opinion of the Diet, however, was so strongly pronounced against any such breach of faith that Richard was released, and at once started for his own dominions. It is related by the old chronicler Hoveden that, in order to conciliate the German Emperor, Richard, at the suggestion of his mother Eleanor, formally resigned his crown into the hands of Henry, who restored it to him as a fief of the Empire, burdened with a yearly payment of five thousand pounds. The alleged transaction is somewhat doubtful; but it is a noteworthy fact that Richard, on his return to England, was crowned again, as if in some way his right to the throne had lapsed. This ceremony was performed at Winchester on the 17th

of April; and about a fortnight later the King started for France, with the intention of chastising Philip Augustus for his treachery. John had previously fled to the Continent, and been outlawed for not appearing to plead in answer to a charge of high treason.

When Richard landed at Barfleur, in Normandy, he was met by his brother, who implored pardon for his offences; and the hero of the Third Crusade, having granted the request, marched against his royal antagonist, regained all his possessions, and



EFFIGY OF RICHARD CŒUR-DE-LION IN ROUEN CATHEDRAL.

defeated Philip Augustus at Fretteval, near Vendôme. The war lasted between four and five years, without establishing any great preponderance on either side; but, on the interposition of Innocent III., who succeeded to the Pontificate in 1198, a truce was concluded on the 13th of the following January. Temporary cessations of arms had occurred more than once before, and been speedily broken; so that, but for the death of Richard, it is probable that war would again have burst out before the termination of the stipulated period. The English monarch was not well inclined to recognise the authority of the Papal Chair in such matters, for the meddling of prelates with military affairs excited his wrath and scorn. On one occasion he captured the Bishop of Beauvais, whom he suspected of having been concerned in prompting the hostile conduct of the German Emperor. For the deliverance of this distinguished prisoner, a ransom was demanded; and when Pope Celestine sent to intercede for his spiritual child, he received for reply the warlike Bishop's coat of mail, which was stained with blood, and to which Richard had attached the following Scriptural verse:—"This have we found: know now whether it be thy son's coat or no."* The Bishop of Beauvais, however, was not at all singular in thus entering the battle-field. The instances were numerous during the Middle Ages; and, by a pitiful equivocation, these ecclesiastical soldiers fought with a mace, rather than with a sword, to escape the imputation of shedding blood.

Richard I. was wounded on the 26th of March, 1199, while besieging the castle of Chaluz, the stronghold of one of his Aquitanian vassals, who had risen in rebellion. Owing to bad surgical treatment, the wound proved fatal on the 16th of April, and the castle was immediately afterwards stormed by the infuriated soldiers. Richard was undoubtedly one of the finest soldiers of a martial time, and his intellectual powers, both as a poet and a wit, appear to have been far from inconsiderable. To the personal gallantry of a knight he added the lyric graces of a Troubadour, although the romantic story of the minstrel Blondel, who is

* Genesis, xxxvii. 32.

said to have discovered his place of imprisonment by singing, outside the walls, a ballad of their joint composition, to which Richard replied, is now held to be purely fabulous. In some respects, Richard was a lawgiver; but it is evident that he cannot have done much in this character, seeing that nearly the whole of his reign, which altogether lasted scarcely ten years, was employed in foreign expeditions. The ancient maritime code, formerly said to have been compiled by Richard I. while he lay off the Isle of Oléron, on the west coast of France, is certainly not due to him; but, in English law, the term requisite to establish immemorial usage dates from the commencement of his reign. The distinction between the Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-Norman races became less marked during this period of our history, though doubtless it was still considerable. Something of an English spirit began to make itself felt, and in the following reign the bases of modern freedom were laid, however imperfectly, in the celebrated Charter of King John.

The Emperor Henry VI. of Germany died two years before Richard of England. His reign extended only from 1190 to 1197; but it was marked by some important events. Of these, the principal was the conquest of Naples and Sicily—a design originally formed by Barbarossa, who hoped to counterbalance his loss of authority in the North of Italy by acquiring an equal power in the South. The great Frederick caused his son Henry to marry Constantia, a posthumous daughter of King Roger, and heiress to the Sicilian throne. Roger, dying in 1154, was succeeded by his son William I., surnamed the Bad, who was followed, in 1166, by the grandson, William II., called the Good. On the death of the latter, in 1189, no legitimate male posterity of the Norman line remained; but the Sicilians conferred supreme power on Tancred, an illegitimate grandson of their first king. Enjoying the support of the great feudal barons, Tancred maintained his position nearly five years; but the German Emperor was not slow in asserting the claim he had acquired by his marriage with Constantia. At the head of a powerful army, he appeared before the walls of Naples, and remained there until compelled by the outbreak of a pestilence to withdraw. Operations against Tancred were subsequently renewed; but, with the heroism that seemed naturally associated with his name, the Sicilian ruler took up a position on the Apulian frontier, and successfully defied the power of Germany. After his death, in 1194, no one was either able or willing to prolong the struggle. The continental and insular possessions of the hero passed without further resistance into the hands of Henry VI., and the German monarch marched unopposed from Capua to Palermo. Tancred had left a widow and an infant son: these, with the other members of the family, and several of the nobles, were separately confined in fortresses of the Alps, and treated with ruthless barbarity whenever fear of rebellion disturbed the mind of Henry.

The new sovereign was crowned at Palermo in November, 1194, and, having struck terror into the people by a long succession of atrocities, departed for Germany in 1195, that he might carry out his long-cherished plan of making the Imperial dignity hereditary in his race. A proposal to this effect was submitted to the Electors, but so strongly condemned by the majority that Henry abandoned the project. Nevertheless, his son Frederick was chosen as his successor, and in 1196 Henry made preparations for an expedition to the East—ostensibly with a view to the recovery of Jerusalem, but really that he might operate against the Byzantine Empire, where the misgovernment of Alexius III. had created a state of anarchy. Henry claimed all the country from Durazzo to Thessalonica as a portion of the Sicilian possessions, though the attempts of the Normans in that region had never been successfully carried out. An immense army was collected for the assertion of these extravagant claims; but in the first place operations were conducted against the Sicilians, whom the systematic cruelties of the German Emperor had goaded into rebellion. Before Henry could cross the seas into the Eastern parts of Europe, he was stricken with sudden death, while hunting near Messina on a day of unusual heat. His coffin was opened at Palermo six hundred years after; and the body had been so well embalmed that the stern expression of the face was still distinctly visible.

The death of Henry VI. occurred in September, 1197; but it was not until March, 1198, that his successor was appointed. The son of the late Emperor, whom the Electors had decided to place upon the throne, was not more than three years old at the date of his father's decease, and the country was dismayed at the prospect of a regency, with all its intrigues and secret plots. The crown was accordingly conferred by his adherents on Philip of Hohenstaufen, brother of the late sovereign, who had married the daughter of Alexius III. At the same time, the Guelphic party set up an opposing candidate in Otho of Brunswick, third son of Henry the Lion, who was elected at Cologne, and crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle. Innocent III. gave his powerful support to Otho of Brunswick,

eceiving from that prince a solemn promise he would acknowledge him as his liege lord, restore to the Church all the rights and possess- s of which she had formerly been deprived. ten years, Germany was divided between the monarchs and their partizans; but in 1208, ng the espousals of his daughter Beatrice, ip was murdered at Bamberg by one Otho of telsbach, who had a private grievance against sovereign. Otho of Brunswick was left with- a rival, and Innocent placed the crown upon head, in grateful acknowledgment of those erous concessions to the Church which had made years before, and were now formally ated. An insurrection of the Roman populace afterwards expelled the servile aspirant to erial honours, and Otho, exasperated at finding the Pope did nothing to restrain his turbulent ects, declared that he no longer considered self bound by the conditions to which he had ntly agreed. Innocent thereupon excommuni- d him, and in 1211 conspired with the German ces for the election of Frederick of Sicily. o, nevertheless, continued for the next four s to maintain his power.

While these events were proceeding on the Con- nt, England was suffering from the weak, dis- rly, and tyrannical reign of John, the younger ther of Richard I. It is said that Richard, tly before his death, spoke of John as his ssor; but there was another claimant in nce Arthur, the son of Geoffrey, and grandson Henry II. In Anjou, Maine, and other parts the Continent, the prevalent feeling was in our of this boy; in England, on the contrary, n was supported by the unanimous agreement he leading men. The dishonourable alliance ch had formerly bound Prince John and Philip ustus in a common purpose, was now at an and the French sovereign acted against his lish brother as though they had been enemies ears. Arthur was supported by Philip, but in 2 was seized by his uncle during some warlike ations in Poitou, consigned to the castle of ise, and afterwards removed to Rouen, where it obable that he was murdered by the directions ohn, if not, indeed, by John's own hand. The with France continued, and the English King Normandy and almost all his possessions on Continent. At the same time, he came into sion with Innocent III., owing to his insistance he right of the Crown to nominate the Arch- op of Canterbury. The Pontiff launched nst the offender all the heaviest judgments the Church, deposing him in 1212, and absolving his subjects from their allegiance. John, however, was remarkably successful in subsequent operations against the Scotch, the Irish, and the Welsh; and the Pope, finding that Providence had not taken up his cause as he expected, fell back on Philip Augustus, whom he incited to invade England. The threatened sovereign trembled before a power with which he knew he was not strong enough to cope, and, in May, 1213, granted all the demands of the Romish See. He even made over to the Pope the kingdoms of England and Ireland, to be held by himself and his successors as a fief of the Church. Innocent thereupon took the English monarch into his favour, and forbade Philip to proceed with the enterprise he had but recently encouraged. The ruler of France accordingly turned his arms against the Count of Flanders, who had refused to join him in the invasion of England. The English fleet, however, gained a signal victory over that of France near Gravelines, and Philip Augustus was compelled to confine his operations to the land. The naval action is remarkable as being the first of those great victories at sea by which, in later ages, the annals of our country have been so brilliantly distinguished.

The campaign in Flanders, on the other hand, was entirely favourable to Philip, notwithstanding that he was opposed by the combined forces of the Flemish Count, of the Dukes of Lorraine and Brabant, of the Counts of Holland and Boulogne, and of William Longsword, Earl of Salisbury (an illegitimate brother of King John), in addition to a large German army, led by the Emperor Otho IV. in person. Otho was a relative of the English sovereign, and considered himself bound to support his relative. The numbers of the confederate army are said to have exceeded 150,000 men; but they were unable to stop the French career of victory, which had already resulted in the capture of several Flemish cities. Otho fought only one battle, the result of which was disastrous to his cause. On the 27th of August, 1214, the allies were encountered at Bouvines, between Lille and Tournay, by the forces of Philip Augustus, and entirely defeated after a fierce struggle, in which the King and the Emperor had narrow escapes of death or captivity. William of Salisbury and four other counts were taken prisoners, and Otho fled with difficulty, leaving behind him his Imperial eagle. The humiliation of the German sovereign was so great that he retired to Brunswick, and resigned his crown in 1215; while the supremacy of the French King was so clearly established that the war at once came to an end.

John had been singularly fortunate while he lay under the Papal excommunication; the period of trial began after his complete submission to the demands of Rome. The defeat at Bouvines left him no alternative but to sue for a cessation of hostilities at whatever price. A truce for five years was signed on the 19th of October, but, on the King returning to England, fresh troubles broke out amongst the discontented barons, who had already expressed their dissatisfaction with the sovereign's illegal tyranny. The laws of Henry I., which had never, perhaps, been very strictly observed, were entirely disregarded by John. His violence and cruelty are stated to have been extreme, and the nobles suffered as much as the poor. Had this not been the case, it is im bable that the great feudal lords would have ta up the quarrel, as popular liberties had at no t been very dear to them. When, however, privileges of the territorial order were outraged the capricious will of one whom the barons regard rather as their servant than their master, the case sumed a different aspect. On the 20th of Novemb 1214, the malcontents swore, before the high al in the Abbey of St. Edmund, at Edmundsbury, t they would levy war upon the King, should refuse their demands; and their petition was p sented to John in the Temple at London on 6th of January, 1215. The proposed terms w rejected, for the tyrant enjoyed the countena



RICHARD I. WOUNDED AT THE SIEGE OF THE CASTLE OF CHALUZ.

of Innocent III., who considered that
l no duties to the State, nor was under
n to consult the welfare of his people.
'or England, the spirit of the barons
itly strong to defeat this conspiracy
thless monarch and a foreign priest.
d in arms, took possession of London
is rendered a cordial support to their
so intimidated the King that he con-

Charta was signed and sealed on the 19th of June, 1215, though the date affixed is the 15th. The actual place of signature is said to have been, not the plain of Runnymede, but a little island in the Thames, still called Magna Charta Island. The spot will be for ever memorable in the hearts of Englishmen. It is no exaggeration to say that Magna Charta is the foundation of our subsequent liberties; for, although it was in some degree



THE BATTLE OF BOUVINES.

onference, which commenced on the
at Runnymede, near Windsor, but
o Egham, in Surrey. The spot had
en associated with treaties affecting
ndition of the realm, and the name is
nify the Mead of Council, from the
word *Rune*. There, in the wide
past which the Thames wanders
r-beds and willows, the barons and
the King encamped opposite to one
John must have perceived that the
ance had passed, and that a force was
ist him, with which it would be
trifle.
days' debate, the famous Magna

derived from the laws of Henry I., which were themselves an adaptation of what had been sanctioned in the reign of Edward the Confessor, the terms were much more precise and definite, and the whole scope and application better adapted to the necessities of a later epoch. By the Great Charter of John, many grievances connected with feudal tenures were amended, and provision was made for the relief of heirs, for their marriage, and for that of their widows, the latter of whom were secured from compulsory unions. No tax in lieu of personal service was to be imposed without the authority of the Common Council, except on the three great feudal occasions of the King's captivity, the knighting of his eldest son, and the marriage of his eldest

daughter. The liberties of the city of London, and of all other towns, boroughs, and ports, for which it had long been customary to pay a yearly bribe to the Crown, were declared inviolable; freedom of commerce was guaranteed to foreign merchants; all men were to be permitted to enter or leave the kingdom without restraint; the Church was protected against arbitrary usage or exactions; and it was expressly provided that justice was to be neither sold, denied, nor delayed, as it had been for some time past. Until then, the Court of Common Pleas had followed the King in all his progresses; but it was now decreed that it should be permanently fixed at Westminster. Assizes were to be held in the several counties, and annual circuits to be established. The inferior courts of justice were regulated with a view to their greater efficiency, and it was especially provided that no freeman should be injured in his person or property, except in accordance with the law. Condemnation was to take place only on the testimony of witnesses, and not simply on rumour or suspicion. The debtor was protected against illegal distresses and other arbitrary proceedings. In the imposition of fines, regard was to be had to the magnitude of the offence committed; and in any case the peasant was not to be deprived of his necessary chattels. In other respects, however, the bondsmen were left in their enslaved condition. The Great Charter did not abolish serfdom: its benefits were chiefly for the feudal lords, and the freemen of the towns. Of each man's personal property, a portion was to be divided between the widow and the children; the other part might be bequeathed according to the will of the possessor.

A separate charter was granted for mitigating the severity of the Forest Laws. So determined were the barons to guard against any attempt on the part of the King to evade the execution of his engagements—a piece of treachery which his previous career rendered extremely probable—that twenty-five of their number were appointed conservators of the public liberties, with power to make war against the sovereign in case of any violation of the Charter. The city of London was temporarily placed in their hands, and the Tower in the custody of the Archbishop of Canterbury; and a copy of the great document itself, written in the Latin of those days, was sent to every cathedral in England, with directions that it should be read publicly twice a year. The two persons principally concerned in wresting these concessions from an unwilling monarch, and thus laying the bases of the English constitution, deserve to be specially mentioned. They were the Primate, Stephen Langton, and William, Earl of Pembroke. The barons must have been for the most part of Norman race; yet it was as Englishmen that they demanded a due observance of the ancient laws. It was the liberties of the old English nationality that they required; and the native genius which had succumbed at Hastings, and languished for a century and a half under an adverse and alien rule, now rose once more in permanent vitality and power. Langton, judging by his name, was probably of Saxon blood, and he seems to have exhibited throughout a truly English spirit, which naturally brought him into conflict with a Pope such as Innocent III. He and Innocent had in early life been fellow-students at Paris, and the latter, after succeeding to the Pontificate, made Langton a Cardinal, and recommended him for the English Primacy. The contest between John and Innocent, which ended in the submission of the former, had reference to this very appointment; but when Langton succeeded to the Archbishopric, he exhibited a degree of independence which speedily angered the Pope. He refused to excommunicate the opponents of the King, or rather of the King's despotism and bad faith, and in the latter part of 1215 was suspended by Innocent from the exercise of his functions, but was reinstated on the accession of Henry III. in 1216. In the ecclesiastical subserviency of the thirteenth century, it is pleasant to find one prelate who understood the duty of disobedience, and had the courage to disobey.

John had granted the Charter under compulsion; he immediately determined to evade its obligations by every means in his power. He introduced into England numerous bodies of foreign troops; and, in October, 1215—only four months after the conclusion of the agreement—the associated barons found it necessary to appear once more in arms for the maintenance of the national liberties. At the request of the perfidious monarch, Pope Innocent annulled the Charter; the leading patriots were excommunicated by name; the city of London was laid under an interdict; and Archbishop Langton, as we have said, was suspended from his functions. For some time, the insurgents found themselves at a great disadvantage. They suffered several defeats, and were unable to stay the progress of the King and his adherents, who destroyed towns and villages in the fury of unrestrained vengeance. The baronial cause looked so hopeless that the confederates, after meeting in London, determined to offer the crown of England to Louis, son of the French sovereign, Philip Augustus. The young prince, responding to the

invitation, landed at Sandwich on the 30th of May, 1216. Popular support was not wanting. Large numbers flocked to the standard of the Frenchman, and John retreated towards the west, where he hoped to be beyond the reach of his enemies. He still possessed a large number of fortified places, which the allies found it difficult to reduce; but the death of Innocent III., on the 16th of July, deprived his cause of its most efficient patron. His own life, however, was rapidly approaching its termination, and it was extremely fortunate for the country that so disastrous a reign was not much further prolonged. The accession of a Frenchman to the English throne—the success of a movement which, though of native origin, was now upheld by foreign arms—would have been a humiliating circumstance for England, and would assuredly have brought with it consequences as mischievous as those which had followed the Norman Conquest. Happily, John died at the castle of Newark on the 18th of October, 1216, after losing a portion of his army, together with all his baggage and treasure, in fording the Wash, between Norfolk and Lincolnshire, for he had now returned to the eastern side of England. As in the case of other despotic monarchs, poison was by some believed to have terminated his career; but his death is more likely to have been the consequence of fatigue and mortification. His eldest son, then only ten years of age, was at once acknowledged as heir to the throne, chiefly through the instrumentality of the Earl of Pembroke, who, as Lord Marshal, possessed great influence over the other barons. The French auxiliaries had by this time become unpopular; and in September, 1217, Louis, after being blockaded in London, and finding that his cause was condemned by the Pope, and not supported by his father, agreed to evacuate the country, together with all his followers.

The safety of Magna Charta was now fairly assured; yet the patriotic leaders considered it advisable to obtain a confirmation of its terms, together with some modifications, in the first, second, and ninth years of the reign of Henry III. After the last of these, no further alterations were introduced into the compact; but in thirty-two instances, of a later date, the Charter was solemnly ratified. During the reign of Henry III., that weak and unstable monarch was frequently bribed by subsidies to forego his manifest intention of breaking the fundamental law; but the barons still felt uneasy, and, the Church being called in to strengthen their power, a solemn excommunication was pronounced against all violaters of the Charter. Henry swore to observe its provisions, but often obtained Papal dispensations to enable him with a safe conscience to break his vow. Still, although the law was frequently set aside as a matter of practice, it remained upon the statute-book, and continually revived after every attempt to destroy its efficacy. The history of England acquires a different character after the reign of John. Constitutional principles begin to appear; the mere will of the sovereign is no longer supreme; a less servile tone distinguishes the writers of a later epoch; and those habits of ordered freedom which we justly regard as characteristic of our country, and of which the germs are to be discovered in the old English race before the Conquest, make themselves increasingly manifest with each succeeding age.

The union of the two races—the Saxon and the Norman—had been slowly proceeding since the accession of Henry II., and had by this time resulted in the formation of a composite people, animated in some respects by a sentiment of nationality. The fusion was undoubtedly not yet complete; but it had made considerable advances towards that consummation. The English baron of Norman descent still clung to his provincial French, and regarded the Saxon churl with feelings of supercilious disdain. But the native race was winning a position of influence in the towns; riches were pouring in to the mercantile class, which was often of English origin; and a new language rose into being, which was neither Anglo-Saxon nor Anglo-Norman, but a compound of both. The English as distinguished from the Anglo-Saxon tongue seems to have emerged from the preceding chaos during the reign of John. Layamon, a priest of Ernly-upon-Severn, made at that period a translation of Wace's Norman poem of "Brut," the language of which version is a form of the Anglo-Saxon, mingled with a small number of French words. The phraseology and grammar were still Anglo-Saxon in the main; but the evidences of transition were numerous. The change, having once commenced, proceeded very rapidly; and a considerable approach towards modern English grammar is noticeable in some metrical pieces belonging, it is thought, to the first half of the thirteenth century. But English literature made slow progress, owing to the fact that the rich and titled classes preferred to read in French, and the commonalty were neither sufficiently intelligent, nor sufficiently educated, to care about reading at all. As long as the connection lasted between England and Normandy, the genius of the former was to a great extent subjected to that of the latter; and, even after the separation, many years

elapsed before the English nobles and gentry outgrew the continental mould in which themselves and their ancestors had been fashioned.

The social state of England during the reigns of Richard I. and John is strikingly illustrated by the legend of Robin Hood. The story is indeed surrounded by a good deal of doubt. Whether the generous outlaw lived in those reigns, or in the time of Edward II.; whether he was a Saxon or a Norman; whether he was a man of the yeoman class, or no less a person than the Earl of Huntingdon in disguise; whether he was a common freebooter, or the leader of a political rebellion; whether he was a real character, or simply a myth,—all these are points which it is impossible to determine with any certainty. But it is unquestionable that for many ages he lived in the grateful memory of the English race as a popular hero—as a vindicator of the rights of the poor against the rich, of the Saxon against the Norman, of the serf against the noble; and that he was considered to be a thief only in the sense that he took from the great what they had no right to possess, and restored it to the humble, who were conceived to have a more equitable claim. In those days, a large part of England was covered with forests, and the Forest Laws (which, as we have seen, were amended at the same time that Magna Charta was obtained) punished with ruthless severity the killing or stealing of deer. When it is recollected that several of these forests were made by the Norman kings, who for their own pleasure deprived many people of their freehold lands and their common rights, without any compensation whatever, it is easy to understand how deep and abiding must have been the sense of injustice, and how likely it is that a set of men grew up, who ranged the woods at will, and used their long-bows with effect upon the royal preserves. Down to a period little before that of the Great Charter, the English people were treated with systematic barbarity and contempt. To be mistaken for an Englishman was considered the greatest possible disgrace. To be an Englishman in fact was to suffer every injury and contumely without redress. But the people revenged themselves by the secret weapons of the enslaved. The Normans were frequently assassinated, with such adroitness that detection was impossible. The whole Saxon population was in league with the culprits, and it was at length found necessary to lay a heavy fine on every hundred in which a Norman was discovered slain, and to declare that every person unlawfully killed should be held to be a Norman unless he were proved to be a Saxon.* By the time of John, however, the worst had passed. The amalgamation of the races had made evident progress, and internal dissensions had become less extreme.

While John was disgracing the name and weakening the power of England by his vices and his imbecility, Philip Augustus was increasing the influence of France by the vigour and policy of his rule. Much may undoubtedly be said in derogation from the character of this monarch; but he acted with dignity and firmness in calling the English sovereign to account for the murder of Prince Arthur in the castle of Rouen, in 1203. When John at length signified some willingness to appear before the court of his suzerain, in answer to the charge of assassinating his nephew, he endeavoured to obtain a promise that Philip would grant him a safe-conduct. "Willingly," said Philip; "let him come unmolested." "And return?" inquired the Bishop of Ely, who acted as the English envoy. "If the judgment of his peers permit him," replied the French monarch; "by all the saints of France, he shall not return unless acquitted." It was casuistically suggested that the Duke of Normandy could not come without the King of England, and that the barons of the latter country would not permit their sovereign to encounter such a peril. "What of that, my Lord Bishop?" retorted Philip. "It is well known that my vassal, the Duke of Normandy, acquired England by force. But if a subject obtain any accession of dignity, shall his paramount lord therefore lose his rights?"† In the absence of the English King, he was found guilty of murder by treachery, and condemned to death, together with the loss of all his fiefs held of the crown of France, which had in fact, with a few exceptions, been already taken from him by the arms of Philip. The court of peers, which pronounced the sentence, then figured for the first time as the supreme tribunal of France.

The decreasing power of England during the reign of John is the measure of the increasing power of France during the reign of Philip Augustus. With the exception of Aquitaine and some fragments of provinces, all the continental possessions of the English crown passed into the hands of Philip while John was pursuing his despicable career of intrigue and tyranny, of cowardice and bad faith. At the close of the war of 1206, John renounced all claim to the sovereignty of Normandy, Brittany, Maine, and those portions of Anjou and Touraine which lay north of

* Macaulay's History of England, chap. 1.
† Hallam's Middle Ages, chap. 1, part 1.

the Loire, and at the same time ceded to Philip the city of Poitiers and the surrounding district. Previously to these events, the French sovereign had acquired by marriage the province of Artois; and he afterwards obtained possession of Vermandois, Auvergne, and other places. His power ultimately extended from the English Channel to the Mediterranean, from the Atlantic to the Teutonic borders. France, which in the previous reign of Louis VII. had sunk to a contemptible position, now stood forth as one of the greatest realms in Europe. But, in ceasing, or nearly ceasing, to be a continental power, England became more truly English, and the best portion of her history belongs to a later and more interesting period than the reign of John.

CHAPTER XXXI.

THE FOURTH CRUSADE, AND CAPTURE OF CONSTANTINOPLE BY THE FRANKS.

State of Palestine and Syria after the Third Crusade—Religious Excitement in Germany—Expedition to the East—Alternation of Success and Failure—Complete Ruin of the German Forces—Almeric of Lusignan made King of Jerusalem—The Saladine Tax—The Fourth Crusade Preached by Innocent III.—Alliance with Venice—Capture of Zara, on the Dalmatian Coast—Affairs in Constantinople—Deposition of Isaac II. by his Brother Alexius—Rapid Progress in the Decline of the Empire—The Forces of the Crusaders Enlisted on Behalf of Isaac—Submission of Durazzo, and of some of the Greek Islands—Appearance of the Franks before Constantinople—Combined Military and Naval Attack on the City—Heroism of Dandolo, the Aged Doge of Venice—Partial Success of the Allies, and Flight of Alexius III.—Recall of Isaac II., in Association with his Son, Alexius IV.—Mutual Distrust of the Greeks and Latins—Movements of Alexius in the Provinces—Incendiary Fire in Constantinople—Disagreements of the Citizens and the Crusaders—Superstition and Weakness of the People—Revolutionary Outbreak, and Succession of Alexius V. (Murtzuphlos)—Preparations for War with the Latins—Agreement for the Division of the Byzantine Empire—Ineffectual Attack upon the City—Renewed Assault, and Capture of Constantinople by the Venetians and Crusaders—Pillage of the Capital, and Savage Triumph of the Victors—Division of the Booty—Baldwin, Count of Flanders, created Emperor—Execution of Alexius V.—Final Years of Alexius III.—Genoa and Venice—Division of the Byzantine Empire among Several Princes—Oppression of Greece—Insurrectionary War—Deaths of Baldwin and Boniface.

THE Third Crusade had really been more successful than the military triumphs of its promoters seemed to warrant. Jaffa and Tyre, together with a fair amount of territory, were left in the hands of the Christians, and the followers of the Cross were permitted, under very favourable conditions, to pay their vows in Jerusalem. But these concessions of the stronger did not satisfy the exacting demands of religious pride. The nations of the West still desired to be supreme in the Holy City of Judæa, and opportunities were sought for renewing the war with the Mohammedans. While Saladin lived, the terror of his name acted as a check on the most ambitious of fanatics; but the great warrior died on the 4th of March, 1193, the year following that in which he had made peace with Richard, and the empire was divided amongst his numerous children and his brother Saphadin. Of these princes, Saphadin was the most capable and the most powerful. The veterans of the late Sultan gathered about his throne in Syria, where he established a considerable dominion; but a terrible dearth in Egypt, on which country the Syrians depended for the supply of corn, weakened the resources of the State, and encouraged the hopes of the military bodies in Palestine. This was in 1197; two years previously to which date, Pope Celestine III. had preached a new Crusade, but without much effect in France or England. Throughout Germany, however, the spirit of religious zeal was strongly awakened; and when it was seen that the Mohammedans of Syria were at a disadvantage, a numerous band of Teutonic warriors set out for the East, under the command of several princes, both lay and clerical.

For this enterprise there was actually no justification whatever. The period of the truce concluded by Richard I. and Saladin had reached its termination, and war had not broken out again between antagonists who had learned to respect one another. From the Christian communities of the East (except from the Knights of St. John, whose trade was war) arose no cry for succour; and it would appear that their treatment by the Mussulmans had been fair, considerate, and honourable. Nothing, however, could restrain the spirit of fanaticism, and the Germans poured into Palestine in the hope of re-erecting a Christian throne in Jerusalem. This injudicious and unwarrantable interference, against which the Christians

Acre remonstrated, produced the effects that might have been foreseen. The Mohammedans were provoked into acts of hostility; Saphadin appeared at the head of an immense force; and, by a rapid and effective movement, Jaffa was wrested from its Latin garrison. Thus the struggle opened badly for the Christians; but, after the arrival of German reinforcements, the tide of success was so completely reversed that many of the principal cities were hastily abandoned by the Saracens. The invaders marched triumphantly towards Jerusalem, in the confident expectation that the city would soon be in their hands. They received a check, however, at the fortress of Thoron, where, after they had driven several mines through the solid rock which supported the battlements, and the defenders had sued for terms, a sudden revulsion of feeling on the part of the latter induced them to renew the contest. Taken by surprise, the Germans suffered terribly. Disunion broke out in their camp; alarming rumours that the Sultans of Egypt and Syria were on the march spread from mouth to mouth; and the commanders of the besieging force fled in the night to Tyre, leaving the soldiers to shift for themselves. Their retreat was a disorderly rout, and nothing but the fatigue of the enemy saved them from complete destruction. A further alternation of success and failure resulted in the utter ruin of the expedition. On the 11th of November, 1197, the Mohammedans burst into the city of Jaffa while the Germans were celebrating the feast of St. Martin with drunken orgies, and slew all whom they could reach.

This unfortunate enterprise is generally passed over in the ordinary accounts of the religious wars. It should, in fact, be reckoned as the Fourth Crusade; but that term is commonly applied to the expedition which set out in the early part of the thirteenth century, and which, strictly speaking, cannot be regarded as a Crusade at all. The desire to rescue Jerusalem again, and to revive the glories of Godfrey de Bouillon, was a dominant passion in the western countries of Europe. A faint remnant of the former Christian monarchy still existed at Acre, and the little knot of feudal barons desired to recover the dignity and splendour of an earlier time. Henry, Count of Champagne, who was chosen to the regal office after the assassination of Conrad in 1192, died towards the close of 1197, and was succeeded by Almeric de Lusignan, King of Cyprus, brother of Guy, to whom Richard I. had made over that island. Isabella, who had already been the wife of Conrad and of Henry, as well as of a previous husband from whom she was divorced, now married Almeric, and the two were declared King and Queen of Cyprus and Jerusalem. Claim, therefore, was still made to the city of David; but the chief incentives to another holy war came from Europe, and especially from the Popes, who considered the honour of the Church bound up in the success of the Eastern Christians. The Pontiffs were in one respect favourably situated for following a belligerent policy: they possessed large funds for the purpose. These were constantly accumulating from the Saladine tenth—a tax imposed on the laity of the Roman Church, and even on the clergy, and named after the terrible Moslem hero whose power it was instituted to counteract. It continued to be levied long after Saladin's death, and became the foundation of all the tithes on ecclesiastical benefices which have been granted by the Popes to Catholic sovereigns, or reserved for the use of the Apostolic See.* There can be little doubt that the proceeds of the Saladine tenth were often diverted to the general purposes of the Church, and even to the luxury and ostentation of the Papal Court. But from time to time the feeling of religious enthusiasm revived; and when Innocent III. succeeded to the Pontificate in 1198, he quickly appealed to the conscience of Europe on behalf of the Eastern Christians. He wrote to the various temporal and spiritual chiefs of Christendom, requiring their co-operation in a new war. He sent nuncios throughout Europe, offering pardons and indulgences to all who would assume the cross. He commanded the clergy to contribute the fortieth part of their revenues, and to solicit alms from the laity; and in this way an immense sum was speedily collected. The exhortations of the Pope were supported, and to some extent preceded, by those of a French priest, Fulk of Neuilly, whose addresses produced an effect which recalled the days of Peter the Hermit. France, Flanders, and Italy, supplied a large force; and all seemed to promise favourably for the contemplated design.

The leaders of the Fourth Crusade met at Soissons, and afterwards at Compiègne, in the year 1200. Recollecting the numerous misfortunes which on former occasions had attended the land journey to Palestine, the French barons determined to seek the aid of Venice for effecting a transit by sea. An embassy was accordingly sent to the great Republic of North-eastern Italy, and it was ultimately agreed that, for 85,000 marks of silver, the Venetians would furnish flat-bottomed vessels for the conveyance of horses, and ships for a

* Gibbon's Decline and Fall, chap. 59.



STORMING OF CONSTANTINOPLE BY BALDWIN, COUNT OF FLANDERS.

certain number of knights and foot-soldiers. Provisions were also to be furnished for a year; and Venice undertook to become a principal in the war, and to support fifty galleys of her own, on the understanding that all acquisitions should be equally divided between herself and the others. This was an immense accession of strength; but the Crusaders were unable to set out until after the Easter of 1202. By that time the ardour of many had entirely disappeared, and the faint-hearted preferred to remain at home. On proceeding to Italy, moreover, the chiefs of the expedition found great difficulty in paying the stipulated sum to Venice. As an equivalent, they undertook to assist the Republic in the conquest of Zara, a town on the coast of Dalmatia which had lately broken loose from Venice, and attached itself to Hungary. The place was attacked and reduced in November, and, as the winter was then approaching, it was determined that the Crusaders should remain at Zara until the following spring. The Pope was extremely angry at this diversion of the western forces from the object which had originally called them together. The Crusaders had been forbidden to draw the sword against any of their Christian brothers, and the case was rendered worse by the circumstance that the King of Hungary, whose recent acquisition was thus snatched away, had himself joined the Crusade. Innocent III. showed so much displeasure at what had happened that a number of French knights and monks found it expedient to appear at Rome, and make excuses for the irregular enterprise of their companions. The Venetians were always regarded by the Roman Pontiffs with disfavour, because of the independent posture they habitually assumed towards the Papal chair. On the present occasion, Innocent III. assured the French that the only means by which they could obtain pardon were by making compensation to the Zaradines, and refusing to visit Palestine in company with the heretical Venetians. But the exhortations of his Holiness produced little effect. The expedition had at the very beginning been turned into a secular channel, and it was destined to remain there till the end.

The second diversion of crusading zeal was due to the condition of the Byzantine Empire. After a reign of nine years and seven months, the Emperor Isaac II. was dethroned by his elder brother, Alexius, in April, 1195. He had redeemed this very brother from Turkish captivity; yet Alexius not merely deprived his benefactor of the crown, but caused his eyes to be put out, and confined him in a dungeon, where he was fed on bread and water. The character of the new Emperor, Alexius III., was as contemptible as that of Isaac. His court was distinguished by profligacy and lavish expenditure. Everything fell into disorder, especially after the banishment of the Empress Euphrosyne, whose immoralities had become too open and scandalous to be any longer passed over in silence. Euphrosyne was brought back, and resumed without fear the licentious course which had been temporarily arrested. Rebellions were of frequent occurrence; the neighbouring seas were infested with pirates; the venality of the administration was so great that public offices were unblushingly sold; the Church was as bad as the State; the people cried in vain for a redress of grievances; and the police of the metropolis was so inefficient that the Venetians and Pisans fought sanguinary battles in the streets of Constantinople. The Seljukians of Roum invaded the Asiatic provinces with success, and it was only by heavy subsidies that Alexius III. obtained immunity from their assaults. A war that had been idly provoked with these powerful neighbours resulted in terrible misfortunes. The vale of the Mæander was ravaged by the Turks, and portions of the Byzantine territory were permanently annexed. Troubles also occurred with Wallachia and Bulgaria; Greece was almost subdued by northern invaders; the frontiers of the Empire were plundered by barbarian tribes; and nothing short of ruin seemed imminent. A brief recovery of power marked the close of the twelfth century; but corruption had entered so deeply into the life of the State that a serious catastrophe was apprehended by all thinking men.

Retribution came from a quarter whence it was least expected. The German monarch, Philip of Hohenstaufen, who succeeded Henry VI. in 1198, was the son-in-law of Isaac II., the deposed Emperor of Constantinople. Alexius, the son of Isaac, contrived, in 1202, to escape to Italy in a Pisan ship, and produced so powerful an impression on his relative, Philip of Germany, that the latter solicited the assistance of the Crusaders, then wintering at Zara, in restoring Isaac II. to the Byzantine throne. Many of the French nobles opposed this project; but it was supported by the Flemings, Venetians, and Lombards, who formed a portion of the crusading army. Finally, it was determined that the Byzantine Empire should be attacked, and a treaty was signed, by which the barons engaged to replace Isaac and his son in the Imperial position. Alexius, on his part, undertook to pay the Crusaders the sum of 200,000 silver marks, to furnish the whole expedition with provisions for a year, to acknowledge the Papal

supremacy, and either to accompany the Crusaders in person to Egypt, or to furnish a contingent of ten thousand men to their army, with pay for a year. Moreover, he promised to maintain, during his life, a corps of five hundred cavalry in Palestine, for the defence of the Latin possessions—an obligation which, as the Byzantine historian Nicetas remarks, was tantamount to changing the ancient usages of the so-called Roman State. The Emperor Alexius III., on hearing what was intended, wrote to Pope Innocent, requesting him to forbid the contemplated attack, which he justly remarked would hinder the real object of the expedition, namely, the deliverance of the Holy Land. The reply of Innocent was cold and evasive, and in addressing the Crusaders he authorised them to plunder the lands of those who refused them provisions, particularly the dominions of the Greek Emperor. Yet it is said that he equivocated with the Western barons also, bidding them go straight to Palestine, and not assume the character of general vindicators of justice; and he is thought to have been disinclined to a distinct rupture with Alexius III., in the hope of purchasing his submission to the See of Rome. If he really forbade the Latin chivalry to attack Constantinople, his commands were quietly set at naught: as regards Zara, he was certainly defied. The Venetians destroyed the walls of that city, plundered the churches and dwellings, and shared the spoil with the French. Having accomplished these purposes, they sailed from Zara in April, 1203, and soon appeared before Dyrrachium, or Durazzo, the governor of which city presented the keys to Alexius as the representative of his father. Several of the Greek islands acted in the same spirit, and the allies were already flushed with success when, on the 23rd of June, they arrived within sight of Constantinople. Chalcedon was speedily occupied, together with Chrysopolis, the modern Scutari; and the capital found itself confronted by an enemy who, besides his positions in Asia, had command of the intervening sea.

The French chronicler Villehardouin, who accompanied the expedition, remarks, with some exaggeration, that never since the creation of the world had so bold an enterprise as this attack on Constantinople been undertaken by so small a force. But the Imperial city was in truth very ill-provided for resistance. The fleet had been so largely reduced that only twenty galleys were fit for service; the ancient discipline of the army had fallen into decay; and the citizens showed no enthusiasm in defending a despotism from which they suffered. The assailants, however, were met with some manifestations of military power. As their ships sailed along the Bosphorus and the Propontis, the soldiers on the ramparts of Constantinople attacked them with stones and darts, and the Venetian fleet was glad to seek refuge at Chalcedon. The Latin army was then concentrated at Chrysopolis, and Alexius III. endeavoured to open negotiations. He offered assistance to the Crusaders in their passage through Asia Minor, on the assumption that they were really going to Palestine, but at the same time threatened them with destruction if they did any injury to the Greeks. The Western commanders replied that they had entered the Byzantine realm for the redress of wrongs, and that, if the usurper would quit his throne, they would, on his behalf, solicit pardon and an honourable station from those whom he had wronged. A peaceful arrangement being now impossible, the Franks transported their cavalry across the Bosphorus. An ineffectual attempt was made to prevent them from landing, and to throw the horses into confusion. But the knights were speedily in the saddle, and ranged in military order; the Greeks were put to flight; and the Imperial tent fell into the hands of the assailants.

The landing was effected at Galata, on the northern side of the Golden Horn. The fortifications of the suburb terminated in a great tower, into which was riveted one end to the long and heavy chain which closed the entrance of the port. The other end of this chain was made fast in the citadel of Constantinople, within the walls of the Imperial palace. The tower of Galata was easily captured, in consequence of an ill-judged sortie of the Greek defenders, who were driven back in headlong rout. Shortly afterwards, the chain across the Golden Horn was broken by one of the heavy transports, which, furnished with an immense blade at the prow, was driven violently forward by the wind; and the Western fleet was soon ranged within the port of Constantinople. Five days after, the siege of the Imperial city itself was commenced. On eleven previous occasions, this vast metropolis, the centre of a civilisation even then magnificent in its decay, had been attacked by hostile armies, and had invariably succeeded in repulsing the enemy. The first assault was made by Chosroes of Persia in 616, the sixth year of the reign of Heraclius; the last was in 1187, when the rebel Alexis Branas endeavoured to seize the capital. It is a remarkable fact that in 1187 Constantinople was defended by Conrad of Montferrat; and that the commander of the army which now attacked it was Boniface

the younger brother of that hero. The great city had, indeed, been taken by treachery when attacked by Alexius I. in 1081; but it still retained the reputation of impregnability to an open assault. The walls, however, had for some time been much neglected, and the besiegers were provided with catapults and balistæ for projecting arrows and huge stones into the streets.

The Western force was divided into six bodies, all of which encamped on the hill above the modern suburb of Eyoub. The siege then proceeded in regular form, but for several days the assailants were harassed with frequent sorties. Nevertheless, the operations were pressed with great pertinacity, and heavy stones from the balistæ destroyed several of the mansions and palaces which gave so grand an aspect to Constantinople. A breach in one of the towers was effected on the 17th of July, and a simultaneous attack by sea and land was made soon after. The assault was bloody, and for the moment fruitless. The walls were manned by the English and Danish guards by whom the Byzantine Emperors were usually surrounded, and their battle-axes did such fearful execution that the assailants fell back. The disheartened besiegers were recalled to their duty by an aged hero, who might well have been excused had he remained in the safety of his own city and his own dwelling. This was Henry Dandolo, the Doge of Venice—a man upwards of ninety, if the accounts are to be credited, and blind from the effect of a wound on the head. He had accompanied the expedition in its attack on Zara, and, after the capture of that place, had followed the Western knights in their more serious enterprise. When the soldiers recoiled before the English and Danish weapons, the voice of Dandolo was heard threatening terrible punishments to those who would not renew the assault. His enthusiasm spread like fire among the exhausted ranks: a fresh attack was organised, and the large ships of the Venetians, which carried towers equal in height to the walls of Constantinople, moved up towards the shore. The towers were furnished with bridges, which were let down on to the ramparts, while the tops of the smaller vessels were filled with archers and crossbowmen, who poured a storm of missiles on the defenders of the battlements. Dandolo stood on the deck of his galley in complete armour, inciting his countrymen to use their utmost exertions; and it was not long before the sailors under his immediate command planted the standard of St. Mark on one of the towers. Almost at the same moment numerous bridges were thrown over from the other ships on to the extended line of the fortifications. A sanguinary struggle ended in favour of the assailants. In a little while, thirty-five towers were in the hands of the Venetians; but the conflict was repeated in the streets below. The progress of the victors was retarded by the desperation of the vanquished, and the old Doge set fire to the houses that he might secure his rear. The conflagration extended over a large space; yet the Greeks maintained a position of resistance, and seemed for a time to threaten with attack the Frankish camp beyond the walls. The Crusaders had, in truth, failed in their part of the operations, and Dandolo, fearing that they might be overwhelmed, abandoned the city, and hastened to their support. The spirit of the Greeks, however, suddenly deserted them: they fell back into the city without striking a blow, and Alexius III., finding that all was lost, made preparations for saving his own life. In the following night, he gathered about him a few of his most faithful adherents, loaded himself and them with as much treasure and jewellery as they could carry, and ignominiously fled from Constantinople to Debeltos, near the Thracian coast.

The first consequence of this revolution was the recall of Isaac II. to the throne. He had recently been confined in a monastery, and, being now conducted to the palace, was again proclaimed Emperor, with his son, Alexius IV., for a colleague. An understanding was effected with the Crusaders, and Alexius IV. made his entry into the capital on horseback, between Baldwin, Count of Flanders, and Henry Dandolo, the Doge of Venice. Isaac was old, infirm of health, and suffering from that terrible deprivation of sight which had been inflicted on him by his enemies. His mind, which had always been weak, was now imbecile to fatuity; his son Alexius was idle, dissolute, and thoughtless; and the decay of the Byzantine State proceeded yet more rapidly than before. With great difficulty, some portion of the money due to the Crusaders was produced from time to time; but it was evident that the whole demand of those exacting friends could not be satisfied, even though the Imperial palaces, the monasteries, and the churches were stripped of their jewels and their precious metals. The Greeks hoped to manage everything by that kind of diplomacy which is not easily to be distinguished from breach of faith; but the Venetians were fully their equals in this respect, and the unfortunate citizens found that they could obtain no advantage in the tournaments of chicanery. An irritable feeling quickly arose between the Greeks and the Latins, and the Crusaders were encamped near Galata, to avoid the danger of a collision with the Emperor's subjects.

The situation was rendered still more dangerous by the fact that the dethroned Alexius was beginning to recover his spirits, and to make preparations for a military descent on Constantinople. Within a few weeks, the greater part of Thrace submitted to his rule, and, although he was speedily driven out of Adrianople, his power was not entirely destroyed. Meanwhile, the Byzantines and the Western commanders grew more antagonistic every day; the shattered and decaying Empire was unable to pay the stipulated subsidy; the Crusaders, on their side, failed to perform all they had undertaken, since they could not destroy the authority of the usurper in the provinces; and mutual recriminations added to the peril of an armed outbreak.

A terrible catastrophe on the 19th of August led to a still further complication between the people of Constantinople and the armed force at Galata. Some Flemish soldiers, who had been visiting certain of their countrymen established as merchants in the capital, became intoxicated, attacked a Mohammedan mosque, and plundered the warehouses of the Turkish traders with the East. They were assailed by the infuriated Greeks, and driven towards the port, but in retreating set fire to some houses in their rear, so as to baffle the pursuers. The flames were increased by a strong wind, and the conflagration lasted for at least two days, leaving an immense heap of ashes, a mile and a half in extent, from the shores of the Golden Horn to those of the Propontis. The richest quarter of the city was destroyed; numerous works of ancient art, and several classic manuscripts, were consumed in the fire; magnificent palaces, and vast warehouses filled with merchandise, were swept away; and the church of St. Sophia narrowly escaped. The people were justly indignant at a calamity which, though perhaps not contemplated in its full dimensions, was undoubtedly the result of incendiarism. The Latin residents in Constantinople, who numbered fifteen thousand, were treated with the utmost violence, and, escaping with difficulty from their houses, which were torn down by the Greeks, fled to the camp of the Crusaders on the other side of the harbour. After so terrible a loss, the Byzantines were unable, and doubtless unwilling, to continue their payments to the Western commanders. The latter threatened hostile proceedings, and the Government was compelled to seize the golden lamps, shrines, and other sacred objects in the churches, and melt them down for the satisfaction of their obdurate creditors. Worse even than that, the younger Emperor, Alexius IV., promised to compel the Patriarch to acknowledge the Pope of Rome as head of the whole Christian Church. On this understanding, together with an engagement to defray all expenses, the Crusaders agreed to remain until the following Easter. Their presence was in many respects hateful; yet it was feared that on their departure Alexius III. would return with the ferocity of an exasperated tyrant, unless his power could first be thoroughly broken. Nevertheless, although the blind old Emperor sought the assistance of the Latin strangers, many of the Greeks began to talk of defiance, and even Alexius IV. paltered with a feeling which he dared not entirely resist. All this while, the superstitious folly of rulers and people knew no bounds. Yielding to the suggestions of his astrologers, Isaac II. removed from the Hippodrome into the Palace a certain bronze figure of a boar, which it was thought excited the fury of the populace. The citizens regarded a colossal statue of Minerva as the genius of the Latins, and, conceiving that its attitude seemed to invite the Western allies into the city, destroyed what has been characterised as a noble work of Hellenic art.

In the midst of all this anger and bewilderment, the year 1203 came to a close; and the following year brought matters to a climax. On the 25th of January, 1204, the Constantinopolitans rose in insurrection, declared that they would no longer be governed by those who had sold the Empire and the Church to the Latins, and forced the members of the Senate, the clergy, and the principal nobles, to attend beneath the dome of St. Sophia, that they might elect a new sovereign. A state of anarchy continued during the next three days, and Isaac II. died from agitation and alarm. Alexius IV. fell into the hands of an adventurer named Murtzuphlos, who was proclaimed Emperor by his followers and the troops. The deposed monarch was speedily strangled, and Murtzuphlos succeeded to the throne as Alexius V. The new sovereign was a member of the noble family of Ducas, a son-in-law of Alexius III., and a man of admitted courage and capacity. He at once threw himself with spirit into the work of government, and strained every nerve to resist the attack which he knew would be speedily made by the Crusaders. One of his greatest difficulties was want of funds; another resulted from the apathy of the people, many of whom began to think that the Imperial Government and the Eastern Church were doomed, and that their destruction would be a benefit to the community.

A state of war was now fairly established between the Byzantines and the foreign army at

Galata. It was determined by the latter to deliver an assault towards the end of March, and a council was held to determine in what manner the partition of the Empire should be carried out. In the discussion of this agreement, the Venetians were represented by Dandolo, and the French and other Crusaders by Boniface, Marquis of Montferrat; Baldwin, Count of Flanders; Louis, Count of Blois; and Henry, Count of St. Pol.

titioned and transformed before the confederates had gained possession of the capital. But the Latin commanders were confident of their ability to subdue the Greek metropolis; and the event justified the hopefulness of their anticipations.

The task, however, proved less easy than they had supposed. The attack began on the morning of the 9th of April, 1204, and was conducted with spirit, valour, and determination; but Murtzuphlos



WALLS OF CONSTANTINOPLE IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

To each division of the force was assigned its share of the plunder, and the Venetians took care to secure a large portion for themselves. As soon as Constantinople was taken, twelve electors were to be chosen for the purpose of appointing an Emperor; but this sovereign was to receive only one-fourth of the Byzantine realm, of which the remaining three-quarters were to be equally divided between the Crusaders and the Venetians. Many other provisions were made, with a view to securing the new power, and establishing the supremacy of the Pope; but the Patriarch of the Eastern Church was to be still tolerated as the ecclesiastical head of those who shared his opinions in religion. Thus the Eastern Empire was par-

had so strengthened the wall that the attempt was successfully repelled, and at the end of the day the Crusaders retired to their camp. The effort was renewed three days later, with the co-operation of the Venetian ships. From the high towers on their decks, bridges were thrown forward on to the city walls, as on the previous occasion; bodies of Venetians and Crusaders, led by Baldwin of Flanders, sprang on to the ramparts; four towers were successfully stormed; and in a little while three of the city gates were thrown open for the entry of the knights, who had begun to land their horses. Murtzuphlos, encamped in the open space left by the recent conflagration, was suddenly astonished to see the banners of the Vene-

tians and Crusaders floating from the captured towers and battlements. His guards now refused to march against the enemy, and all retired into the palace and citadel of Bucoleon. It was then too late in the day for the victors to attack this strong position, and, to protect their camp during the night, they set fire to the houses on their flank. This was the third conflagration which had devastated the Eastern capital since the arrival of the Latin forces; and Villehardouin asserts that the three fires, taken together, destroyed more houses than were contained in the three largest cities of France. The reigning Emperor saw that his cause was lost, and, embarking in a galley with his wife and mother, he escaped from the capital which he could no longer defend. The struggle might yet have been maintained in the streets, and in the strong places enclosed within the walls; but the people wanted a leader, and it was considered necessary, in the first place, to elect a new Emperor. The choice fell on Theodore Lascaris; but he was unable either to expel the invaders or to maintain his own power, and on the following morning crossed the Bosphorus into Asia.



THE MASSACRE AT BÉZIERS.

All resistance was now at an end. The Crusaders occupied the chief points, and the Byzantine troops laid down their arms. A horrible orgie of revenge and depravity ensued. The city was given up to plunder, with the exception of the Imperial treasury and the arsenal, which were protected by a guard, on account of their value to the conquerors; but the houses of the citizens were plundered,

churches and monasteries were despoiled, women were dishonoured, and the ceremonies of the Greek religion were subjected to every insult and mockery. The noble church of St. Sophia—one of the grandest religious edifices then existing in Europe—was made the scene of abominable revelries. The rights of no one, lay or clerical, were respected; the feelings of all were outraged; robbery and violence predominated in every direction; and those who but recently had been beggars found themselves in possession of unimagined wealth. The coffins of the Emperors were broken open, and the robes still investing the corpse of Justinian were stripped away by sacrilegious hands. Any affront to the victors was avenged in blood; and so completely was discipline at an end that the commanders themselves could do nothing to restrain their men. According to the Greek writer Nicetas, Constantinople was still adorned with many magnificent pieces of ancient sculpture, and with numerous bronzes of Pagan workmanship, when the Crusaders and the Venetians burst into the place. Most of these were destroyed; but the Venetians removed to their own city the four bronze horses which yet stand in the Square of St. Mark. Thus, under every circumstance of horror and humiliation, a metropolis containing more than a million inhabitants succumbed to an attack wherein the assailants did not exceed twenty thousand. Thanks were offered to God for the conquest of the Eastern capital, for it appeared to be considered that as great a triumph had been accomplished as if the Mohammedans had been expelled from Jerusalem. Orders were issued that all the booty should be collected in three of the principal churches, and some idea of its value may be derived from the statement that the riches of Constantinople equalled the accumulated wealth of all Western Europe. A great deal of the pillage was doubtless concealed or wasted; yet the residue shared by the Crusaders, after the payment of 50,000 marks of silver to the Venetians, was (according to Gibbon) equal to about £800,000 of our money; not to speak of 10,000 horses and mules belonging to the army and the State. Villehardouin declares that so much booty was never before taken in any conquered city.

It was now requisite to make provision for the government of the Empire. An election having taken place, according to the form previously determined, Baldwin, Count of Flanders, was, on the 9th of May, appointed to the vacant monarchy. Baldwin was a young hero of conspicuous courage, of marked piety, and of unusual self-restraint. He was a descendant of Charlemagne, and the cousin of Philip Augustus. His countrymen were warlike, and he himself had acquired a brilliant reputation in the progress of the siege. His only possible rivals were Dandolo and Boniface; but the Doge of Venice was too old for such a post, nor would the Republic have suffered him to accept a sovereignty which would have detained him from the true sphere of his duties. The Marquis of Montferrat was more eligible than Dandolo; but Baldwin had established himself in the affections of the majority, and Boniface so cordially acquiesced in his election that he was the first to kiss his hand, and to raise him on the buckler, according to the martial custom which prevailed in the Byzantine Empire. Three weeks later, he was crowned by the Papal Legate; and the Venetian clergy soon after elected Thomas Morosini to the office of Catholic Patriarch.

While these events were being consummated, the deposed Emperors, Alexius III. and Alexius V., were sheltering themselves in Macedonia, endeavouring, though with little result, to collect partisans for the vindication of their claims. The younger of the two endeavoured to induce the other to unite with him in a common effort; but Alexius III. dreaded the superior abilities of his son-in-law, and caused his eyes to be put out. The sufferer was soon afterwards taken prisoner by the Crusaders, who conveyed him to Constantinople, and placed him on his trial for the murder of Alexius IV. He was found guilty, and, as a singular punishment, flung from the top of the column of Theodosius, a pillar of white marble, soaring to a height of one hundred and forty-seven feet from the pavement of one of the principal squares. It was remarked by the on-lookers that the miserable wretch fell for some distance in an upright position, then turned over on to his head, and at last came to the ground on his side. The other Alexius fled into Greece, but ultimately submitted to the Marquis of Montferrat. He was treated with much lenity, and granted a pension, but in a little while escaped into Epirus, hoping to effect an alliance with Michael, the despot of that country. Being disappointed in his anticipations, he threw himself on the generosity of the Sultan of Iconium, with whom he had formerly been at war, but who, during a reverse of fortune, had been indebted to Alexius for an asylum. This kindness was now repaid by the Seljukian ruler; but Alexius appears to have been incapable of living a quiet and inoffensive life. Theodore Lascaris, who had occupied for a few hours the position of a Byzantine Emperor, after the Crusaders had made their way into Constantinople, afterwards acquired at Nicæa a

power which excited the jealousy of the fallen tyrant. Theodore had married one of the daughters of Alexius; but the latter persuaded the Sultan to aid him in dethroning his son-in-law. The allies, however, were speedily defeated, and Alexius, being taken prisoner, was confined in a monastery, where he ended his days.

The reduction of Constantinople increased the jealousy of Venice felt by the rival Republic of Genoa. When the Byzantine Empire, by reason of its increasing weakness, found it necessary to obtain the assistance of other States, great commercial concessions were bestowed on Venice in exchange for military and naval assistance; and the maritime commonwealth, at one time a fief of the Eastern sovereignty, rose to an equal, if not a superior, position. The Pisans also were admitted to important privileges, and Constantinople was thrown open to the Western traders. Each of these communities had its church and its exchange in the Byzantine capital; the causes of their respective citizens were decided by their own consuls; and the settlers from Venice and Pisa were exempt from Imperial taxation. Genoa was favoured in a less degree, but was still not devoid of immunities granted by the liberality or the self-interest of the Eastern Emperors. The success of the allies in 1204, however, threw the commerce of the Black Sea almost entirely into the hands of the Venetians, and the Genoese made war on them to restrain their growing power. The struggle ended, in 1215, in favour of Genoa, and a treaty was concluded, by which the citizens of that Republic were confirmed in the commercial privileges formerly granted by the Greek monarchs. Nevertheless, a feeling of animosity had been created, which in time bore important fruits.

After the fall of Constantinople, the Byzantine possessions were divided amongst a number of independent rulers. Dandolo was proclaimed despot of Roumania, but died at Constantinople in 1205, and was buried in the Church of St. Sophia. To the Venetian Republic were assigned numerous maritime possessions, which greatly increased the wealth and power of the State. Boniface became King of Macedonia. Theodore Lascaris established at Nicæa a species of Greek Empire; another Greek dominion, called at first a dukedom, was created at Trebizond, on the southern shore of the Black Sea, by Alexius, a descendant of the Comneni; and a warlike principality was founded in Epirus, Ætolia, and Thessaly. Not one of these States was of sufficient size or importance to make a first-class power; all were weak and petty; and the violent destruction of the Byzantine Government, which had for centuries preserved a high degree of civilisation in the south-east of Europe, and in the adjacent parts of Asia, was a serious misfortune to a large and varied population. The feudal system was introduced into Greece by its Western conquerors, who were incapable of understanding any other form of rule; and the prosperity of the Hellenes, which had been long declining, speedily vanished altogether. The people were excluded from all civil and military honours, and attempts at independence were sternly suppressed. In 1205, however, the Greeks obtained the assistance of John, or Joannices, King of the Bulgarians and Wallachians, and a great insurrection broke forth in Thrace. Henry, the brother of Baldwin, had previously departed on an expedition to Asia, taking with him the flower of the army, so that Baldwin had only a very insufficient force with which to meet the revolt. On the 15th of April he was defeated and taken prisoner, and he died the following year, while still in confinement. Various statements have been made as to the manner of his death; but nothing is known with certainty. When Innocent III. wrote to Joannices, requesting him to release the Emperor, he was simply answered that Baldwin had paid the debt of nature. Boniface of Montferrat was slain by the Bulgarians while advancing through the Rhodope Mountains with the design of avenging the defeat of his fellow-Crusader. Many of the Western knights had now returned to their own countries; and Henry, brother of the chivalrous Baldwin, was left to administer affairs at Constantinople, with a feeble army and a discontented population.

CHAPTER XXXII.

SOUTHERN FRANCE, SPAIN, AND PORTUGAL.

Intellectual Agitation in Western Europe in the Beginning of the Thirteenth Century—Municipal Freedom in the South of France—Influence of the Troubadours—The Albigenses in Languedoc—Debased Character of the Clergy in Southern France—Mission of Papal Legates for the Extirpation of Heresy—Dominic de Guzman—Turbulence of the Languedocians—Murder of one of the Papal Envoys—Preaching of a Holy War against the People—Military Operations in Languedoc—Massacre at Béziers—Submission of Raymond of Toulouse—Subsequent Renewal of the War—Suppression of Separate Nationalities in the South of France—Results of the Pontifical Despotism—Beginning of the Inquisition, and Development of the Office—Condition of Spain—Predominance of the Moors in that Country—The Mohammedan Sovereignty of Cordova—Oriental Splendour of the City—Reign of Abdalrahman III.—Struggles of the Spanish Christians against the Moslems—Formation of the Northern Kingdoms of Asturias, Navarre, Old Castile, Leon, and Aragon—Ruin of the Caliphate of Cordova—The Almoravides and Almohades in Southern Spain—Rise of the Mohammedan Kingdom of Granada—Early History of Portugal—Antagonism of the Portuguese and Spaniards—Popular Liberties of Mediæval Spain—Legend of the Cid, the National Hero of Spain—His Wars with the Mohammedans, and Services to the Christian Cause—Ill Fortune of the Cid's Widow and Son—The Language and Literature of Spain and Portugal.

In the early part of the thirteenth century, a great agitation of the human mind spread over the West of Europe. Philosophy, which had been roused from its long sleep by the schoolmen of an earlier age, was increasingly studied. Ingenious compromises were discovered for reconciling the claims of reason and the claims of faith. The metaphysics of Aristotle were made to illustrate the dogmas of the Church, and men built up a hundred dazzling subtleties for the support of their foregone conclusions. But the activity of the intellect was not always in accordance with what the Church regarded as orthodox. Innovators started up, who preached a species of Pantheism; others maintained that the world was about to be created afresh, and to be governed by the direct action of the Holy Spirit. The Manichæan doctrine of a benevolent and an evil Deity (in itself a reproduction of the still earlier Magism of Zoroaster) was advanced by many; and, as the body was held to be the creation of the dark and wicked Being, the flesh was to be punished by self-inflicted tortures. In some places, enthusiasts announced themselves as the Messiah, and were not without their converts; in others, doctrines were promulgated which, by implication rather than by positive statement, led in the direction of modern thought. The European mind was beginning once more to feel its strength; the Crusades were bearing good fruit in the midst of all their wretchedness and wrong-doing. The science and learning of the Saracens were absorbed by the Western Universities established about that time; and Rome found itself challenged by new energies which it had not foreseen.

Innocent III., who carried the prerogatives of the Popedom to their extremest pitch, looked with disfavour on these departures from the settled creed, and determined to arrest them by the secular as well as the spiritual arm. His wrath was principally directed against the sect of the Albigenses, then counting many adherents in the south of France. That beautiful and interesting region has always been celebrated for the independence of its people, and the boldness of their speculative views. It was there that, in later ages, the Huguenots mainly flourished, and that the principles of the Revolution found their most congenial soil. The quick blood and free mental habits of the ancient Greek colonies still animate the people, and in the thirteenth century formed a remarkable contrast to the general disposition of the time. Much of the political organisation established by Rome survived in the municipal bodies of the provinces beyond the Loire; and the Roman civilisation accompanied the Roman methods of rule. While the north, west, and east of France lay under the darkness and rudeness of Mediævalism, the south was illuminated by a bright and picturesque culture, which reflected itself in poetry and art. The kingdom of Arles, or Provence, which for several ages existed as a separate State, though sometimes paying fealty to the German Empire, was celebrated as the native land of the Troubadours, who arose about the close of the eleventh century (under the stimulus, it would seem, of the First Crusade), established the famous Courts of Love, and sang the praises of beauty and valour in lyric compositions which, whatever may be said of them on moral grounds, undoubtedly softened and refined the manners of a violent age. These minstrels, who incessantly wandered from town to town, and were always welcome guests in the castles and mansions of the great (themselves frequently enrolled in this honourable poetic

order), may not at first have given much attention to matters of theological belief; but they kept alive that vivacity of mind and temper which is fatal to the deadness of unquestioning submission. A little after the period when the Troubadours arose, the whole region bordering on the Mediterranean from the Ebro to the Var, and therefore occupying both sides of the Pyrenees, became subject to one dynasty, that of the Counts of Barcelona, who by marriage acquired Provence. The professors of the "gay science," as it was called, had therefore a large country for the exercise of their influence, which, aided by the common inheritance of the Romance dialects, extended westward into Spain, and eastward into Italy.

The Mediterranean provinces of France soon broke up into a number of distinct principalities, governed by Counts, yet retaining a good deal of the municipal freedom inherited from ancient times. The reigning prince in Languedoc at the beginning of the thirteenth century was Count Raymond VI. Toulouse, the capital of the province, was a chief seat of the Albigenses, and Raymond tolerated their views, which, indeed, seem to have been harmless enough. The spiritual fathers of the Albigenses were undoubtedly the Paulicians, who arose in Armenia about the middle of the seventh century, afterwards entered Bulgaria, and thence spread into more western lands.* But in process of time the Manichæan affinities of the Paulicians were forgotten or modified by all but a few, and the views of the Albigenses seem (with some exceptions, touching on the authority of the Old Testament, and the visionary body of Christ) to have differed but little from those of Protestants. To the Albigenses—who derived their name from the town of Albi, in Languedoc, where their heresy was condemned by a Council of the Church in 1176—the supremacy of the Pope was a detestable tenet. They denied the special powers of the priesthood, the efficacy of prayers for the dead, and the existence of Purgatory. Though subdivided into various sects, differing from one another on several points of doctrine, all cohered on the common ground of opposition to the Papal authority, and to the discipline of the Romish Church. Their repudiation of image-worship was not exceeded by the Iconoclasts of the Byzantine Empire in the eighth century; their antagonism to the luxury and vicious indulgences of the priests would have done credit to the Reformers of a later epoch. Heretics they undoubtedly were, from the Roman point of view; and it is obvious that to so arrogant a prelate as Innocent III. their teaching must have seemed deadly in the highest degree.

The clergy in the south of France were at that time especially depraved, and whatever popularity they may once have enjoyed had long since departed. By the nobles and the commonalty they were equally disliked and scorned; and the Troubadours, turning their thoughts from love and tournaments to graver matters, stood forth as religious satirists of a very trenchant order. The sins of the priests were held up unsparingly to general ridicule and hatred. Their rapacity, drunkenness, gluttony, and immoral living, were denounced with all the fervour long afterwards exhibited in England by the author of "Piers Plowman's Visions," but in a language far more cultivated and graceful. The effect of all this was to make the ecclesiastics a byword of contempt, and to increase the influence of the Albigenses, who seem to have been virtuous and well-meaning people, though fanatical in some of their views. Alarm was felt at Rome, and, from the moment of his accession, Innocent III. determined to root out the heresy. For some time he was unable to take any effective measures; but in 1203 he appointed as his agents two Cistercian monks, Peter de Castelnau, and a certain Rainier or Raoul, who were to investigate the spiritual condition of Languedoc, to eradicate misbelief, and to punish with severity all who clung to their errors. The efforts of these men were enthusiastically seconded by a Castilian priest named Dominic de Guzman, famous, later on, as the founder of the Dominican order of monks, and the indirect originator of the Inquisition. Guzman had all the saturnine pride and morose gloom so often found in connection with the Spanish character. He reprobated the gaiety of the Languedocians almost as much as their heresy. Their poetry and love-making were to him Satanic; and when the people went the length of jibing at Bishops and monks, discrediting the Papal Legates, throwing mud at Guzman himself, and attaching long tails of straw to the back part of his robe, his wrath was kindled against such graceless infidels. No doubt the subjects of Raymond behaved with unmannerly rudeness to the representatives of the Apostolic See. Their conduct was similar to that of the Tarentines to the Roman envoy Posthumius, in the early days of the Republic; indeed, the character of these two Mediterranean communities seems to have been much the same. But the revenge of the Pagan State (if it can be called revenge at all)

* See pp. 137-8 of this volume.

will bear no comparison with that of the Christian Pontiff.

After vainly endeavouring to move the people by his exhortations, his prayers, and his tears—even, as Catholic writers allege, by his miracles—Guzman pronounced a curse upon them, and besought the still weightier thunders of the Pope. Raymond VI. was excommunicated; the Count replied in a strain of anger and menace; and one of the gentlemen of his household (imitating the example of the Anglo-Norman knights who took too literally the impatient exclamation of Henry II. with respect to à Becket) murdered Peter de Castelnau near St. Gilles, as he was about to cross the Rhone. This was in January, 1208; so that between four and five years had elapsed since the appointment of the Legates. During that time, they and their Spanish friend had inflicted the punishment of death on several of the heretics, and Peter, in particular, had roused general indignation by his cruelties. Something, of course, must be conceded on behalf of Innocent. He could not be expected to look with favour, or even with indifference, on the heresy of the Albigenses. His representatives had been treated with marked disrespect. The intelligence that one of those representatives had at length been murdered, was naturally calculated to excite his anger; and that he should have taken some steps to bring the offenders to justice, is no more than might have been expected of any prince, secular or sacerdotal. But he went far beyond this. He seized the occasion as an excuse for exterminating a hated body of religious dissenters—for overwhelming a whole people in torrents of blood. In the fury of his heart, he proclaimed a religious war, summoned the soldiers of the faith from every part of Europe, and bade them work their will upon the heretic Raymond and his impious subjects. It was to be a new Crusade, undertaken in Christendom against a body of professing Christians.



PENANCE OF RAYMOND VI., COUNT OF TOULOUSE.

In the prosecution of this campaign, all the French barons were constrained to take the field. They were placed under the immediate command of Simon de Montfort, who obeyed the general directions of one Arnald, Abbot of the Cistercian Order, and the new Papal Legate in Languedoc. From most other parts of Europe came religious enthusiasts, eager to serve in a conflict which would bring them the special favour of the Pope,

ether with lands and money. These miscel-
eous forces were marshalled at Lyons in the
ly summer of 1209. A year and a half had
sed since the assassination of Peter de Castel-
, and there had consequently been sufficient
nothing. The Languedocians, aware that a day of trial was approaching, endeavoured at the last moment to avert the coming storm. The Troubadours ceased to satirise Bishops and priests, and Raymond made promises of amendment, but



DEATH OF SIMON DE MONTFORT.

e for passion to cool, and for a calmer sense of
ice to take its place. But Innocent was im-
cable, and the fanatics he invoked were as little
posed to any temporising policy. Their instruc-
is were, to ravage every field, to slay every
man being, to strike and spare not; and they
ered on the war with the determination to carry
those directions to the full. They were told
t the blessing of the Church would be on their
ds: for any higher law, which might write
ir condemnation in enduring letters, they cared
without offering to admit the supremacy of Rome. His submission was not considered satisfactory, and Simon de Montfort, marching into Languedoc, besieged the town of Béziers, and stormed it on the 22nd of July. The city being taken, every one of the population was put to the sword, and the horses of the conquerors stood up to the fetlocks in blood. Amongst the persons thus slaughtered were unquestionably many who were as orthodox as the Pope himself could have required. The soldiers, indeed, felt the difficulty of distinguishing

between the worthy and the unworthy. They mentioned their qualms of conscience to the Abbot of Citeaux, and received an answer which has become memorable in the annals of persecution. "Slay them all!" he exclaimed; "the Lord will know his own." The insane wretch (for one is driven, in charity to human nature, to suppose that there must have been something of madness in his brain) afterwards lamented to the Pope that he had not been able to despatch more than twenty thousand of the heretics. In saying this, however, he must have referred to what had been accomplished under his immediate supervision, for the total slaughter in Languedoc was vastly more. At length, even Guzman was horrified at the devil he had helped to raise, and retired from the blood-stained scene.

Béziers was pillaged and burnt to ashes, and the conquerors next attacked Carcasonne, where the Papal Legate obtained possession, by an act of treachery, of the young Vicomte Raymond-Roger, and in this way compelled the garrison to surrender. The youthful Vicomte was kept a prisoner, and his dominions were conferred on Count de Montfort. Simon thus received a substantial reward for his devotion to the Roman See, and, proceeding rapidly in his career of conquest, was soon enabled to announce that the whole of Languedoc was vanquished. Raymond-Roger had died shortly before, whether of dysentery or of poison; and Raymond of Toulouse, after doing penance, and undertaking to employ his sword in the cause of Papal orthodoxy, had been permitted to retain his possessions. His zeal, however, was soon called in question, and the Count was once more excommunicated. He presented himself at Rome, and endeavoured, but in vain, to propitiate Innocent by acts of humiliation. By a Council held at Arles in 1210, he was required to accept conditions which his pride rejected, and his forces were afterwards assailed by Simon de Montfort, and worsted in the summer of 1211. Raymond now received the powerful support of his brother-in-law, Pedro II., King of Aragon. The allied forces attacked de Montfort at Muret on the 12th of September, 1213; but Pedro was killed, and Raymond defeated with terrific loss. Toulouse and other cities speedily opened their gates to the conqueror; and in November, 1215, the fourth Lateran Council confirmed Simon de Montfort in the sovereignty of all the territories he had overrun, with the exception of Foix and Comminges, which were restored to Raymond.

De Montfort ultimately lost his life while besieging Toulouse in 1218. Raymond died in 1222. The war was supposed to be at an end in 1215, but it broke out again in later years. Under the leadership of Raymond VII., the Languedocians obtained such considerable successes that in 1225 Pope Honorius III., feeling alarmed as to the result, persuaded the French King, Louis VIII. (the successor of Philip Augustus, who expired in 1223), to take the field in person. He obtained some successes, but died towards the close of 1226, on his return to the north. Raymond was now crushed by superior force; the Albigenses were totally suppressed; the whole of Languedoc was devastated; and the Troubadours received a blow from which they never recovered. Flying into other lands, these graceful singers forgot their art, which depended for its vitality on the peculiar conditions existing in the south of France. Their very language died out. The delicate *Langue d'Oc*—the tongue of Provence and the adjacent countries—the utterance that seemed created, by a delicious climate, and the shining beauty of earth and sea, to be the natural speech of love, and poetry, and romance—was confined to a few dispirited peasants and intimidated citizens. The separate nationalities of a delightful region, which had been loved and prized by Greek and Roman, by Gaul and Goth, disappeared with their local independence. But, even to the present day, those departments of France which border on the Mediterranean possess a certain peculiarity of character, inherited from their brilliant past, no less than from climatic and other natural influences.

The extinction of the Albigenses is the first instance of persecution on a large scale undertaken by one body of Christians against another. It was due to the furious bigotry and imperious spirit of Innocent III., and must for ever remain an indelible blot upon the character of that Pontiff. It would be bigotry equal to Innocent's to deny that the Romish Church sometimes acted from humane and worthy motives, and that the Popes occasionally used their powers for the restraint of tyrannical and immoral princes. One may object on principle to all such interferences by a foreign potentate in the affairs of an independent country; but in particular cases the effect was good. Much more commendable was the influence of the humbler clergy in checking the petty despotism of feudal lords, and forcing them to remember that even the miserable serfs were their fellow-creatures and their fellow-believers. Nevertheless, it may well be doubted whether all the good effected in these ways has not, in the long annals of the Church, been immensely outweighed by the evils resulting from the pride and arrogance of Rome, from her tyrannical dictation to the free spirit of man, from

ance on the secular arm for the suppression lectual liberty, from her organised barbarities ssacres, and from her peremptory insistance ogmas which the minds and consciences of ids have in all ages rejected. The power of had been growing up for centuries. It en largely augmented under Gregory VII., now reached its zenith with Innocent III. ughter of the Albigenses—the cruel war of 'ears' duration, involving the devastation of tiful and interesting land—may be taken as ure of the value attaching to that spiritual on which could alone satisfy the ambition of man Pontiffs.

the persecution of the Albigenses was no onal outbreak of religious frenzy, is proved circumstance that the excited feeling of the roduced a permanent institution, which ed in lasting forms the very essence of theo- tyranny and hatred. The Inquisition, or Office as it is sometimes called, dates from ly years of the thirteenth century, and was ed by the supposed necessity of destroying all bodies like those of Languedoc. The prin- as not entirely new, but had never before strictly applied. Laws for the punishment ent had been passed very soon after the n of Christianity by the Roman Empire. sius and Justinian appointed officials, called tors, whose duty it was to discover the pro- of heterodox opinions, and to prosecute them courts of law; and Justinian, in the first his Code, forbade public disputations upon s dogmas, and enacted several penalties persons who differed from the orthodox The decisions of the first four General s—those of Nicæa, Constantinople, Ephesus, alcedon—were taken as the standard of ity; and from this standard it was a legal to depart. But the decision in such matters t lie with any ecclesiastical body: the might prosecute, but it was a lay tribunal udged. Here was a most important distinc- r it placed the fate of the accused in the f those who had no professional or corporate in his condemnation, and gave him the of a strict system of jurisprudence, adminis- y men who were trained to respect the law, t to exceed its provisions. This salutary —so far as any system can be salutary which e activity of the human mind—was wholly le by the action of Innocent III. The whom he sent into Languedoc to inquire Albigensian heresy, and who were accom- by subordinate priests and officers, acted independently of the local Bishops, summoned suspected individuals before their own court by the sole authority of the Pope, and inflicted penalties which in some cases even went so far as death. The members of this commission, of whom Dominic de Guzman was the principal, were called Inquisitors, like the officers of the early Christian Empire; and, although their powers were only temporary, and their appointment was merely for a special purpose, it is certain that we have here the origin of that dreadful institution which afterwards became so great a terror to many European countries.

Thenceforward the search for sturdy heretics became more systematic, and the fourth Lateran Council (which, as we have said, was held in 1215) dwelt much on the necessity of increased vigilance against the holders of heterodox opinions. Soon afterwards, it was determined at Toulouse that each parish should appoint the local priest, and two or three laymen of good repute, for reporting to the Bishop all religious offences which they might discover within their district. This was another step in the same direction, and in 1248, during the Pontificate of Innocent IV., a permanent Inquisition was appointed, the direction of which was confided to the Dominicans, whose order had been established some years before by Dominic de Guzman. The fanatical Castilian himself was by that time dead; but his spirit survived in the religious body which he had founded, and the theological tribunal which he foreshadowed. The Inquisition was now introduced, in rapid succession, into Italy, Spain, Germany, and the southern provinces of France; but in some Roman Catholic countries it never struck root very deeply, and even by the orthodox, except in certain parts of Europe, was viewed with detestation and horror. The Spanish peninsula is the land where it has mainly flourished, and where its most frightful cruelties have been perpetrated. At length, the Popes themselves grew ashamed of such an institution, denounced its severities, and refused to sanction its existence in Italy. But this was not until the sixteenth century; and, in the meanwhile, the Holy Office, which was undoubtedly of Papal origin, had worked an infinity of mischief, both in Europe, and in the Spanish colonies of America.

The religious enthusiasm of the Spaniards may doubtless be traced to their peculiar position with reference to the Moors, who had seized the larger part of the country, and brought the Christians face to face with a dominant Moslem power, great in arms, splendid in arts and sciences, and extremely earnest in the profession of its theological views.

The natives were mewed up in the sterile and mountainous regions of the North, oppressed by the consciousness of evil fortune, exasperated by the recollection of former glory, and saddened by association with melancholy scenery, and a harsh and ungenial climate. The Moorish conquest of Spain, in the early part of the eighth century—a sketch of which has been already given—was marvellous for its rapidity and completeness; and many ages elapsed before its effects were obliterated. After the death, in 717, of Abdulazis, the Mohammedan Governor of Spain, the land was for a time ruled by Emirs appointed by the Caliph of Damascus. It was one of these Emirs who in 732 was defeated, between Tours and Poitiers, by Charles Martel; for the Spanish Moors seem to have made it a principal feature of their policy to subdue the whole North-west of Europe. In entering the dominions of the Frankish race, they left a somewhat formidable enemy in their rear, as the dispossessed Goths and other Spaniards had crowded into Asturias, in the north-western part of the country, where they formed a compact kingdom of hardy and courageous warriors. But the Moors of the South disregarded this danger, and imprudently courted defeat at the hands of the warlike Franks. Meanwhile, a state of anarchy existed among the newly-formed Mohammedan principalities in the Spanish peninsula. The Emirs were defied by the Valis, or local governors; but when the dynasty of the Ommiades came to an end at Damascus, in 750, a member of that family, who had for some time lived as a fugitive among the Barbary Arabs, was invited to establish an independent sovereignty in Spain. The kingdom of Cordova, as before explained, begins with Abdalrahman in the year 755. That potentate extended his authority over all the provinces which had formerly been ruled by deputies representing the Caliphs of Damascus, and a monarchy of great importance was thus established in one of the most fruitful regions of Spain. In 778, however, the Franks deprived the Cordovan Caliphs of all their possessions north of the Pyrenees, together with the north-eastern portions of Spain as far as the Ebro. The latter territory was subsequently called the Spanish March, and was alternately possessed by Moors and Christians. On the whole, the Christians prevailed, and it was from this wild region that Spain acquired a new birth, and derived the martial vigour which was to reconquer her lost inheritance.

The Moslem sovereigns of Cordova were twenty in number, and the dynasty lasted from 755 to 1036. The degree of prosperity and splendour enjoyed by the State was very considerable, and Moorish writers affirm that the city alone contained 1,600 mosques, 900 baths, 80,455 shops, and 262,300 houses, with a population of nearly a million. The Moslem rulers of this superb dominion were for the most part men of high intelligence; the people were remarkable for their devotion to learning, and their artistic aptitude; and it is generally admitted that the Moors of Cordova, during several generations, formed a community surpassing all others in Europe for science, liberality, and genius. The military predominance of the race was long sustained by a series of warlike monarchs; but the arts were equally cultivated, and produced some brilliant results. The Mosque of Cordova, begun by Abdalrahman I. in 786, and finished by his son Hisham about the year 800, is now used as a Christian cathedral, but is not substantially altered from its first condition. Although some details of the architecture are rude and barbaric, the general effect is magnificent, owing to the multitudinous labyrinth of pillars. Additions were made to the building by later Caliphs, and Arabic authors—perhaps with the customary exaggeration of Orientals—state that the roof was upborne by 1,409 marble columns, forming nineteen aisles from east to west, and twenty-nine from north to south; that the twenty-one gates were plated with brass, curiously embossed; that the folding-doors of the principal entrance were covered with gold; that ornaments of gold and silver shone forth from the highest cupola; that 4,700 lamps burned in the mosque every night; and that a hundred and twenty pounds of ambergrease and aloe-wood were consumed for the perfumes.

One of the most brilliant reigns in the history of Moorish Cordova was that of Abdalrahman III., who succeeded to the throne in 889, and ruled fifty years. Though involved in wars with the Christians, Abdalrahman's patronage of the arts was equal to any of his predecessors, and he established a school of medicine which was the only one then existing in Europe. It is recorded of this sovereign that he built a town in honour of a favourite slave, and called it after her name, Zehra, which signifies "the ornament of the world." The palace of Zehra contained one thousand and fourteen columns of African and Spanish marble, nineteen from Italy, and a hundred and forty which had been sent as presents by the Greek Emperor. The walls were inlaid with gold; in the centre of the principal hall was a marble basin, the work of Greek sculptors, into which birds and beasts of gold, studded with jewels, spouted cascades of

water. The Seraglio is said to have contained six thousand three hundred persons. Abdalrahman was accompanied to the chase by twelve thousand horsemen, brilliantly clad, and on his return reposed himself in a pavilion situated in the gardens of the palace. The pillars of this structure were of white marble; the floor was of gold and steel, set with jewellery; and, in the middle of the enclosed space, a fountain of quicksilver flashed back the splendours of an Andalusian sun. If magnificence of living could secure happiness, Abdalrahman should have been happy. Yet at his death he left a paper which contained the words:—"Fifty years have passed since I was Caliph. I have enjoyed riches, honours, and pleasures: heaven has showered upon me all the gifts that man could desire. In this long space of apparent felicity, I have kept an account of how many happy days I have passed: their number is fourteen. Consider then, mortals, what is grandeur, what is the world, and what is life."

With so strong a Mohammedan power in the South, it is perhaps surprising that the Christians of the North were not entirely overwhelmed. They had in truth to fight very hard for existence; yet they not only maintained their position, but gradually extended the range of their dominions. The small kingdom of Asturias was increased, in 758, by the addition of Galicia, and, some forty years later, by parts of Leon and Castile. In 837, one of the Counts of Navarre, throwing off his allegiance to the Frankish sovereigns, founded a Christian kingdom in the north of Spain, which successfully asserted its independence against all the embattled forces of the Moors. Asturias, sometimes called Leon, was frequently distracted by armed strife among the members of the royal family, and would perhaps have been crushed by the Ommiades of Cordova, had not the attention of those princes been directed towards Morocco, which they desired to subjugate. Partly in consequence of the diversion of their energies, and partly from the difficulty of subduing a martial race, planted among rugged and difficult mountains, the Moslems gradually receded from the northern tracts of Spain, and another independent monarchy, that of Old Castile, was founded in 933. This carried the Christian dominions nearly into the heart of the peninsula, and the three sovereignties of Asturias, Navarre, and Castile, made a territory of no small extent, containing a large population, inured to war. Their strength would have been greater than it was, had it not been for repeated quarrels among themselves. Nevertheless, the Christians continued to make progress. In the early years of the eleventh century, a large part of Aragon was torn from the Mohammedans by Sancho III., King of Navarre. At the death of Sancho, in 1035, this portion of his dominions passed by inheritance to his son Ramiro, who added to it the districts of Sobrarve and Ribagorza, which, together with some other territories, he had taken from the Moors. In 1072, Leon was united with Castile, and this incorporation, although only temporary, enabled the two peoples, while it lasted, to present a strong front to the Moslem enemy. For many years, the three Christian kingdoms of Northern Spain prosecuted an almost unceasing war against the Mussulmans of the south. Sometimes acting in combination, and sometimes separately, they were never backward in asserting the claims of the Cross at the sword's point; and in this way a spirit of chivalric valour grew up, which has found expression in hundreds of romantic legends, and countless ballads of devotion, enterprise, and faith.

After the death of Mohammed IV., who succeeded to the Caliphate of Cordova in 1014, the affairs of that great kingdom fell into confusion. The energy both of princes and people had decayed; the Christians from the North were pressing them closely; and the Cordovans could no longer rely on the credit of unvarying success. The dynasty of the Ommiades in Spain came to an end in 1036, and the Caliphate was then broken up into the minor kingdoms of Cordova, Seville, Toledo, Lisbon, Saragossa, Tortosa, Valencia, Murcia, Badajoz, and seven others of less consequence. These sixteen States were in no good position for resisting the advance of the Christians, who now redoubled their attacks, subdued some of the smaller principalities, and compelled others to pay tribute. Towards the close of the eleventh century, Alfonso VI., of Leon and Castile, carried his arms so successfully into the southern regions of the peninsula, that the Sultan of Cordova applied for aid to the Almoravides, a martial tribe of Northern Africa (Arabian in its origin, and therefore related to the Moors of Spain), which had recently founded the Empire of Morocco. The Almoravides, entering the peninsula in great numbers, defeated the Kings of Aragon and Castile, and snatched from their grasp much of the Moorish territory they had recently acquired. But the strangers soon proved as formidable to their allies as to the Christian monarchs. The feeble and dispirited ruler of Cordova was obliged to yield up his territories; the other Moorish kingdoms were similarly coerced; and in 1094 the

Almoravide sovereign was acknowledged as the sole arbiter of Mohammedan Spain. The supremacy of this African house, however, was very short-lived. The power of the dynasty began to decline as early as 1130, and in 1147 was entirely extinguished by the Almohades, a fanatical sect of Africa, originating in the Atlas region, and deriving its principles from an ascetic named Mohammed Ibn-Toumert, who professed to restore Islamism to its original purity. This man made himself master of Fez, Morocco, Tlemzen, Oran, and Tunis; and soon afterwards the whole south of Spain was conquered by the enthusiastic followers of Toumert. A fresh dynasty was established in the former dominion of the Moors; but the star of Mohammedanism in Western Europe was rapidly declining, and, on the 16th of July, 1212, the Almohade power was completely broken by the combined forces of Castile, Leon, Navarre, Aragon, and Portugal, which attacked the Moslems on the plains of Tolosa, and, after a sanguinary conflict, inflicted on them an irremediable defeat. A new Mohammedan State subsequently arose at Granada, which was erected into a kingdom in 1238, and renewed the splendour, though hardly the military renown, which had formerly distinguished Cordova. But the supremacy of the Moors in Spain was not destined to last, and the Cross was perpetually encroaching on the dominions of the Arabian Prophet.

Portugal now begins to attract some attention to itself, although in early ages it is rather to be considered in association with Spain than as a separate country. The Lusitania of the Romans was regarded by them merely as a subdivision of the Iberian peninsula. Its boundaries were somewhat indefinite, and appear to have shifted from time to time. Equally with Spain, Portugal suffered from the inroads of the Visigoths in the fifth century, and of the Moors in the eighth. The latter, however, were driven back from the northern part of Lusitania in the course of the ninth century, and the country thus rescued was made dependent on the Counts of Galicia, a Spanish province lying immediately to the north of modern Portugal. The south still remained with the Moslems; but the day of its deliverance was only postponed. About the middle of the eleventh century, Ferdinand I. of Castile obtained possession of those parts which had been wrested from the Moors; and in 1095 Henry of Burgundy, who had married a daughter of the Castilian sovereign Alfonso VI., received the



CORDOVA.

government of Portugal, from the Minho to the Tagus, as a fief. Alfonso Henriquez of Portugal, the infant son of Henry of Burgundy, succeeded his father in 1112, and having, in 1139, obtained a brilliant victory over five Moorish sovereigns on the plains of Ourique, was hailed by his troops as independent King of Portugal. In 1147, Alfonso took Lisbon from the Mohammedans, with the assistance of a fleet of Crusaders. His reign, however, was troubled, not merely by the Moors, but by the princes of Castile and Leon, who disputed his right to the title of king. He died in 1185, and was followed by his son Sancho I., who extorted from the Moors the town of Silvas, in Algarve, but lost Coimbra and other fortresses, which he did not recover for a long while.

The war against the Mohammedans was successfully carried on in later reigns; but these early rulers of Portugal had to encounter a body of enemies more troublesome than even the Moslems. The clergy were in constant opposition to the monarchs, and Sancho II., who ascended the throne in 1223, was dethroned by a Papal ordinance. The conquest of Algarve, the most southern province of Portugal, was completed by Alfonso III., who died in 1279. His successor, Dinis, or Dionysius, was frequently at issue with the Church, but has earned the distinguished honour of being the originator of Portuguese commerce. His country has never had a more enlightened king, for he was a patron of science and the industrial arts, and the founder of a University at Lisbon, which some years after was transferred to Coimbra. Dinis was succeeded in 1325 by his son Alfonso the Brave, with whose grandson, Fernando I., the legitimate branch of the Burgundian house became



THE GREAT MOSQUE, CORDOVA.

extinct in 1383. The history of Portugal during these ages is one of almost continual warfare. The position of the country was such that its independence could be maintained only by a frequent resort to the sword; for the Portuguese were threatened in one direction by the Moors, and in the other by the jealous sovereigns of Spain. These perpetual struggles, however, resulted in the formation of a people possessing high martial virtues, and that spirit of enterprise which is calculated to win the most illustrious triumphs of peace. Between the Portuguese and the Spaniards a violent antipathy has always existed. Southey has observed that the Spaniards despise the Portuguese, and that the Portuguese hate the Spaniards. "Strip a Spaniard of all his virtues," says a Spanish proverb, "and you make a good Portuguese of him;" while some have declared that you have only to add hypocrisy to a Spaniard's vices to be in perfect possession of the Portuguese character. These, however, are but the utterances of spleen and jealousy. Both the Spaniards and the Portuguese have written their names in enduring characters on the history of the world.

One fact in connection with Spanish history is worthy of special notice. It is generally supposed that Spain has always, until recent times, been a despotic country, in which the will of the sovereign was absolute and unchecked. Nothing, indeed, could be more tyrannical than the government of Spain during the sixteenth and two following centuries; but it was so because the powerful monarchs who built up a vast dominion after the expulsion of the Moors, and illuminated by their valour or good-fortune the ways of personal rule, gradually encroached on the ancient privileges of the commonalty. The sovereignty of Castile (and the same may be said of other Spanish monarchies) was limited, and subject to legal restraints. During several ages, the crown was conferred by election; and although, in the eleventh century, the practice of hereditary succession was established, the people retained a fair degree of legislative control over the acts of their rulers. The principle of divided responsibility, carrying with it some check on the caprices of monarchical power, was apparently derived from the old Gothic settlers, and endured among the hardy populations of the North after the rest of Spain had fallen beneath the sword of the Moslems. The national councils of Castile were at first restricted in their formation, being confined to the aristocracy of the Church and State; but in 1188, and thenceforward, deputies from the Castilian towns were added to assemblies. In those later ages, the composition of the Cortes was partly elective and popular, partly dependent on the will of the King in summoning, or omitting to summon, persons of the higher orders. But the power of the Legislature was not inconsiderable, and taxes could be levied only with the consent of the national representatives, who even directed how the proceeds should be expended. The alcaldes, or municipal judges of towns, were also elected in the earlier ages; but in the thirteenth century the sovereigns began to appoint royal judges, called corregidors, and in other respects the tendency was to increase the kingly at the expense of the popular authority.*

The long contest between the Spaniards and the Moors drew forth, on the side of the former, one superlatively great hero, whose name is still cherished with affection in the hearts of the people. Rodrigo Diaz de Bivar, commonly known as the Cid, from the Arabic word *Seid*, meaning "lord," was one of those champions of a great cause who in a few generations gather about them a many-tinted halo of fable. The achievements of the Cid are mainly celebrated in numerous ballads, stories, and poems, and it was at one time supposed that the character was entirely mythical. There can be no question, however, that Rodrigo Diaz de Bivar was a real person. He is thought to have been born at Burgos in 1040, and his exploits may be referred to the latter part of the eleventh century. In the outset of life, he attached himself to Sancho II., King of Leon and Castile, whose life he saved in battle. When Sancho was treacherously slain at the siege of Zamora, and his brother Alfonso lay under suspicion of the deed, Rodrigo insisted that Alfonso should clear himself by taking an oath of his innocence, without which he determined to prevent his ascending the throne. The other nobles hesitated to follow so bold a course; but the Cid forced Alfonso to make the required declaration, and pronounced upon him the most awful maledictions if he had committed perjury. Alfonso could not forgive this interference, and Rodrigo, being speedily banished from court, took service with the Moorish prince of Saragossa, and actually fought against the Christians. Afterwards, he entered into a series of adventures on his own account, and, gathering a number of followers about him, burst upon the Moors in Aragon, carried fire and sword in every direction, and at length took the city of Alcoçer, which he made his stronghold.

* Hallam's Middle Ages: chapter on Spain; where the subject is illustrated by several interesting details.

his retreat, Rodrigo was joined by numerous with whom he made repeated incursions ıe territories of the Mohammedans. Having, ıries of victories achieved by sheer personal e and hard fighting, penetrated into the western part of Aragon, he established him- a fortress situated on a cliff, which the rds still call the Rock of the Cid. The ıh lord of Valencia dying shortly afterwards, ɒo considered the opportunity favourable for g a sudden descent upon that province; and s so successful that in a little while the of the Mediterranean were reached. The Valencia was taken after a long siege, and :he valiant guerilla-captain established his until his death in 1099. Such appear to been the actual facts of his life, and they him to have been a commander of dauntless ion, possessing, moreover, the power of sus- action, and the ability to keep what he had That the Moors held him in high estimation ent from the title of "Cid" which they ılves conferred on him; but it is admitted great many of the legends related of this ı knight are mere inventions. The prose nicle of the Cid" was probably written the middle of the thirteenth century; and n on the doings of the hero is thought to een composed about a hundred years earlier. uthor of the latter has been called the h Homer, and the production is one of the poems in the language. To these works are ıdded countless ballads and romances, some ıting in the thirteenth and fourteenth cen- and some at a more recent epoch. In the r estimation, the Cid was accompanied and ted by twelve peers, who occupy towards he same position as the Knights of the Table towards King Arthur, or the Pala- f France towards Charlemagne. But these ions of the Cross are little else than the ns of national gratitude and pride.

fortunes of the Cid were apparently on the ıt the period of his death, which is said to een caused by grief at the receipt of intelli- that his relative and comrade, Alvar Fañez, en vanquished by the Moors, and that the ng army sent from Valencia had been routed. ıa, the widow of Rodrigo—a daughter of Duke of Asturias—held Valencia until when she capitulated to the Almoravides, ying into Castile, died there in 1104. The Rodrigo was afterwards slain by the Moors battle near Consuegra. Of the Cid's two ters, one was married to the Count of Barcelona, the other to an Infant of Navarre; and through the latter union the Kings of Spain, and some other royal houses of Europe, claim relationship with the illustrious antagonist of the Moors. The hero's sword, shield, banner, and drinking-cup, are still preserved, and the Spanish peasantry dwell with fondness and reverence on the memory of so brilliant a champion of their country and their faith. For many years, the Cid was known in this part of Europe principally through the celebrated drama of Corneille, founded on the early incidents of his life. Some of the Spanish chronicles and ballads state that Rodrigo had, in a duel, killed the father of the lady whom he afterwards married, to revenge a blow given to his own father, who was too old and infirm to resent it; and the interest of Corneille's play turns on the conflict in the mind of the heroine between affection for her lover and filial reverence for her parent. But, in more recent times, the whole legendary history of the Spanish hero has been introduced to the English public by Southey's translation of the so-called "Chronicle." Such a work has no claim to be regarded as history; but it is valuable as reflecting the popular feeling with respect to one who undoubtedly lived, and laid his country under enduring obligations.

The Spanish and Portuguese languages are both derived from the *lingua Romana rustica*, or provincial Latin spoken in many of the outlying portions of the Roman Empire, which, being mingled with words of native origin, and at the same time acquiring distinct grammatical forms, gave birth to independent languages. The poem of the Cid is one of the earliest developments of Spanish literature. The literature of Portugal took its rise in the thirteenth century, and consisted at first of songs resembling those of the Provençal Troubadours. The language of both countries exhibits the influence of that Arabian nationality with which the people were brought in contact during the early ages of their history. Words of Arabic origin mingle with those whose parentage is either Latin or Gothic. Latin, however, is the chief source of both tongues, and the Spanish language is said to bear a greater affinity to that of ancient Rome than any other modern speech. The sixteenth century, and the early part of the seventeenth, were the golden age of Spanish and Portuguese literature. It was then that Cervantes, Lope de Vega, Calderon, Camoens, Gil Vicente, and many other writers, cast the splendour of their genius over the Western peninsula, and placed it on a level with the greatest literary countries of the world.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

THE EMPEROR FREDERICK II. OF GERMANY.

Accession of Frederick II. to the German Throne—His Parentage and Early Life—Plan for Reducing the Power of the Popes—Claims of the Popedom, founded on the Alleged Donation of Constantine—Frederick in Italy—Opposition of the Lombard Cities to his Projects—Arrangements with Pope Honorius III.—Brilliant Rule of Frederick in Sicily—Rise of the Italian Language—Revival of the League of Lombardy—Succession of Gregory IX. to the Popedom—Design of a New Crusade—Previous Events in Palestine—John de Brienne, Titular King of Jerusalem—Outbreak of War with Saphadin—Appeal to Innocent III.—Papal Circular to the Sovereigns of Europe—Preaching of a Holy War by Robert de Courçon—Crusade of Children—The Fourth Lateran Council at Rome—Expedition to the East under the Command of Andrew, King of Hungary—Ineffectual Efforts—Attack on Damietta, in Egypt, and Capture of One of the Outworks—Desperate Situation of the Mohammedans—Refusal of Liberal Offers from the Sultan of Syria—Damietta Reduced by Famine—Rash Attempt of the Christians to Conquer Egypt—The Invaders Overwhelmed—Generous Conduct of Kamel, the Egyptian Sultan—Rupture between Pope Gregory IX. and the Emperor Frederick II.—Condition of Affairs in the East—The Fifth Crusade undertaken by Frederick—His Agreement with the Egyptian Sultan—Return of the Emperor to Europe, and Settlement of Affairs in Italy—Conquest of Prussia—Religious Persecution in Germany—Rebellion of the Emperor's Son Henry—The Secret Association of the Vehmgericht—Establishment of the Hanseatic League.

FREDERICK II. of Germany succeeded to a somewhat difficult inheritance when, in 1211, he was invested with regal power by the nobles and States of his paternal country. Otho was still in a position of authority and command, though lying under the excommunication of Pope Innocent III.; and it was not until some time after his defeat at Bouvines, in 1214, that he resigned all pretensions to the crown. This decision was hastened by the declaration of the Pontiff that Otho had forfeited the throne, and that Frederick was the rightful sovereign. The former retired into private life in 1215, but took with him the Imperial insignia, consisting of the cross, the holy lance, the crown, and a relic reported to be one of the teeth of John the Baptist. He died in 1218, and these possessions were then placed in the hands of Frederick. The grandson of Barbarossa was thus delivered from all fear of rivalry; but he had still the disadvantage of being to some extent an alien. His father was the Emperor Henry VI., but his mother was the Princess Constance of Sicily, and it was in Italy that he was born. Innocent III. was his guardian, and he seemed to be connected less with Germany than with the South of Europe. His temperament was partly Italian; he always took peculiar interest in the Sicilians, and their declining fortunes were restored by his enterprise and genius. Otho, who had been content to receive Apostolic patronage at the price of ignominious concessions, until he chose to quarrel with the Pope, taunted Frederick with being a "priest's king"—a reproach which his later years singularly disproved; and certainly Innocent III. was a very exacting friend. Before Constance could obtain for her son the investiture of Naples and Sicily, and his coronation as sovereign of those realms, she had to conciliate the Pope by yielding to him important ecclesiastical rights. The elevation of Frederick to the German throne, while it increased his dignity and grandeur, failed to deliver him from the tutelage to which he had been consigned by early events. He was compelled to grant numerous privileges to Innocent, and to give up the kingdom of Sicily to his infant son Henry, as the Pontiff would not permit the Imperial crown and that of Southern Italy to be worn by the same individual.

The reign of Frederick II. is dated from the year 1212, when he arrived in Germany. Having been born in 1194, he was then only in his eighteenth year; but his physical and mental powers were remarkable. Of prepossessing appearance, valiant, open-hearted, and witty, he seemed born to be a great sovereign in an age that was destined to see great events. To the energy of the North he added the culture of the South, and his accomplishments as a linguist were so considerable, that he understood Greek, Latin, Italian, German, French, and Arabic. We have seen that the first few years of his reign were troubled by the opposition of Otho; but much severer trials were in store. Frederick resented and scorned the bondage to which Innocent III. had reduced him. His large and liberal mind had passed beyond the limits of ecclesiasticism, and the exacting spirit of the Pontiff provoked a spirit of resistance in himself. He had not long been firmly seated on the German throne, before he conceived the design of conquering all Italy, and reducing the power of the Popes, so that they should be simply the spiritual heads of Christendom, and not temporal sovereigns, with the privilege of overruling the decisions of other sovereigns, deposing them, and absolving subjects from their

nce. The project, however, was incapable lisation; for not only was the general opinion rope opposed to it, but Innocent III. and his liate successors were men of large abilities igorous character. They represented in their dominant form the ideas which Frederick fain have counteracted; and a large part of endom was prepared to support them. Two ng principles were thus brought into active t, and their struggles fill a large space in the of the thirteenth century.

claims of the Popedom were founded on the Forged Decretals of Isidore,* and on the donation which Constantine the the first Roman Emperor to adopt Chris- y, is said to have made to the Roman Bishop ter. This donation, the authenticity of is in the highest degree doubtful, is de- d as having consisted of the city of Rome, f several provinces of Italy. It therefore red on the head of the Church the position ecular prince, and the Popes of the Middle were very emphatic in maintaining the of the bequest. But, not to speak of the petence of the Emperor to make such a gift ut the agreement of the Senate, there is a ailure of proof that the transaction ever took at all. Hincmar, Archbishop of Rheims, ived in the middle of the ninth century, is st to make mention of the grant; but it was ards described by Pope Leo IX. in a letter chael, Patriarch of Constantinople, written in Had any such donation really existed, it redible that no reference to it should be earlier than the time of Hincmar, more ive hundred years beyond that of Constan- But it is certain that, for several ages after lleged gift, the Emperors continued to exer- ower and authority at Rome, even when the f government had been removed to Constan- e; and Boniface, having been supported t a rival Bishop of Rome, by Honorius, ror of the West, thanked that sovereign in er which contained the words, "In your ty's Imperial city," referring, of course, to pital. Until the date of Pepin, the father arlemagne, the Popes had always been sub- te to the secular monarchs, who claimed and sed the privilege of confirming the elections e Pontifical chair. Pepin, however, gave an independent position. Thus, it was not bout the middle of the eighth century that ads of the Church became sovereign princes even in name; and then their power was but slight. The donation, though strongly asserted by the Popes, has been disbelieved by many Catholics. Questioned by Dante, derided by Ariosto, and commonly rejected by the Gallican Church, it is now regarded in most quarters as either a forgery, a misconception resulting from a confusion of temporal with spiritual jurisdiction, or an ascription to Constantine of what was really done by Pepin, and afterwards by Charlemagne, who, by no other right than that of force, gave to the Apostolic See jurisdiction over a large part of Italy.

This jurisdiction was often disputed, and never very strictly enforced. It served, however, to feed the pride of the Pontiffs, and to increase the moral power which they had been gradually, but steadily, acquiring over the minds of men. When at length Innocent III. got possession of the provinces bequeathed to the Church by the Countess Matilda, the friend and supporter of Gregory VII., the Popes obtained a very important accession to their influence, their resources, and their means of attack. Such was the power against which Frederick II. undertook to contend; but, fully comprehending the strength of his foe, he proceeded by gradual and cautious steps. He determined to visit Rome for the purpose of receiving the Imperial crown from the hands of Pope Honorius III. (who had succeeded Innocent in 1216), but, before his departure in 1220, caused his eldest son, Henry, to be chosen King of the Romans. Honorius was angry at an act which seemed to imply a disregard of his own claims as sovereign of the Papal city; but Frederick explained that the measure was necessary before he could undertake the Crusade which in early life he had vowed to perform, and to which the Apostolic See had itself been constantly urging him. The jealousy of the Pontiff was for a time allayed; but he could not regard without uneasiness the increasing power of Frederick, who was supported in Lombardy by the Ghibelline or Imperial party. In the event of his becoming predominant in the north of Italy, and at the same time retaining his maternal inheritance in the south, the position of the Popes, placed mid-way between these two powers, both wielded by the same hand, would obviously be one of considerable difficulty and peril. The German ruler was therefore compelled to promise that he would never unite Sicily with the Empire; and the Milanese, acting in the interest of the Popedom, but valuing still more highly their freedom from German interference ever since the Peace of Constance in 1183, refused to place the Iron Crown of Lombardy on his head.

* See p. 166 of this volume.

Paying no attention to this slight, Frederick made his way to Rome, where he was crowned as Emperor; and then proceeded to his dominions in the south. The preparations for the coming war were to be made in Apulia and Sicily; but Frederick was in no hurry to depart, for his affairs



THE DOME OF THE ROCK, JERUSALEM.

in those regions had fallen into disorder since he had quitted them for Germany, and it was necessary to restore the prosperity of the realm before he could turn his thoughts to Jerusalem. For this purpose, the Pope consented to a delay in the prosecution of the war, and Frederick threw himself with zeal into the reformation of his Italian kingdom. His gifted Chancellor, Pietro delle Vigne, compiled a new code of laws, settling the authority [illegible]ch and State, defining the respective rights of various classes, and reconciling, so far as it was possible, the divergent interests of a singularly mixed population, made up of Romans, Greeks, Arabians, Normans, Germans, and others. A University was founded at Naples in 1224; the medical school at Salerno, originally established by Robert Guiscard, and now perpetuating the best scientific traditions of Saracenic Spain, was encouraged by the liberal patronage of Frederick; art and literature were cultivated, and the modern Italian language is thought to have originated in Sicily under the rule of this semi-German prince. Among the earliest productions of the Italian Muse are compositions by Frederick himself, and by his Chancellor. The Sicilian Court was one of the most brilliant then existing in Europe, and it



ERIOR OF THE CATHEDRAL OF SPALATRO (FORMERLY THE TEMPLE OF THE PALACE OF DIOCLETIAN).

seems to have reflected as from a prism the varied civilisations which had in turn illuminated that beautiful and romantic land.

The Emperor would gladly have remained in Sicily, which was associated with all his earliest and pleasantest recollections; but the Pope was perpetually urging him to perform his crusading vow, and in 1226 Honorius threatened to excommunicate him if he further delayed. At length, the year 1227 was fixed for the setting out of the expedition; but, before he started, Frederick proposed to call a general Diet of the Empire at Cremona, that he might be crowned King of the Lombards. The Lombards, however, were not inclined to receive an alien as their monarch. The Republican cities, which had been growing in power and importance for some generations, saw no reason why their independence should be hampered by a German sovereign, who would probably use them simply as counters in the game of Imperial ambition. Milan placed herself at the head of the malcontents, and the League of Lombardy, which had inflicted such serious defeats on the great Barbarossa, was now revived for thwarting the plans of his grandson. Exasperated by their opposition, Frederick placed the Milanese under the ban of the Empire, and turned his thoughts towards the Crusade which he had so long promised to conduct, but with respect to which he seems never to have been enthusiastic. Honorius died about this time, and was succeeded by Cardinal Hugolinus, a nephew of Innocent III., who in 1227 ascended the Papal throne under the name of Gregory IX. The new Pontiff was a man of energy and resolution, and he determined to force the Emperor, by every means in his power, into undertaking the rescue of Jerusalem. From the Papal point of view, it was extremely desirable to remove so ambitious a prince to a safe distance from the centre of intrigue; and the representations of the Pontiff were supported by those of Frederick's second wife, Iolanthe, daughter of the titular King of Jerusalem. The Emperor received the cross anew from the hands of Gregory; yet he still lingered, and seemed to care more for the elegant pleasures of his Sicilian life than for the rescue of the Holy Sepulchre. The Pope censured him for his luxury and dilatoriness; but Frederick was not greatly affected by the Pontifical condemnation. A pestilence raged among the pilgrims who had assembled in Italy, and the enthusiasm of the Crusaders flagged. Yet a good deal had happened in the East since the so-called Fourth Crusade, which might not unnaturally have excited the interest and sympathies of Christian Europe.

After the collapse of the expedition of 1197, the Latin colonies on the coast of Palestine enjoyed a period of repose, owing partly to the feuds existing between the Atabeks and the family of Saladin, and partly to the famine in Egypt, which reached so terrible an extremity that the dead bodies of the sufferers lay about in heaps, or were scattered over the fields, to be consumed by birds of prey. The existence of this dreadful calamity weakened the power of the Egyptian Sultans for any attack upon the Christian communities of the Holy Land, even supposing them to have possessed the wish; and the Latins devoted their energies to commerce, for which the maritime situations of the towns afforded peculiar facilities. But Syria and Palestine were devastated by an earthquake, which seriously affected the cities of Tripoli, Damascus, Tyre, and Acre. By a singular dispensation, Jerusalem did not suffer from this natural convulsion; and the idea speedily became general, that the earthquake was a forerunner of the Last Judgment. The fortifications of Acre were so seriously damaged that to restore them was a work of time and labour, involving large expense; but the necessary treasure was furnished by Almeric de Lusignan, King of Cyprus, and by the military Orders established after the First Crusade. At that time, the Persian poet Sadi was a captive to the Christians, and he was compelled to work upon the ramparts like the commonest of slaves, although a descendant of Ali, Mohammed's son-in-law. He was ultimately redeemed from bondage by a merchant of Aleppo, and his name shines out with enduring brilliance from the literature of his native country.

Almeric, King of Cyprus and Jerusalem, and his wife Isabella, died in 1206, and Mary, daughter of Isabella and of Conrad of Tyre, was then declared sole ruler of the sacred city, while Hugh de Lusignan, son of Almeric by his first wife, succeeded to the monarchy of Cyprus. The sovereignty of Jerusalem was purely titular, for the city was in possession of the Mohammedans; yet the position, imaginary though it was, seemed important to the European Powers and to the Christians of the East. The hand of Queen Mary was in 1210 bestowed on John de Brienne, son of the Count of Brienne in Champagne, and a new Crusade was projected. A six years' truce, concluded in 1204, being now on the point of expiration, Saphadin offered to renew it, and to place in the hands of the Christians any ten castles or towns they might select, as guarantees of his good faith. The offer was fair and even liberal, and the Knights of St. John, together with those of the Teutonic Order, were strongly in favour of acceptance. The Templars and the clergy, how-

were opposed to all compromise, and it was mined to enter upon another war, notwithing the risks which such a course involved. adin, finding his hopes of peace at an end, ed the country round Tripoli in 1210, and de Brienne, who was now in command of the tians, had difficulty in saving his fellow-ers from complete annihilation. His valour levotion were worthy of all praise, and imposed slight check on the victorious Saracens; but rtunes of the latter were continually in the dant, and many of the Latin barons, losing and hope in the general shipwreck of Christian sts, returned to Europe under any pretext could devise.

ienne, seeing the gravity of the position, wrote ope Innocent III. that the kingdom of Jeru- consisted of only two or three towns, and ts entire ruin was delayed simply by the civil then raging amongst the sons of Saladin. The iff accordingly despatched a circular letter to the eigns and clergy of Christendom, telling them he time had arrived when the most happy s might be expected from a confederation of European Powers. He promised a crown of to all who should embark in the suggested ex-ion, and threatened everlasting punishment to who should decline. Interpreting a passage e Book of Revelation (xiii. 18), he declared the extinction of Mohammedanism was near nd: its age was 666. Not only those who , but those who contributed largely to the ex-s of the enterprise, were promised a remission nishment for sins; and it was added that the ction of St. Peter should be extended to the ies and fortunes of the pilgrims. The faithful released from the payment of usury, and Jews—who generally suffered, whatever pro-might be in hand—were to be compelled to quish their claims on Christian debtors. The of enlistment was fixed at three years; it was ged that the maritime Powers should contri-their ships; and the laws against the sale of ike materials to the enemy were to be strictly a force—a singular proviso, showing that such had been found necessary, and that they sometimes been evaded. How little real oc-a there was for again stirring up the bitterness desolation of war, is apparent in a letter en by Innocent himself to the Sultan of po, in 1212. In this communication he ted the Moslem ruler for his consideration ds the Christians, and begged him to protect, e utmost of his power, the Patriarch of ch and his Church. The conduct of Saphadin, until threatened with war, had been very liberal; and Innocent must have had some reliance on his generosity when he requested him to resign the Holy Land into the hands of the Christians.

The details of the expedition having been settled, the usual machinery for obtaining recruits and money was set in motion. The chief preacher of the new Crusade was a person named Robert de Courçon, an Englishman by birth, who, at the University of Paris, had been a fellow-student with him who afterwards became Pope Innocent III. Having been an assistant of Fulk de Neuilly in the preaching of the Fourth Crusade—the expedition which had resulted in nothing more than the seizure of Constantinople—he was well acquainted with those rhetorical arts which are most influential with the populace. He was now a Cardinal, and the Papal Legate in France; but his dignity did not stand in the way of his zeal. Passing from one province to another, he recommended the holy war with so much effect that vast numbers were soon enrolled under the banner of the Cross, and enormous sums of money were collected in the churches. The French King, Philip Augustus, contributed a fortieth part of his revenues; others were equally liberal in proportion to their means; and the virus of fanaticism even infected youthful blood. A number of French and German children conceived the idea that it was reserved for them to rescue the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem. They went about the country, crying, "Lord Jesus Christ, restore thy cross to us!" Numberless boys and girls ran away from home in pursuit of this phantom, and as many as 30,000 were organised by fanatical leaders, one of whom was afterwards hanged at Cologne. Full of excitement and visionary hope, they made their way to Marseilles, whence seven large ships, crowded with youthful devotees, started for the East in 1213. Two of these vessels were wrecked; the others went to Bugia and Alexandria, where the children were sold into slavery. Some, who pursued a different route, were murdered by the Adriatic pirates, and none reached the goal of their distempered dreams.

Robert de Courcon was afterwards convicted of peculation, and Innocent III. interceded with the French Bishops to save him from well-merited punishment. In November, 1215, a General Council of the Church assembled in the Lateran at Rome, which was attended, not only by the great ecclesiastics of the West, but by the Patriarchs of Constantinople and Jerusalem, and the Ambassador of the Patriarch of Antioch. The Emperor of Constantinople (then under the rule of the Latins), the

Kings of France, England, Hungary, Jerusalem, and Aragon, and the sovereigns of many other countries, were represented at this vast gathering, at which the number of prelates, clergy, abbots, and priors, is said to have been beyond calculation. One object of the Council was the condemnation of heresy; and, when this had been accomplished, war against the Saracens was declared to be the most sacred duty of Christendom. Innocent himself declared his intention of visiting the Holy Land—an intention which his death, shortly afterwards, prevented his accomplishing; and in the meanwhile he contributed to the expenses of the war the enormous sum (for those days) of £30,000, in addition to the maritime charges of the Roman pilgrims.

An expedition, which should in truth be called the Fifth Crusade, but is not usually so styled, set out in 1216 under the leadership of Andrew, King of Hungary, whose forces were joined by those of the Austrian and Bavarian Dukes, and of the ecclesiastical and secular potentates of Southern Germany. The armies marched to Spalatro in Dalmatia, whence they were conveyed by sea to the island of Cyprus. After tarrying a while in that seductive land, they proceeded to Acre, together with fresh bodies of Crusaders, who had arrived from Marseilles, Genoa, and Brindisi. The Mohammedans were for a time overwhelmed by so vast an inroad of armed enthusiasts, and a large extent of country was ravaged by the invaders. The Eastern Christians, however, had as much cause to lament this invasion as the Saracens and Turks themselves. Their private dwellings and religious houses were unscrupulously pillaged, especially by the Bavarians, and it was some time before order could be restored. The enterprise was at first attended by no important results. The pilgrims gave themselves up to a kind of holy pleasure-making; and while they visited Mount Tabor, and other places associated with New Testament history, the Mohammedans were concentrating their forces, and recovering from their first discomfiture. Hugh de Lusignan, the King of Cyprus, died during the progress of these events, and in 1217 Andrew of Hungary suddenly abandoned the expedition, and, with his stores and the greater number of his soldiers, returned to his own dominions. The other Crusaders strongly fortified themselves on Mount Carmel and the plains of Cæsarea, and in the spring of 1218 a large accession of military pilgrims arrived from the north of Germany. Thus reinforced, the leaders of the Crusade proposed to besiege Damietta, situated some distance to the north of the modern town bearing the same name. Planted on the eastern bank of the Nile, near the point at which the right branch of the great African stream enters the Mediterranean, Damietta was regarded as the key of Egypt; and it was determined to carry the war into that country, as a means of breaking the Mohammedan power. One of the outworks of the city, occupying an island in the river, was taken by assault in May, 1218, and the gratification of the Christians was increased shortly afterwards by intelligence of the death of Saphadin. His son Kamel, who was reigning in Egypt, found himself confronted by so universal a spirit of rebellion, that he withdrew into Arabia; after which the Crusaders prosecuted the siege of Damietta itself, with every hope that it would speedily succumb.

Satisfied with their partial success, many of the Germans returned to Europe, but the ranks of the Christians were speedily reinforced by large numbers of Italians, French, and English. Discord, however, soon broke out amongst these heterogenous legions; the Nile overflowed its banks, and pestilence followed in the train of famine. Several months passed away without any achievement, and Kamel was reinstated in the position from which he had too precipitately retired. Nevertheless, the siege of Damietta was still prosecuted with persistent resolution, and many sanguinary combats took place between the champions of the opposing creeds. The assailants were drawn up on the western bank of the Nile, opposite the city, so that, whenever any operations were attempted, it was necessary to cross the river in boats. Nothing could exceed the heroism on both sides; but for a long while no visible approach was made towards a settlement of the quarrel. At length, however, the stock of food within the walls was reduced to so low a point that the utmost extremity of suffering was seen to be close at hand. Kamel began to despair of shaking off his foe, while his brother Coradinus, the ruler of Damascus, was so dismayed at the aspect of affairs, that, anticipating the speedy appearance of the Christians before Jerusalem, he destroyed the walls of that city, together with many of the buildings. Yet, even in that moment of rage and despair, veneration for the Prophets restrained the hand of the Sultan, and he spared the Tower of David and the Church of the Sepulchre. Some of the Christians were so much struck by this act of veneration that they pronounced the Saracens to be less infidels than heretics.

The greater number of the invaders, however, were unaffected by this or any other consideration, and it was determined to push matters to the

bitter end. In vain did the Syrian monarch, Coradinus, propose terms of negotiation, offering, in exchange for peace, the remaining fragment of the Cross, possession of the city of Jerusalem, and all the prisoners in Syria and Egypt. In vain did he promise to rebuild the walls he had destroyed, and to confine his own possessions to the castles of Karac and Montreal—places necessary for the safe passage of the Moslem pilgrims and merchants on their way to Mecca. As a counterpoise to these immense concessions, the Sultan merely demanded the evacuation of Egypt; and the terms were considered so favourable by many of the Crusaders that they advised an immediate termination of the war. The majority were of a different opinion. They resolved that Damietta should be taken, and in November, 1219, the walls were assaulted with success. A frightful scene presented itself to the eyes of the triumphant army. Nearly all the population of the city (which is said to have exceeded seventy thousand) had been destroyed by famine and disease; the streets were strewn with dead bodies; the mosques and houses were as sepulchres; a pestilential vapour hung over the place; and even the most sanguinary among the conquerors could find little opportunity for the satisfaction of their revenge. But Damietta was a rich city, and spoil in abundance was to be snatched from amongst the dying and the dead.

Tanis surrendered shortly after, and the ensuing winter was passed in debauchery, varied by frequent quarrels among the leaders of the Crusading force. Much of this discord proceeded from the arrogance of the Papal Legate, Pelagius, who in the course of 1218 had arrived from Italy with a large body of soldiers. John de Brienne, the titular King of Jerusalem, was so much offended by the domineering assumptions of this prelate that he retired to Acre, but was subsequently requested, by Pelagius himself, to return. The Legate desired to effect the conquest of all Egypt: Brienne saw but too clearly that the enterprise would be attended by the greatest dangers. By taunts, and threats of excommunication, Pelagius carried his point, and the forces, marching along the eastern bank of the Nile in the early part of 1220, were presently arrested by the Canal of Ashmoun, which runs obliquely from the Nile to the Mediterranean. The Mussulman troops were drawn up south of the canal; but Kamel, though strongly posted, and in command of a formidable army, offered peace to the Christians on nearly the same terms as those which had been previously advanced. Pelagius scornfully refused to discuss any conditions, and, expecting that the Sultan would throw himself completely on the mercy of the invaders, waited idly for more than a month on the northern side of the canal. It was the act of a man infatuated with pride and self-conceit. Gradually the waters of the Nile rose to a considerable height; Kamel opened the sluices, and inundated the camp of his foe; all communication with Damietta was cut off; and the Christians found themselves caught in a trap from which there was no escape. Tents and baggage were swept away; and Pelagius, suddenly descending from the heights of arrogance to the depths of abasement, implored of his antagonist a safe return to Acre, and offered to give up Damietta and Tanis. On these grounds a treaty was concluded, and hostages were interchanged. The Christian garrison of Damietta refused for a time to deliver up the city, but were at length convinced that persistence in their obstinacy would entail serious results. The King of Jerusalem was one of the hostages, and, on appearing before the Sultan, was observed to be in tears. "Why do you weep?" inquired Kamel. Brienne replied, "I have reason to weep, for the people whom God has given into my charge are perishing in the waters, or dying of hunger." The Sultan was deeply affected by what he heard, and opened the Egyptian granaries for the relief of the sufferers.* The Christians soon afterwards retreated to the sea-coast; the barons of Syria, and the members of the Military Orders, retired to Acre; the volunteers returned to Europe; and an enterprise which had commenced with high-flown prospects of success reached its end in failure and disgrace.

Such was the series of events in Palestine which increased the desire of the Papal See for another Crusade. Yet the Emperor Frederick still hesitated, and was not slow in discovering excuses for prolonged inaction. At length, in 1227, Pope Gregory IX. excommunicated him for his dilatoriness, and laid his dominions under an interdict. His second wife, Iolanthe, died shortly afterwards, and in 1228 Frederick set out on a new Crusade, usually called the Fifth. But now it was as great an offence that he should go as formerly that he should stay. He was under the Papal ban, and therefore disqualified for conducting a sacred enterprise. The relations of the two potentates had by this time acquired a character of great irritability. Frederick had described the Pope as a blood-sucker, who sent out his emissaries into all lands, not to spread the word of God, but to enslave the free, disturb the peaceful, and

* Mills's History of the Crusades, Vol. II., chap. 4.

extort money. Gregory had clearly shown that he expected the Emperor to behave as his humble servant in all things, and that he would act in a spirit of the fiercest animosity if his will were crossed. He now commanded the Patriarch of Jerusalem and the Military Knights to oppose the Emperor in everything, and gave orders that Frederick's hereditary estates in Italy should be laid waste. The German sovereign, however, disregarded the menaces of the Pope, and quietly pursued his journey to Acre, where he arrived towards the end of the summer. Since the fall of Damietta, the Christians in Cairo and Alexandria had been treated with much severity. They were not permitted to repair their churches, or to carry the image of the cross in funeral processions. The toleration-tax was strictly enforced, and the Christians were compelled to serve the Mussulmans in mean and ignominious offices. The Patriarch of Alexandria assured the Pope that the world did not so ardently expect the coming of Christ as the Holy Land looked for the arrival of the Emperor. Yet Gregory IX., after having incited Frederick to undertake a new Crusade, was now endeavouring to deter him, because of the excommunication he had himself pronounced.



COLOGNE CATHEDRAL, FROM THE WEST.

Frederick had not been long in the Holy Land before he came to a good understanding with Kamel, the Sultan of Egypt. The German sovereign had adopted towards the Romish Church a

on little different from that of Protestant chs in a later age. After his excommunica- ie had sent letters to the kings and princes trope, condemning the avarice and cruelty clesiastical Rome; and he had despatched mmedan Sicilians into the Patrimony of St.

to live on terms of brotherhood. Jerusalem, Jaffa, Bethlehem, Nazareth, and their appendages, together with the sea-ports of Tyre and Sidon, were restored to the Christians. The Holy Sepulchre was to be given up to the latter, and it was stipulated that the followers of both religions might use



FREDERICK II. OF GERMANY. (*From an old Print in the British Museum.*)

to ravage far and wide. Although he had ndertaken an expedition against the Moslems estine and Egypt, it was rather in the fulfil- of his vows than with any view to advance terests of the Papacy. By entering into angement with Kamel, he hoped to benefit ristians without conceding anything to the and Kamel was equally willing to discuss because the ambition of his brother Coradinus lled him with alarm. An agreement was tely signed, by which it was settled that for ars the Christians and the Mussulmans were

the so-called Temple of Solomon for the celebration of their religious services. This understanding, which brought to a pacific termination a long series of miserable and exhausting struggles, was of too liberal a nature to please the more bigoted of the Christian settlers. The martial barons of the Holy Land did not like the cessation of a hostile state which often resulted to their own advantage, and the clergy looked with detestation on a sovereign whom the Pope had excommunicated. Some enemies of Frederick endeavoured to betray him into the hands of Kamel; but the Egyptian Sultan,

after reading a letter which revealed the plot, forwarded the communication to the threatened monarch. Proceeding to Jerusalem, Frederick assumed the royal title which had been borne by the successors of Godfrey de Bouillon, but was treated with a coldness at once disrespectful and menacing. He was accompanied to the church of the Sepulchre only by his immediate courtiers and the Teutonic Knights, in whose presence he took the crown from the altar, and placed it on his own head. No priest would even read mass, and Jerusalem was immediately laid under an interdict. On his return to Acre, Frederick was received with equal frigidity. Mass was performed in secret, and the dead were buried without any religious ceremony. The outraged monarch was at length compelled to enforce a more becoming attitude by the imposition of penalties; and in 1229 he returned to Europe, after having accomplished more for the Christians, without striking a blow, and in spite of Papal displeasure, than others had effected by a long succession of battles and sieges, under the benediction of the Apostolic See.

On again entering Southern Italy, the Emperor found his hereditary estates in possession of a band of Papal mercenaries, called "soldiers of the keys," from their wearing as a badge the cross-keys of St. Peter. They were commanded by John de Brienne, who, though the father of Frederick's second wife, had fallen completely under the influence of Gregory IX. Frederick endeavoured to effect a reconciliation with the Pope, and, when this proved unavailing, marched against the military agents of the Church, and speedily defeated them. Gregory urged the German nobles to withdraw their allegiance; but his suggestions were treated with contempt, and in 1230 he was glad to free his enemy from the excommunication pronounced in 1227. Frederick now settled in Apulia, where some years of peaceful enjoyment succeeded to the turmoil and agitation of his recent life. His love of art and science was shown by noble works of architecture and gardening, by his collection of a menagerie of wild beasts, and by his studies in classical literature. At the same time, Germany prospered, although deprived of the presence of its sovereign. The bounds of the Teutonic race were enlarged by the conquest of Prussia by the Teutonic Order. Prussia has since become the predominant State in Germany; but in the thirteenth century it was a wild and desolate land, inhabited by a Sclavonic people, whose food was horseflesh, whose religion was heathenish, and whose customs were little removed from the merest barbarism. The people were converted to Christianity by their conquerors, and a Teutonic element then flowed into the country, which quickly blended with the older population, and gave to it a new character and direction. The Grand Master of the Teutonic Order, by whom the subjugation was effected, was Hermann of Salza, who acted at the request of the Poles. The latter had long suffered from the encroachments of their savage neighbours; but Hermann's knights, though few in number, effected a rapid subjugation of the land. For several generations the Teutonic Knights continued to be the rulers of Prussia, and in later times the territory grew into a duchy, and the duchy into a kingdom, which in our days has re-established the Empire of Germany. The Sclavonic origin of the nationality, however, is still visible in the name of their country, which, according to some etymologists, is a contraction of Po-Russia, meaning "near Russia."

Although Gregory IX. could effect little against the Emperor himself, he was able to carry on a vigorous religious persecution in Germany, where numerous dissenters from Roman orthodoxy were brought to the stake. The Pope's agent in conducting these persecutions was a Dominican monk, named Conrad of Marburg, who, having at length gone so far as to insult a Count of the Empire, was summoned to appear before the Diet. On his way there, he was assassinated by the relations of some of his former victims, and the Inquisition has never since obtained a footing in Germany. The Government was at that time administered by the Emperor's son, Henry, the King of the Romans, who was much under the influence of the leading men. The nobles, as usual, were divided amongst themselves, and united only in their oppression of the humbler orders. Had Frederick been present in Germany, he would have applied stringent measures to the correction of these evils; but Henry had neither sufficient force of character, nor sufficient authority, to restrain the ambition, or curb the despotism, of the great landed proprietors. The latter soon discovered that they might make a tool of the weak-minded and not too scrupulous prince. They persuaded him that he might throw off his allegiance to the Emperor, and reign in Germany as an absolutely independent monarch. In 1234 he formed an alliance with Frederick, Duke of Austria, and also obtained the support of the Milanese. The Pope, to his credit, refused to sanction the design, and commanded his adherents to abandon Henry on pain of excommunication. Shortly afterwards, Frederick appeared in Germany at the head of a large army, and the young prince entreated and obtained forgiveness. A second attempt at rebellion followed in 1235, and it is even

said that Henry sought to poison his father. He was then condemned to imprisonment for life at San Felice, in Apulia, whence he was subsequently removed to Neocastro, in Calabria, and finally to Martorano, where he died in 1242.

During the rule of Henry in his father's German possessions, Archbishop Engelbert revived in the See of Cologne, forming a part of the Duchy of Westphalia, a mysterious tribunal called the Vehmgericht, meaning, according to the old German words from which the term is derived, a court of justice. The remote origin of these courts has been attributed to Charlemagne, who is said, by a doubtful tradition, to have established them as a means of preventing the relapse of the Saxons into paganism. However this may have been, the Vehmgericht began to acquire great importance under the rule of Frederick II., though during his absence in Italy. It was principally directed against the tyranny of the feudal barons, whom the ordinary courts of justice failed to restrain. The greatest power of the Vehmgericht was not until a later period, when even the Emperors sometimes had recourse to this secret tribunal for counteracting the power of rebellious nobles; but it was during the Viceroyalty of Henry that the court first attained a position of importance. The members of the Vehmgericht were called Schöppen, and were divided into "ordinary" and "initiated" members. The former were empowered to decide civil causes at a public court held three times a year. The latter also held an open court, before which the accused was summoned to appear: if he declined or neglected, sentence was passed on him in his absence by the secret tribunal, which was composed wholly of the initiated. This court consisted of the Archbishop of Cologne, and of nobles, sheriffs, and executive officers; in later times, the Emperor himself presided. The secrecy of the proceedings, when the accused failed to appear in open court, was perhaps necessary, as a means of protecting the judges from private revenge; but its tendency was to bring the Vehmgericht into hatred and abhorrence, and it cannot be doubted that the mystery of the procedure often covered acts of substantial injustice. Nevertheless, it is a mistake to suppose that the Vehmgericht was a mere association of assassins. The court usually sat in the episcopal palace of Cologne, and seems to have been a legal tribunal, though operating in ways contrary to the spirit of impartial justice. The members bound themselves by an awful oath to support the decisions of the tribunal, and to conceal them from "wife and child, father and mother, sister and brother, fire and wind; from all that the sun shines on and the rain wets, and from all that is between heaven and earth." In some respects, the rules of the association appear to have been similar to those of Freemasonry, and the members knew one another by means of a peculiar pressure of the hand, as well as by other occult signs. The accused were permitted to defend themselves before the court, and to bring forward witnesses on their behalf; but the laws of evidence were so much in favour of the accusers that acquittal must have been difficult and rare. In the case of a person refusing to appear, the sentence of the court was pronounced in these words:—"Forasmuch as A. B., having been summoned before this tribunal of the Holy Vehme, to give an account of certain misdeeds with which he standeth charged, doth wilfully and obstinately refuse to appear before the same; therefore do we, acting under the authority committed to us by the constitution of the Holy Empire, pronounce the same A. B. *verfehmed* and condemned; cast out of the number of the righteous into that of the unrighteous; separated from all good men; rejected by the four elements which God hath given unto man for his comfort; devoid of counsels, rights, peace, honour, safety, and love. And we hereby permit and require all men to deal with him as with one accursed. And we do accordingly curse his body and his flesh, giving his carcase to the four winds of heaven, and to the ravens and beasts of the field; and his soul we commend to our Lord God—if, peradventure, he will receive the same." The execution of the sentence was then placed in the hands of the inferior officers, and the offender was hung up to the nearest tree, into which was stuck a dagger bearing the cipher of the Vehmgericht, to show that the person had not been murdered, but had died by a judicial sentence. When the jurisdiction of the court was acknowledged, the sentence was seldom so severe. During the fourteenth century, the number of the initiated amounted to 100,000; a hundred years later, the tribunal had fallen into disrepute, and was opposed by many princes and free towns. It continued, however, to exercise considerable power until a much more recent period, and has in fact never been formally suppressed.

Another important institution of Germany, which arose about the same time, was the Hanseatic League, an association of commercial towns, begun in 1241 for mutual protection against pirates and other enemies. The cities forming this confederacy were situated on the North Sea and the Baltic, and went by the general name of the

Hanse Towns, from the old German word *hansa*, signifying an alliance. It thus appears that there was some species of association before the establishment of the famous League; but the union was rather commercial than military. By the time of the Crusades, these towns had largely increased in importance, in population, and in riches, and their fleets were seen in all the great highways of commerce, from the north to the south, and from the west to the east. Some greater powers of defence against rivals and free-booters had become necessary, and the Hanseatic League was the result. The original alliance was simply between Lübeck and Hamburg. Bremen, however, soon joined the confederacy, which at length included most of the North German towns. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the League comprised seventy cities, and could equip a fleet of three hundred sail, manned by more than twelve thousand seamen. The power of the Confederation (which was governed by a Diet, meeting every three years at Lübeck) ultimately grew so formidable that the most influential monarchs were glad to obtain its friendship; but that power was abused for the establishment of a commercial monopoly. Four grand emporia were formed, at Novgorod in Russia, at London, at Bergen, and at Bruges, and the confederacy existed in considerable, though after a while diminishing, authority until 1630, when it broke up into unimportant fragments, and ceased to influence the fortunes of the world.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

FREDERICK OF GERMANY, LOUIS OF FRANCE, AND THE LAST CRUSADES.

Position of the Emperor Frederick II. towards Northern Italy—The Pope and the National Feeling—Invasion of Lombardy by Frederick, and Defeat of the Guelphic Faction—Bitter Antagonism between the Emperor and Pope Gregory IX.—Attack on the States of the Church—Council of Ecclesiastics intercepted by Frederick—Succession of Innocent IV. to the Popedom—Renewed Excommunication of the Emperor—His Trial before a Council of the Church, and Condemnation on Various Charges—Resumption of the War in Italy—Misfortunes of Frederick II.—Fresh Successes in Lombardy, and Death of the Emperor—Succession of Louis IX. to the Throne of France—Insurrection of the Feudal Lords under the Regency of Queen Blanche—Movement for Reinstating the English Power in France—Victory of Louis near Saintes—Increase of French Territorial Influence—Gloomy Position of the Christian States in the East—Projects for a New Expedition to the Holy Land—Arrival of Christian Forces in Palestine—Agreement between Richard of Cornwall and the Sultan of Damascus—Inroad of the Khorasmians into Egypt and Palestine—Union of Christians and Mohammedans to oppose their Forces—Dispersal of the Barbarians—Exhortations of Innocent IV. for another Crusade—Decline in the Popular Enthusiasm for Holy Wars—Ineffectual Negotiations with the Egyptian Sultan—The Sixth Crusade—Damietta taken by Louis IX. of France—Advance and Disastrous Retreat of the French Forces—Collapse of the whole Expedition—Prolonged Stay of Louis in the Holy Land—Destructive Wars in the East—Religious Troubles in France—Return of Louis to his own Country—His Just Government—Misfortunes of Palestine, and Oppressions of the Mamelukes—The Seventh and Last Crusade—Ill-success of Louis IX. before Tunis—His Death, and Conclusion of the Crusade by Prince Edward of England.

HOWEVER much we may admire the conduct of Frederick II. in resisting the extravagant pretensions of the Romish Church, it is impossible to vindicate his conduct in endeavouring to subjugate Italy. His grandfather, Barbarossa, had had sharp experience of the determined spirit with which the Northern Italians repudiated the alleged right of the German Emperors to control their destinies—a claim derived from the compact between Charlemagne and Pope Leo III., which no free people were under any obligation to recognise. The Peace of Constance, in 1183, had placed matters on a different footing, and established the independence of the Lombard Republics. This was a settlement which should have been respected, and which, in fact, was not disturbed from the date of its conclusion until the year 1220, when Frederick II. made his demands on the allegiance of the Lombards. His ill-success on that occasion, when the Milanese refused to dignify him with the Iron Crown, ought to have proved the injustice and impolicy of attempting to coerce a number of communities made powerful by liberty and national sentiment. But, as between Germany and Italy, matters had slid into so unfortunate a situation that Frederick could hardly oppose the Pontiff effectually without at the same time placing himself in a posture of antagonism to the free cities of the North. Several of those cities—and Milan in particular—were adherents of the Guelphic or Papal cause; and the German Emperor saw in them the supporters of ecclesiastical claims which

struck at the independence of princes and of nations. He was probably mistaken in this view, for it is questionable whether the Lombards cared to enforce the Papal prerogatives abroad, or to magnify a power which might at any time be used against themselves. They threw in their lot with the Pope, because he was at any rate an Italian prince, even when he was not himself an Italian by birth or race; because he represented in some sort the Imperial predominance of Rome; because, in brief, he embodied, in the strongest available form, the popular protest against foreign dictation. The Popes have frequently utilised this feeling, to betray it; but the Guelphs of the thirteenth century may be excused for not detecting so subtle a design. By the same rule, Frederick is entitled to some allowance for his own mistakes. He was a native of Italy, born there of an Italian mother; and he may have thought his claim a good one.

Undeterred by any considerations of popular right, which were indeed little recognised by the statesmen of those days, the German Emperor began making preparations, in 1236, for a speedy invasion of Upper Italy. He knew he could depend on the assistance of a number of Ghibellines in the northern parts of the peninsula, and he had also collected a body of 10,000 Saracens, who were, of course, very willing to fight against the head of idolatrous Christendom. War ensued in 1237, and ended in the discomfiture of the Guelphs: after the victory of Cortenuova, on the 26th and 27th of November, all the belligerent cities, except Milan, Bologna, Piacenza, and Brescia, submitted to the conqueror. Frederick made his natural son, Enzio, King of Sardinia, and, after a brief respite, turned his arms against the remaining cities. In vain did Gregory IX. excommunicate him in 1239: the war proceeded, and, on the whole, to the advantage of the Emperor. The quarrel between the secular and the spiritual monarch had now reached such a point that all compromises were at an end. The appropriation of Sardinia was a very great offence to the Pope, as that island was considered a part of what was called St. Peter's Patrimony; and Gregory, in his Bull of excommunication, denounced his Imperial antagonist with extreme bitterness. He described him as a pestilent heretic, and said he had openly maintained that the world had been misled by three deceivers—Moses, Mohammed, and Christ; of whom two died in honour, and the third was hanged on a tree. Frederick denied having ever used such language; but other speeches of a similar nature were alleged against him. It is very unlikely that he committed himself so far; but it is conceivable that, in his friendly intercourse with the Sultan Kamel, he had acquired some tincture of Unitarianism, and that a mind already exasperated against the Church had been led to question established dogmas. Nevertheless, he endeavoured to regain credit with the orthodox by edicts against heresy; for, though possessing many good qualities, the Emperor was never very scrupulous as to the means by which he hoped to promote his designs.

Whatever Frederick may have thought on abstract grounds of theology, he certainly paid little respect to the occupant of the Papal throne. In 1240 he penetrated into the States of the Church, and threatened the aged Gregory with the near presence of his armies. Gregory had preached a Crusade against him, and Frederick retorted by putting to death all the prisoners he could make. He abstained, however, from entering Rome itself, and proposed that his cause should be decided in an assembly of Bishops. The plan was accepted by the Pope; but the prelates invited to the council were exclusively the enemies of Frederick, and the Emperor took measures against their meeting. The Imperial Chancellor, Piero delle Vigne, endeavoured to persuade the Cardinals and Bishops not to go to Rome, where he told them they would suffer from broiling heat, putrid water, coarse food, thick air, mosquitoes, serpents, poisonous vermin, and a detestable race of men. The Pope, he said, would cajole them, and use their deliberations as a cloak for his misdeeds. "At first," added the Chancellor, "his commands will be light and reasonable enough; but, unless you resist them, he will go on increasing the burthen, until he breaks you like bruised reeds. Your goods, your freedom, your bodies, your souls, are in jeopardy. God grant that neither vanity, nor hatred, nor ambition, nor the hope of preferment, nor any other passion or error, may plunge you into a gulf from which there is no escape. In the hope of averting such calamity, your friend the Emperor sends you this warning." The ecclesiastics addressed took no heed of the communication, but in 1241 started in twenty-two ships, although Vigne had assured them that the coasts, the harbours, and the roads were beset. The Emperor gave private instructions to his son, the King of Sardinia, to intercept the vessels; and, the fleet being attacked and destroyed, all on board were taken prisoners to Naples. Gregory, who was about ninety-nine years of age at the time, appears to have succumbed to the shock, for he died shortly after.

The successor to Gregory IX. was Celestine IV.,

who reigned but a short time. A prolonged interregnum ensued, and in 1243 Frederick obtained the election of a Pope who was supposed to be favourable to his interests, but who, as Innocent IV., proved a most bitter antagonist. The Emperor was not long in discovering that, as he expressed it, "no Pope could be a Ghibelline." Nevertheless, he made advances to the new Pontiff, and



THE WALLS OF JERUSALEM.

even offered conditions which recognised some of the Apostolic claims. These, however, were refused, for nothing short of complete submission would satisfy an opponent who acknowledged no equality of rights. Innocent renewed, in 1244, the excommunication passed on Frederick by Gregory; and after the words had been pronounced, and the hymn "Te Deum Laudamus" had been sung, the prelates standing round the Pope extinguished the torches which they carried, praying that the Emperor's glory and power might be similarly quenched. When the sovereign thus menaced heard the details of the ceremony, his spirit rose in haughty defiance. He commanded that all his seven crowns—those of the Empire, Germany, Lombardy, Burgundy, Sicily, Sardinia, and Jerusalem—should be brought before him; when, laying his hands on them, he exclaimed, "Now let us see whether Pope or Council has power to take these from me!" Previously to the renewed excommunication, Innocent, who dreaded the arms of his foe, had retired to the city of Lyons, where he summoned a General Council to inquire into the charges against Frederick. Before the members of this theological court, which met in 1245, the offending Emperor was accused of usurpation, heresy, and correspondence with the Saracens. He was defended by one of his Ministers with extraordinary ability, and, submitting himself to examination, denied the truth of what was alleged to his discredit. Nothing, however, could avert a sentence which, we may be very sure, was determined on beforehand. The result of the investigation was that the Pope pronounced on Frederick a terrible anathema, released his subjects from their allegiance, declared him

deprived of all honours and dignities, denounced him as a perjurer, peace-breaker, robber of churches, profaner of sanctuaries, and heretic, and declared



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that those who remained faithful to him should be included in the same sentence.

The Pontiff could hardly have expected that so high-spirited a man as Frederick would tamely submit to this attack, without taking some measures to vindicate himself. He addressed the princes of Europe in justification of his acts; maintained that the Pope was simply the head of the Church, and not the dictator of States; and prepared for another struggle with the Guelphic cities of Upper Italy. In the meanwhile, Pope Innocent procured, by a lavish expenditure of money, the election of the Landgrave, Henry of Thuringia, to the position of German sovereign. The ruler so chosen died in 1247, after exciting a civil war in Germany, and obtaining some temporary successes. He was succeeded by William of Holland, who was little more than a puppet-king during the lifetime of Frederick. The Emperor attacked the Lombards with fury, and obtained some successes; but Parma (though previously Ghibelline) rose in insurrection against his authority, and Frederick was disastrously worsted in a camp which he had formed before its walls. The tide now turned against him. His designs against Austria, which he hoped to make an hereditary possession of his house, were defeated by Innocent IV. in conjunction with Ottocar, King of Bohemia. His son Enzio was captured by the people of Bologna, and thrown into prison. Ezzelin da Romano, sovereign prince of Verona—a cruel, depraved, and unscrupulous adherent of the Ghibelline cause—openly deserted his father-in-law, Frederick, against whom he had long been plotting. The Imperial Chancellor, Piero delle Vigne, who had always been treated as a friend, wavered in his fidelity, and, having been imprisoned on a charge of attempting to poison his master—a charge which seems doubtful—destroyed himself by dashing out his brains against the walls. The health of Frederick himself declined, and he sought a reconciliation with Innocent, which the latter refused, except on terms which could not be admitted. Once more the war was resumed, and the Emperor was again victorious in Lombardy; but the end of his days was close at hand. He died on the 13th of December, 1250, at Fiorentino, at about fifty-six years of age; holding to the last those crowns of which Pope and Council had vainly endeavoured to deprive him. There was much in his career which cannot be justified. Without entering into his private life—which was probably neither better nor worse than that of



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most sovereigns—it is evident that he was often violent and tyrannical in his proceedings. Not only in the North of Italy, but in Naples, his rule

was generally severe and repressive, for he had to guard against both secret and open perils. It must be recollected that at all times he was confronted by a most deadly and inexorable opponent in the head of the Papal Church—an opponent who used against him every weapon of a murderous arsenal, and whose enmity could be bought off only by concessions entirely subversive of secular rights. The exasperation of the conflict seems to have ruined the temper of Frederick, the graceful benevolence of whose life in Sicily, at the beginning of his reign, gave place to an angry and distrustful spirit. His interference in Upper Italy was in all respects objectionable. It threatened the freedom of numerous communities which had every claim to their liberty, and it diverted the attention of the Emperor from his German realm, the true centre of his power. But, had the Popes been more fair and just, it is possible that Frederick would not have pursued his schemes against the Italian Republics.

While the ruler of Germany was disputing with the Pope, and doing his utmost to circumscribe an intolerant power, France was being governed by a monarch who found his highest satisfaction in doing the work of the Church. At the death of Louis VIII., in November, 1226, his son and successor, Louis IX., was under twelve years of age, and the affairs of the nation were for nearly ten years administered by his mother, Blanche of Castile—a woman of singular ability and resolution, who was at once forced into a struggle with the great feudatories, headed by Thibaut of Champagne, and the Count of Brittany. The rebels were numerous and powerful; but in 1231 the movement was completely suppressed, and the Count of Brittany presented himself before the youthful King with a rope round his neck, to sue for pardon. While still a boy, Louis acquired some knowledge of war; but in after-life it was rather as a legislator and a champion of orthodoxy that he gained a conspicuous position among the sovereigns of France. The long regency of Queen Blanche determined, to a great extent, the character of the succeeding reign; and even after the King had attained his majority, in April, 1236, the vigorous intellect of his mother continued to be powerfully felt in the direction of affairs. As a Spaniard, Blanche was a devoted Catholic, and, on the final reduction of Languedoc in 1229, and the almost complete incorporation of that province with the French dominions, a species of Inquisition was established at Toulouse. From a very early age, therefore, Louis was accustomed to the machinery of intolerance; his education had been placed entirely in the hands of ecclesiastics; and at all times his tendency was to support the principles which had resulted in the persecution of the Albigenses.

The turbulence of the feudal lords, which had been temporarily subdued during the regency, broke out afresh in 1241, in consequence of the King having invested his brother Alfonso with the government of Poitou and Auvergne, according to the testamentary instructions of his father. The former connection of Poitou with the crown of England gave occasion for a conspiracy against the sovereign claims of France. The leader of the movement was Hugh de Lusignan, Count de la Marche, who had married Queen Isabella, the widow of King John. Hugh seems to have been influenced by his wife, who, as a matter of family pride, wished to place her son, Henry III., in possession of a province over which his ancestors had reigned. A strong combination was formed against Alfonso and his royal brother, and Hugh de Lusignan openly accused the former of usurping the domains of Richard, Earl of Cornwall, brother of the English King. Henry III. himself speedily reached the scene of war, but was opposed by a French army of such great superiority that, on the 22nd of July, 1242, he and his allies were defeated beneath the walls of Saintes. He was glad to accept a truce for five years, and by this treaty the French acquired all the northern parts of Aquitaine as far as the Gironde. The strength of the feudal nobility was seriously reduced by the ill-success of the insurrection. Louis, also, had proved that he was not a mere sceptred monk, but a soldier of fair capacity; and the political state of France became more assured after the discomfiture of so powerful a confederation.

While suffering from a severe illness, in 1244, Louis vowed that, in the event of his recovery, he would undertake a Crusade to the Holy Land. He was unable to fulfil his promise until after a delay of three years; during which interval, the marriage of his youngest brother, Charles, Count of Anjou and Maine, to Beatrice, heiress and successor of Raymond Béranger, Count of Provence, added to the territorial influence of the French monarchy. Affairs in the East had acquired a gloomy hue since the friendly and liberal settlement effected by the Emperor Frederick II. with the Egyptian Sultan Kamel. The Christians were frequently at issue with one another, and their small dominions often suffered invasion at the hands of the Saracens. At one time, ten thousand pilgrims, proceeding from Acre to Jerusalem, were

violently assailed by the Moslems, and it was evident that, without a powerful army and an energetic leader, the Latins of the East would not long be able to maintain their independence. It was therefore decreed by the Council of Spoleto, which met in 1234, that fresh levies should be sent into Asia on the expiration of the truce with Kamel, which would be in about four years. Large funds were collected for this purpose, but a considerable portion went into the coffers of the Pope and of the friars. The luxurious habits of the latter became more extravagant and more scandalous every year; and even in those days of subserviency to the Church, men were found to protest against this perversion of money which had been collected for very different ends. Meanwhile, the Christians of Palestine suffered terribly from the fanaticism and superior power of the Mussulmans. The Templars were attacked and defeated by the Sultan of Aleppo, and matters looked so serious that a large body of Crusaders set out from London in 1237, in the hope of restoring the fortunes of their fellow-religionists in Western Asia. In France, also, the desire for a fresh campaign was very strongly felt. But Gregory IX. had cooled upon the subject, and the German Emperor, Frederick II., counselled delay. Kamel, hearing of the preparations for war which were being made in various parts of Europe, drove the Latins out of Jerusalem, and threw down the Tower of David. He died shortly afterwards, in 1238; and, although several claimants to the vacant throne appeared, the division among the Mohammedans was not sufficiently great to offer any favourable opportunity to the Christians.

Disregarding the apathy of the Pope and the advice of the Emperor, a small body of Crusaders, headed by Thibaut of Champagne, the Duke of Burgundy, and the Counts of Bar and Brittany, started from Marseilles for Acre in 1238. They arrived there shortly after the death of Kamel, and a desultory war soon commenced. The results were exceedingly unfortunate for the Christians, and negotiations were opened, in the hope of obtaining favourable terms. In the spring of 1240, another English expedition set forth, under the command of Richard, Earl of Cornwall; and the Crusaders, after marching through France with every demonstration of popular enthusiasm, embarked at Marseilles in defiance of the Pope, who wished the English to send money to Rome, instead of men to Palestine. Arriving at Acre, Richard of Cornwall discerned an excellent opportunity for negotiation in the dissensions of the Sultan of Egypt with the ruler of Damascus. The former offered to renounce possession of Jerusalem, Berytus, Nazareth, Bethlehem, Mount Tabor, and the greater part of the Holy Land; and Richard gladly accepted his proposals. By this fortunate agreement, Palestine was restored to the Christians, and the Earl, on returning to Europe, was everywhere received as the deliverer of the Holy Sepulchre. The walls of Jerusalem were rebuilt; the churches were reconsecrated; and for two years Christianity was the only religion recognised within the city of David. But the triumph was short-lived. The Khorasmians—a people occupying the country now called Khiva—having been dispossessed by a great Mongolian inroad from Central Asia, poured on towards the south-west, and, entering Egypt about 1241, demanded of the Sultan a settlement in that land.* The Egyptian ruler avoided the difficulty by recommending them to invade Palestine. For this treacherous conduct towards the Christians, he appears to have had some slight excuse. The Emperor Frederick alleged that the Templars had violated the treaty concluded between the Earl of Cornwall and the Sultan of Egypt, and that a feeling of exasperation had been thus created. It is not improbable that such was really the case, for the Templars were on terms of amity with the Sultan of Damascus and the Emir of Karac, and therefore inclined to a hostile policy as regarded the Egyptian sovereign. But, however the facts may have been, the Khorasmians burst into the Holy Land with a large body of cavalry, and spread terror to Jerusalem itself. Many of the Christians abandoned the city, and the barbarians signalised their appearance by a great slaughter, in which Christians and Mohammedans suffered equally.

The hordes from Central Asia were indifferent to either of the faiths established in Palestine. The Mohammedans had as great an interest as the Christians in repelling their inroad; and, at the earnest solicitation of the Templars, four thousand Moslem soldiers were despatched from Syria. The Holy Land then beheld the singular spectacle of a Christian and a Mohammedan army fighting side by side for the attainment of a common object. A battle, lasting two days, ended in the defeat of the allies. The Mussulman troops were nearly annihilated; the Grand Masters of St. John and of the Temple were both slain; the Hospitallers, the Templars, and the Teutonic Order, were reduced to mere wrecks; and Acre was soon crowded with miserable fugitives. The Khorasmians en-

* Gibbon says that the invaders were the Mongolians themselves; but this seems doubtful.

camped on the plains of Acre in 1244, and devastated the surrounding country. Damascus was soon afterwards conquered, and the position of the Christians would have been even worse than it was, had not the barbarians quarrelled with the Sultan of Egypt as to the division of power. A permanent understanding between the Mohammedans and the strangers was obviously impossible. In 1247 the latter were attacked by the combined forces of Egypt and Syria. The Khorasmian leader was killed; his forces were so widely scattered as to be no longer capable of any important operations; and Western Asia was delivered from the torror which had oppressed it for six years.

The acute sufferings of the Christians since the entry of the Khorasmians into the Holy Land, and the probability that the Mohammedans, now delivered from their own danger, would once more become formidable, induced Pope Innocent IV., in 1245, to recommend a new Crusade to the universal conscience of Christendom. This resolve was taken in consequence of revelations made by the Bishop of Berytus at the Council of Lyons—the same Council at which the charges against Frederick II. were investigated. Large funds were again demanded for carrying out the holy work; but the English barons present at the Council made a formal remonstrance against the rapacity of the Romish Church, and vehemently opposed any further tax for the prosecution of Crusades. Matthew Paris distinctly says that they did this because the people of England remembered the way in which the Pope had applied their former contributions. The tax, however, was sanctioned, and it was determined that the Cardinals should give a tenth part of their yearly revenues, and the other ecclesiastics a twentieth part. It was a little before this time that Louis IX. of France uttered the vow to which allusion has been made. Old chroniclers relate that in the delirium of fever he beheld an engagement between the Christians and the Saracens, in which the latter were victorious, and that he resolved in consequence to avenge the defeat of the former. The cross was assumed, not only by the King himself, but by his brothers, the Counts of Artois, Poitiers, and Anjou, by the Duke of Burgundy, the Countess of Flanders and her two sons, and many other persons of importance. The King's mother and wife, together with several of the prelates and principal councillors, endeavoured to dissuade Louis from commencing an enterprise which might result in failure, and which would at any rate remove him from his own realm. He was resolved to reinstate the Christians of Palestine in their former position, if by any amount of self-devotion such a result could be accomplished; but a considerable period elapsed before the preparations for the enterprise were completed. Enthusiasm for the Crusade was much more prevalent in France than in any other country; yet even there many persons doubted the wisdom of this new adventure. A French poet of the thirteenth century wrote a chanson, which took the form of a dialogue between a Crusader and a Non-Crusader. The best of the argument is given to the latter, who is made to declare very plainly that he considers it folly and wickedness to leave his wife and children in misery, to ruin his own fortunes, to risk everything in a distant land, and to return almost as naked as he was born, merely to serve the purposes of a number of arrogant prelates.

Notwithstanding these remonstrances (which, after all, were exceptional), funds poured in from many quarters, and large numbers of soldiers were collected. The ranks of the Military Orders were swelled by hired troops, no less than by the regular knights scattered over Europe. An attempt was made to ransom such of the Hospitallers and Templars as were then captives to the Sultan of Egypt. But the Mohammedan scornfully rejected the offer of a money payment. He told the deputation that the members of both Orders were traitors and cowards; that in the last great battle their standard-bearer was the first man to fly; that they would formerly have betrayed their Emperor (meaning Frederick II.); that they had violated the treaty which had been made with the King of England's brother; and that, consequently, he would not strengthen their numbers by accepting their gold. He added that the only way to obtain the release of the prisoners was by seeking the intercession of the Emperor, the slightest expression of whose desire would be followed by immediate gratification. The mutual esteem existing between Frederick II. and the Sultan Kamel, whose son was the monarch thus solicited by the deputation, is one of the most singular evidences of the effect produced on a certain class of minds by intercourse with the Saracens and other Mohammedan nations. This intimate and abiding friendship gave colour to the accusations brought against Frederick that he had renounced his own religion for that of the stranger. But a more liberal feeling in such matters had for some time past been growing up amongst the educated classes. Even as far back as 1076, Pope Gregory VII., in grateful acknowledgment of the King of Morocco having granted liberty to some Christians, wrote a letter to that potentate, in which he said

he was sure the Moslem sovereign had been moved by the spirit of God, and worshipped the same God as himself, though the modes of their adoration and faith were different. About a century later, the Byzantine Emperor, Manuel Comnenus, desired to expunge from the Greek Catechism the anathema against the God of the Mussulmans, whom he regarded as one with his own; and it was at length agreed that the imprecation should be transferred from the God of Mohammed to Mohammed himself and his doctrine. This was a great advance; and, in some quarters, the thirteenth century gave signs of a greater.

It was not until the summer of 1248 that Louis IX. was in a position to start from France. On the 12th of June, he and his three brothers went to the Abbey of St. Denis, and received from the Pope's Legate the oriflamme, the purse for alms, and the pilgrim's staff. The *auri flamma*, or "flame of gold," was the banner of the monastery, and, as the French Kings were protectors of the church of St. Denis, where for many generations they were buried, and the saint himself was the patron of France, it was considered fitting that the standard should accompany them to the wars. The colour of the flag was red, and the lance by which it was borne aloft was gilded: hence the name by which this celebrated banner is known in French history. The expedition set sail about the end of August, and arrived in September at Cyprus, which was to be the place of meeting for the several contingents. Here the King remained eight months, organising his troops, and endeavouring to compose the differences that had arisen amongst the Military Orders. Again starting, in the spring of 1249, on what is generally regarded as the Sixth Crusade, the French soon arrived off Damietta, which it was resolved to attack in the first place, as a preliminary to the operations in Palestine. Attempts were made to open negotiations; but they were productive of no effect, and, on the second day after his arrival, Louis leaped into the water in full armour, and, followed by his knights and soldiers, waded to the shore. The people of Damietta, struck with panic, set fire to a part of the city, and fled towards Cairo. Thus, without striking a blow, the Crusaders obtained possession of Damietta, while the Sultan, inflamed with rage at the cowardice of his subjects, ordered fifty of the chiefs to be strangled.

The French barons and their retainers speedily gave themselves up to feasting and debauchery in the mansions of Damietta, and the King found his authority insufficient for correcting the flagrant evils of military insubordination. As the autumn advanced, however, the Saracens gathered about the town in great force, and a strict return to order became absolutely essential to self-preservation. On the arrival of two hundred English knights, under William Longsword, it was determined to advance to Cairo. The march commenced on the 20th of November, but was speedily arrested by the Ashmoun Canal, on the other side of which lay the town of Mansourah, where the Mussulmans were encamped. An attempt was made to overcome the obstacle by throwing a causeway across the stream; but this was defeated by incessant showers of arrows and stones, and by the terrible Greek fire, which a spectator described as like the passage of a great flaming dragon through the air, accompanied by a noise which resembled thunder. For more than two months, the Christian forces were detained upon the northern bank of the canal; but at length a ford was discovered, and, in the early morning of the 8th of February, 1250, the vanguard of the Christian army dashed across the stream, routed the Saracens, and drove them in disorder within the walls of Mansourah. Some of the assailants followed the enemy into the town; but the gates were speedily shut, the Mohammedan forces rallied, and the little detachment was overpowered. A second battle, on the following day, resulted in another victory to the Crusaders; but the outbreak of a pestilential disease, caused by the large number of dead bodies which remained unburied, compelled the retreat of the invaders. This retrograde movement was of the most disastrous character. The Mohammedans followed closely in the rear of the dispirited army, and numbers were slaughtered in the vain endeavour to fly. Those who escaped the sword were almost killed with fatigue and disease; and the French chronicler Joinville, who accompanied the expedition, relates that the skin of the Crusaders became tanned to such an extent that their withered legs were like an old boot that had long lain behind a coffer. Another complaint from which the army suffered was a rottenness of the gums, occasioned by eating eel-pouts which had fed on corpses in the river. The barbers, says Joinville, were obliged to cut away large pieces of the gums to enable the patients to eat; and he adds that it was pitiful to hear the cries and groans of those on whom the operation was performed.

On reaching the Ashmoun Canal, it was necessary to construct a bridge to regain the northern shore; and, while this work was in progress, the Mohammedans forced their way into the camp,

and murdered the sick. Louis, though suffering terribly from disease, did his utmost to repel the attack, but at length, exhausted by wounds and fatigue, fell into a state of insensibility in a neighbouring village, where he was taken prisoner, together with all the French nobility. These persons were treated with generosity; but the common soldiers were put to death, excepting those who purchased their lives by embracing the religion



LOUIS IX. LANDING IN EGYPT.

of the conquerors. The Sultan demanded, as a ransom for the French King, the restitution of Damietta, and the payment of a million besants of gold, equal to about £380,000 of our money. These terms were accepted, and the Sultan, impressed by the heroic and religious character of Louis, remitted 200,000 besants from the stipulated sum. A truce of ten years' duration was then concluded, and it was agreed that the Franks were to be restored to those privileges in the kingdom of Jerusalem which they had enjoyed before the landing at Damietta. The Sultan was soon afterwards assassinated by some rebellious Emirs; but, after a short period of doubt and turbulence, the ditions of amity were renewed, with only slight modifications. The French Crusaders ultimately returned to Acre, and the King remained in the Holy Land four years, endeavouring to relieve the natural despondency of the Christians, and repairing the fortifications of the maritime cities, Acre, Cæsarea, Jaffa, and Sidon. He was enabled, also, by his firmness and address, to obtain the restoration of the knights and common soldiers still kept in prison at Damietta, and to extort some other concessions, including a remission of the remaining portion of his ransom.

It was fortunate for Louis, and for the Christian communities of Palestine, that the Sultans of Egypt and Syria were engaged in deadly war with one another; for, had their forces been united, the followers of the Cross would probably have been destroyed, in spite of the terms of peace. At length, by the mediation of the Caliph, the two Mohammedan Powers came to an agreement, by which Jerusalem was to be held by the Egyptian Sultan, and the territory beyond the Jordan by the ruler of Syria. Their combined armies then ravaged the country about Acre, and threatened the fortified position of Sajecte, where Louis was

ut up with the larger part of his army. Against is stronghold they could make no impression; but e French King began to consider that his further ay in Palestine would be fruitless of any good sults, while his prolonged absence from France

regency of his mother, France had been agitated by the turbulent proceedings of a number of heretics calling themselves "Pastoureaux," who in 1251 appeared under the leadership of a person styling himself "the Master of Hungary." These



LOUIS IX. DISPENSING JUSTICE IN THE FOREST OF VINCENNES.

uld almost inevitably be attended by special ngers of a serious kind. His mother, Blanche of stile, who had long before entreated his return, d towards the close of 1253, and it was doubtful ether his power could be sustained after the loss that dominant and imperious will. He accordgly quitted the East in April, 1254, and on the of September made his public entry into Paris, er an absence of about six years.

During the absence of Louis, and the second

enthusiasts seem to have given expression to feelings experienced in a less extreme form by many others of the same epoch—to a sense of indignation at the vices of the monastic orders, and disgust at the general intolerance of the Church. Their actions, however, were characterised by a degree of violence which threatened serious dangers to society. At Orleans alone, twenty-five priests were murdered; in other localities, riots occurred which resulted in loss of life. It was necessary to take

stringent measures against the danger; and when the ringleader and his immediate followers had been slain in conflict, and some of the others executed, the main body of the insurgents dispersed, and this particular form of heresy disappeared as suddenly as it had arisen. The movement was suppressed a little before the death of Queen Blanche; but there can be no doubt that it would have been crushed with equal severity by Louis himself, had he been on the spot. Nothing could exceed the detestation of heresy always entertained by this most Catholic monarch. He frequently remarked to his friend Joinville that a layman ought not to dispute with unbelievers, but should strike them with a good sword across the body. Unfortunately, he had discovered, in his recent expedition to the East, that the Mohammedans were masters in that form of debate; and Matthew Paris relates that, on his entry into the French capital, he appeared worn with profound and settled grief, arising from the consciousness of his ill-success in Palestine.

Whatever his faults of bigotry, the nature of Louis IX. was essentially noble, and the better elements in its composition were now seen in the government of his own people. The oppression of the nobles was rigorously punished; a number of useful statutes were issued; a police force was established at Paris, under the direction of a responsible magistrate; the various trades were formed into companies; a navy was created; and the College of Theology known as the Sorbonne was now commenced. Louis also showed himself remarkably conscientious in undoing what he conceived to be the wrongful acts of his predecessors. He considered that his grandfather, Philip Augustus, had acquired from the crown of England certain territories to which he was not legally entitled; and in 1259 a treaty was signed, by which, despite the advice of the French barons, the districts of Limousin, Perigord, Quercy, and Saintonge, were ceded to the English monarch, who in exchange relinquished his claims on Normandy, Anjou, Maine, Touraine, and Poitou. Louis refused to accept the crown of Sicily, which in 1262 was offered to him by Pope Urban IV.; and it is to be observed to his credit that, although in matters of faith he was the humble servant of the Church, he would not permit any interference by the Pope in the secular affairs of his kingdom. His love of justice, except where his bigotry interfered with it, was so great, and his judgment so clear and unbiassed, that Henry III. and his revolted barons agreed to submit their differences to his arbitration; and his own vassals, when at issue with one another, frequently invited the decision of his impartial mind. The complaints of the poor and humble he heard in person, sitting like an Eastern patriarch under the shadow of an oak-tree in the forest of Vincennes. It is painful to be obliged to add that this just and benevolent man forgot both his benevolence and his justice when dealing with the Jews. He issued several oppressive edicts against those people, and remitted to his Christian subjects a third part of their debts to the Israelitish community.

Mortified and humiliated by the results of his first Crusade, Louis determined to make another attempt as soon as he had set his affairs in order at home. The condition of the Christians became much worse after the departure of the French monarch. The Latin communities were in a state of continual dissension, and the general strength was wasted in brawls which a little forbearance would have avoided. The quarrels of the Templars and the Hospitallers became at length so embittered that, in the year 1259, a general engagement was fought out by their opposing forces. The Templars were entirely overthrown, and, according to Matthew Paris, scarcely one escaped alive. New members of the Order afterwards arrived from Europe, and the state of Egypt soon compelled a cessation of the unseemly dissensions which had divided the Christian ranks. The country of the Nile had for several years been under the influence of a military body called the Mamelukes, originally Turkish and Circassian slaves, who, about the year 1240, were established by the Sultan as a body-guard. It was during an insurrection of these Prætorian troops that the reigning monarch was assassinated in 1250, shortly after the conclusion of peace with Louis IX.; and one of their number was then advanced to the throne. The chieftain thus exalted was called Bibars, to give him one out of the many names or titles by which he was distinguished. His hostility to the Christians soon proved to be much more extreme than that of his predecessors, and a pretext for war was furnished in 1263 by the Military Orders, who refused, contrary to treaty, to deliver up some Mussulman prisoners. The Mamelukes thereupon destroyed the churches of Nazareth, and the fortress and church on Mount Tabor; attacked the fortifications of Acre, slew many of the Christians, and subjected others to frightful torture, in order to compel a renunciation of their religion. Acre itself was not then taken, but Cæsarea was devastated by fanatical hordes. Azotus and Saphoury were captured in 1265–6, in spite of the heroic defence of the

itallers and Templars; and at the latter place Sultan, after violating the terms of capitula- slaughtered a number of the Templars who ed to abjure their faith. The triumphant tians afterwards subdued Jaffa and the castle eaufort, and in 1268 entered the principality ntioch, where they received the speedy sub- on of the capital. This untoward event (which ght to an end the monarchy of Bohemond and uccessors, after a somewhat inglorious exist- of a hundred and seventy years) has been uted to treachery, and in any case it re- l in an appalling calamity for the Christians. said that as many as 40,000 were slain, and 100,000 were led into captivity. The con- s of Bibars continued without intermission, during a brief period when the bloodthirsty ic went on a pilgrimage to Mecca. The ry about Tyre was ravaged; Laodicea and places succumbed without a struggle; the ss of Karac, near Tortosa, was taken after a ificent defence by the Knights of St. John; the Prince of Tripoli in Asia was obliged to quish half his territory.

e necessity for some of the previous Cru- had been more than doubtful: now, how- there was a genuine case for armed succour. n the cry arose for a new expedition, and s of France determined to attempt once more nterprise in which he had previously failed. ngland, also, the crusading spirit sprang into ity, and Prince Edward, the eldest son of y III., received the cross at the hands of the l Legate. The French monarch sailed for the on the 1st of July, 1270, accompanied by 0 soldiers, and by the lords of Flanders, npagne, and Brittany. Everything looked ul; yet the Seventh and last Crusade was as trous as the Sixth. At Cagliari, in the island rdinia, where the fleet touched for a time, s formed the resolution of proceeding, in the instance, to the coast of Tunis, the ruler of h State had formerly sent ambassadors to French King, expressing a desire to adopt tianity. If he ever really entertained such a the step now taken by Louis was the most r thing to change his friendship into antago-

The fleet sailed for Tunis, which was sighted e 17th of July, and on the 24th of the month old Moorish fort of Carthage, erected near ite of the ancient city, was taken by assault. etting his moderation in the ardour of his icism, Louis ordered the garrison to be put e sword; and the sovereign of Tunis made hasty preparations to repel the unexpected inroad. While waiting for reinforcements, the French army was wasted by the terrible heat of Africa, and by the pestilence which generally breaks out amongst troops in a state of inactivity, and which in those days was peculiarly malignant, owing to the want of sanitary precautions, and the lack of medical skill. The King's son, Jean Tristan, was one of the first to succumb to this fearful malady; the Papal Legate followed in a few days; several barons and knights perished in that inhospitable land; and at length Louis himself was stricken. For twenty-two days he languished in a state of extreme misery, and then, becoming speechless, perpetually made the sign of the cross as he lay upon the floor, which he had ordered to be strewn with ashes. Recovering his speech a little before his decease, he exclaimed, in the words of the Psalmist, "I will enter into thy house, O Lord: I will worship in thy holy tabernacle;" and so passed away on the 25th of August, 1270, at about fifty-six years of age, forty-four of which had been passed in nominal or real sovereignty. Twenty-seven years after his death, this pious monarch was canonised by Pope Boniface VIII.; on which account he is often called "St. Louis." His sufferings on behalf of his convictions elevate him to the rank of a hero; but, had similar misfortunes befallen a monarch like Frederick of Germany, or any other opponent of the Romish See, it is easy to understand what interpretation would have been put upon them by Papal writers.

The war in Tunis was afterwards conducted by Charles of Anjou, the brother of Louis, who landed at Carthage immediately after the King's decease. The Mohammedan ruler was defeated, and compelled to make peace on terms favourable to the Christians. The French then returned to their own country; but Prince Edward of England, who arrived with his forces about the end of October, proceeded in the following spring to Palestine, where he captured Nazareth, and gave many proofs of that brilliant military genius which he was afterwards to exhibit in his own country. The war was concluded by the usual truce for ten years, and Edward returned to England in August, 1272. Acre and Tripoli still remained to the Christians; but the first capitulated in 1291, and the second soon afterwards. The Military Orders removed to various parts of Europe, and the nations of the West never again expended their blood and treasure on the hopeless task of rescuing the Holy Land from the iron grip of the Moslems.

CHAPTER XXXV.

STRUGGLES OF THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY.

Rise of Parliamentary Institutions—The Parliament of Paris—Decay of Feudalism in France—Judicial Functions of the Parliament—Increase of Monarchical Power—The States-General: their Privileges and Influence—Condition of England in the Early Years of Henry III.—Oppression of the People by Foreign Prelates and Others—Nature and Powers of the Great Council of England—Tyranny and Arbitrary Exactions of Henry III.—His Alliance with the Popes—Resistance of the Barons—Appointment of a Committee of Government—Bad Faith of the King—Simon de Montfort II., Leader of the Malcontents—Outbreak of Civil War—Defeat and Capture of Henry at the Battle of Lewes—Conditions imposed on him by de Montfort—Defeat and Death of de Montfort at the Battle of Evesham—First Representation of Cities and Boroughs in Parliament—Close of Henry's Reign—Reaction against the Despotism of Rome—Division of the German Dominions after the Death of Frederick II.—Conrad and William of Holland—Interregnum in Germany—Troubled State of Southern Italy—Charles of Anjou appointed by the Pope to the Throne of Apulia and Sicily—Invasion, Defeat, and Death of Conradin—Patriotic Rising under John of Procida—The Sicilian Vespers—Pedro of Aragon succeeds to the Sicilian Throne—War with France—Reigns of Rodolph of Hapsburg, Adolphus of Nassau, and Albert of Austria, in Germany—Foundation of the Swiss Confederacy—Legend of William Tell—The Latin Empire of Constantinople, and the Greek Empire of Nicæa—Wars in the South-East of Europe—Decay of the Latin Dominion—Splendid Rule of John Vataces at Nicæa—Reign of his Successor, Theodore II.—Usurpation of Michael Palæologus—Capture of Constantinople by the Greeks, and End of the Latin Empire.

BOTH in France and England, the thirteenth century was distinguished by the establishment of a most important institution, which, however, took different forms in the two countries. The Parliament of France arose under the sceptre of Louis IX.; that of England, during the reign of Henry III. The Supreme Council, or Court of Peers, which was the great judicial tribunal of the French Crown from an early period, was originally composed of the feudal vassals, the prelates, and the household officers of the King; but when the increase of business became so considerable as to over-task those functionaries, some councillors of lower rank, including a large proportion of the inferior clergy, were added by Louis, and the court then took the name of *Parlement*. The earliest register of its proceedings still extant bears date 1254. Its sittings were generally at Paris, but occasionally in other cities; and the institution gradually acquired various powers. Yet, though possessing the right to decide on peace or war, and to impose taxes, it was rather as a court of law than as a legislative chamber that the French Parliament exercised an influence on the fortunes of the country. In process of time, lawyers became the principal element in the composition of the court; for the nobility and the great ecclesiastics were too busily engaged in military and clerical affairs to give much attendance in an assembly which was chiefly concerned in matters of jurisprudence. Parliament thus operated as a powerful check on feudalism, which in fact it gradually destroyed. The tendency of the lawyers was to support and enlarge the prerogatives of the sign, and to revert to the old Roman methods of Imperial dominion. Under the feudal system, the authority of the monarch was but slight, unless when some man of unusual capacity succeeded to the throne. But feudalism was suited only to a rude and violent condition of society. It failed when more complicated interests arose, when commerce was developed, when a middle class began to emerge, when the power of cities increased, and when men awoke to the fact that there are other things in the world beside the crozier and the sword.

In monarchical countries, the change was not at first in the direction of popular liberties. The Parliament of France, in the fourteenth century, helped to create the despotism which it afterwards curbed. Yet at times it listened to the complaints of the commonalty; and, as the edicts of the King were not considered legal until they had been registered by Parliament, some degree of control insensibly grew up in the course of ages. This was certainly more than the monarchs themselves intended; for, by an *ordonnance* of Philip IV. (the Fair), in 1302, all matters of finance and general government were withdrawn from the cognizance of the Parliament, and its functions were restricted to judicial duties. But, later on, the Assembly took the matter into its own hands, and, by sometimes refusing to register the royal edicts, established, in the fifteenth century, an independent power in the State. An important change was sanctioned by Louis XI. in 1468, when the presidents and councillors of Parliament were declared irremoveable, except in case of legal forfeiture; and, as the judges had already secured the right of self-appointment, by presenting to the King a list of

candidates from which he was obliged to choose, the court could no longer be considered a mere appendage of the Crown. Unfortunately, it was open to the influence of money; but, as a check on the excesses of arbitrary power, its value was great. The place of assembly was permanently fixed at Paris in the fourteenth century, and, instead of meeting only twice a year, for two months at a time, it sat permanently, with the exception of a short vacation. The feudal courts, meeting in the several provinces, were entirely superseded during the reign of Philip the Fair, extending from 1285 to 1314; and all causes were thenceforward submitted to the jurisdiction of the Parliament of Paris.

It will be seen from the foregoing sketch that, however important in its nature and operation, the French Parliament was very different from the kind of assembly which we associate with that name. For anything like a popular Chamber in France, we must look to the States-General, or representative body of the three orders of the kingdom. In its more modern and permanent form, this institution took its rise under the rule of Philip the Fair, when so much was done for the destruction of feudalism; but, in the time of Charlemagne, assemblies of the clergy and nobles were held twice a year, to deliberate on matters of importance. The celebrated Capitularies of the Emperor are said to have been elaborated in these convocations; but, about seventy years after his death in 814, all such meetings ceased. In subsequent ages, general assemblies seem to have been held from time to time for particular purposes; as, for instance, in 1146, when Louis VII. determined on his Crusade, and again when Innocent IV., fearing the influence of the Emperor Frederick in Italy, requested an asylum in France, which Louis IX. declined to grant without the consent of his barons, and which the latter unanimously refused.* But, for the most part, the French Kings were in those days assisted only by a royal council of limited formation. In 1302, however, the States-General —so called to distinguish them from the Provincial Estates, which legislated for particular districts—were convened by Philip IV. to help him in a difficult dispute with the reigning Pope. This body consisted of the three orders of the clergy, the nobles, and the citizens, and was therefore really a representative assembly. The extent of its powers, however, is not very clear, and was probably but slight. The members, in their collective capacity, seem to have had some control over the taxes, which, as we have seen, were at that time removed from the cognizance of Parliament; and the privilege of offering advice to the Crown was doubtless exercised by them. But they had no legislative functions; they were often left unsummoned for considerable periods; and several of the French monarchs even preferred to ask supplies from the provincial bodies. Nevertheless, the States-General made their influence felt on various occasions. They were frequently at issue with the King, and, in 1380, during the minority of Charles VI., the Government was compelled to revoke the extraordinary taxes imposed by arbitrary power since the reign of Philip IV. For centuries the political history of France was distinguished by conflicts between the sovereign and the three orders of French society; and the battle may be said to have continued until, in 1789, the older representative body merged in the National Assembly of the Revolution.

In our own country, Parliamentary institutions had a more congenial soil for their development than in France. The Witenagemote of the English before the Conquest had proved that the people possessed a special aptitude for this difficult and complicated form of government; and the alien tyranny of the Normans only suspended what was really a national characteristic. The general tendencies of the reign of Henry III. brought into powerful relief the necessity for some more popular form of government. When Henry succeeded to the throne, in October, 1216, he was only ten years of age, and a regency was of course imperative. Until May, 1219, the administration was conducted by the Earl of Pembroke, a man of ability and moral worth; but after his death the kingdom fell under the guidance of Hubert de Burgh, one of the Anglo-Norman barons, and of Peter des Roches, Bishop of Winchester. The latter was a Frenchman, and de Burgh was a determined opponent of all foreigners. The Bishop was at length compelled to resign, and even forced to quit the country. De Burgh, thus left in undisturbed possession of power, which he retained even after the King had reached his majority, acted with a degree of rigour which soon made him unpopular. The opposition at length apparent in many quarters was headed by the King's brother, Richard, Earl of Cornwall, then a very young and inexperienced man, but one whose influence among all classes was considerable. By an unexpected movement in the latter part

* The reader will recollect that Innocent IV. ultimately found a place of refuge at Lyons. But Lyons was at that time an independent ecclesiastical city, owing nominal fealty to the Emperor, though, as a matter of fact, quite beyond his power.

1232, the offending minister was driven from power, deprived of his honours and estates, and sent to prison; and the Bishop of Winchester, who had recently returned to our shores, again assumed the chief direction of affairs.

England was at that time, as it had been for the best part of two centuries, the prey of grasping and unscrupulous foreigners. This was especially the case in the Church, which engrossed a large portion of the power of the State. At the period to which we are referring, the number of Italian incumbents in this country exceeded that of the natives; and as it is doubtful whether they had any knowledge of English, it is difficult to see how the mass of the people could have derived benefit from their ministrations, though it is certain that they drew large revenues from the community. Peter des Roches, though not an Italian, was one of the worst of the foreign prelates who fattened on the commoners they insulted and oppressed. He did the most he could to nullify the provisions of Magna Charta, and to annihilate the liberties of the nation. Frenchmen and others were preferred to Englishmen in every employment, and the country found itself threatened by a new conquest which, had it proceeded unchecked, would have been none the less complete for being pacifically effected. But the renewed fortunes of the Bishop did not last much more than a year. The laity and the English clergy formed a league against him, and, on his dismissal from power, the administration was bestowed on Edmund, Archbishop of Canterbury, the chief of the confederates. Still the land was overwhelmed with foreigners, for in 1236 Henry married Eleanor of Provence, a large number of whose countrymen followed her



MAGNA CHARTA ISLAND.

to London. The moral weakness of the King was extreme. He could be influenced by any will stronger than his own; and his advisers were generally those who gave an ill direction to his

appeal existed at that date. The King was assisted in the task of government by a Great Council, which was convened from time to time; but this was not a representative body, and it was



THE BATTLE OF EVESHAM: DE MONTFORT'S LAST STAND.

nind. The Provençals were as rapacious as the ther aliens. Estates, pensions, and lucrative ffices were freely given away; and the native-orn nobility were neglected for the bright and acile children of the South.

The only remedy for such a state of things, hort of rebellion and civil war, was in the ummoning of a national congress, by which the eelings of the people themselves might be made pparent. But it is doubtful whether any such

only occasionally that the barons and prelates ventured to thwart or moderate the royal prerogative. The Constitutions of Clarendon, passed in 1164, during the reign of Henry II., were the work of such an assembly; but the composition of the Great Council was purely feudal, and left the commonalty without a voice. The court so called consisted, under the Norman and Anglo-Norman kings, of the tenants-in-chief of the Crown, both lay and ecclesiastical; it being a principle of the

feudal system that every tenant should attend the court of his immediate superior. The degree of control to be expected from such a body, though not entirely wanting, could hardly be very considerable. A more regular and systematic character was given to the Council by those provisions of Magna Charta by which King John undertook to summon all Archbishops, Bishops, Abbots, Earls, and greater Barons, personally, and all other tenants-in-chief under the Crown by the sheriff and bailiffs, to meet at a certain place, with forty days' notice, to assess aids and scutages (taxes or dues, and fines in lieu of personal service) when necessary. This established a distinction between the greater and the lesser nobility; and during the same century the inferior barons were allowed to appear by their representatives. Still, we have here but a slight approach to the conception of a Parliament qualified to speak for the nation; and in truth the legislative powers of the Great Council were rather narrowly circumscribed. Aids, however, were granted to the King, and the assembly exercised the judicial functions which were afterwards transferred to the courts of justice. A relic of the judicial powers of the Great Council is still observable in the appellate jurisdiction of the House of Lords.

The establishment of a truly representative body would probably not have come when it did, but for the misgovernment of Henry III. For several years, that prince ruled by the mere exercise of his prerogative, and even the slight check of the Great Council was not permitted to exist. Whenever the King was embarrassed for want of money, he summoned the Council; otherwise, he proceeded on his way, by the help of ministers who were always ready to support his most inordinate pretensions. He had powerful allies in successive Popes, who abetted his extravagances, threatened those who demurred to his oppressive exactions, and themselves added to the burdens of the suffering English. One of the means by which Henry obtained large sums from his people, about the year 1250, was a pretence that he desired to lead a Crusade into the Holy Land; but as soon as the money was collected, the expedition was abandoned. At length, the arbitrary proceedings of the King, and his gross subserviency to the demands of Rome, excited a spirit of resistance, which led to a formidable movement of the barons. It was agreed that the whole authority of the State should be placed in the hands of a Committee of Government, consisting of twelve persons selected by the barons, and an equal number appointed by the King; and, at a Great Council held at Oxford on the 11th of June, 1258, by adjournment from Westminster, where it had met on the 2nd of May, certain articles for the reformation of abuses were drawn up, which Henry accepted, and swore to observe. In 1260, however, Pope Alexander IV., at his request, absolved him from his oath; and the King now looked to the Pontiff, and to Louis of France, for support against his own people.

But the barons were little disposed to see a solemn engagement thus lightly set aside; and courage was not wanting in the hour of trial. Their leader was Simon de Montfort, son of the bigoted commander of the Papal forces in the Crusade against the Albigenses. The younger Simon, like his father, was a Frenchman; but, in right of his grandmother, he had succeeded to the English earldom of Leicester, and in 1238 had married Eleanor, Countess-dowager of Pembroke, a sister of Henry III. He had long been in high favour at court, but a bitter quarrel dissipated the cordial feeling of earlier days. De Montfort was a man of conspicuous ability, of great vigour, and of unflinching courage. Whatever his ultimate designs may have been—and they were doubtless tinctured by ambition—it cannot be denied that he acted on behalf of popular liberties, and that he was instrumental in bringing about a marked improvement in the political condition of England. He and the other barons soon became predominant in the Committee of Government. The principal nominees of the King were expelled, and de Montfort found himself in a position of almost absolute command. After a while, Henry regained the power he had temporarily lost, and de Montfort was obliged to seek refuge on the Continent. Returning, however, in 1263, he and his friends assumed a position of open hostility to the Crown. The civil war which ensued was twice suspended by attempts at conciliation; but no permanent arrangement was effected, and on the 14th of May, 1264, a great battle was fought at Lewes, in Sussex, which terminated in a complete victory for the barons. De Montfort was the commander of the insurgent forces, and the King was accompanied by his son Edward, who afterwards succeeded to the throne, and proved himself, both in war and peace, one of the greatest of the Plantagenets. Together with his father, he was captured at the battle of Lewes, and the conditions demanded of the King were that he should observe Magna Charta and the Charter of the Forests (as he had often before promised to do, without keeping his word); that he should be moderate in his expenses and grants until his old debts were paid off, and he

was able to live on his own property, without oppression of merchants or of the poor: and that only Englishmen should be chosen as counsellors. Notwithstanding his acceptance of these terms, Henry still remained a prisoner: but in 1265 Prince Edward made his escape from Dover Castle. The civil war again burst out, and, on the 4th of August, Edward defeated the army of de Montfort at Evesham, in Worcestershire. The Earl himself was slain, together with many more of the associated barons; and Henry was at once restored to liberty and power.

Brilliant as was the success at Evesham, it did not entirely put an end to the war, which lasted more than two years longer. Before his death, de Montfort had succeeded in giving a considerable extension to what must now be called the Parliament of England. On the 12th of December, 1264, the great Earl of Leicester issued, in the King's name, writs for the summoning of knights, citizens, and burgesses, to represent the counties and the towns: and the assembly thus constituted met at London on the 22nd of January, 1265. Thus the municipalities were for the first time included in the National Council, and the people, as distinguished from the privileged orders, acquired a standing in the legislative body. The counties, indeed, had been represented, though perhaps only occasionally, for about fifty years; but the cities and boroughs were not included until 1265. That this valuable and most important innovation should have been effected by a Frenchman, is a little humiliating to our national pride; but it is certain that, until the issue of de Montfort's writ, the commons had no share in the representation, and that after that time they never ceased to enjoy a just and reasonable influence. It was probably about this date that the word "Parliament" first came into use in England. It is mentioned in the preamble to the Statute of Westminster, passed in 1272, and may perhaps have been first employed when the Great Council received a new and more enlarged character from the act of de Montfort. The word is French, like the nationality of him who first gave political importance to the English boroughs; but, in the course of ages, the English Parliament has received a stamp entirely peculiar to the people amongst whom the institution has flourished; and wherever the same species of legislation has been introduced, the English model has been largely followed. The *Parlement* and the States-General of Mediæval France, though occupying important positions in the national history, bear little resemblance to the Legislative Council which has for so many centuries been the chief agent in the government of the English people, and the fashioning of their laws.

The final arrangement between Henry and his revolted subjects was effected in a Parliament which met at Marlborough on the 18th of November, 1267. The King survived this compromise five years; but they were years of tranquillity, undistinguished by any remarkable events, beyond the departure of Prince Edward for the Holy Land, on the seventh and last Crusade. Henry had reigned rather more than fifty-six years when he died on the 16th of November, 1272. His personal character was contemptible; but the era which he represents, so far as English history is concerned, was one of great importance. The rise of the Parliamentary system, alone is a circumstance of the highest interest and value, and it is permissible to say that the history of England, in its most distinctively English sense, dates from the civil war conducted by Simon de Montfort and the confederated barons. The statute-law of England begins with this reign, for the earliest enactment we possess is that entitled the Provisions of Merton, passed in 1235-6. On the other hand, the power of the Popes in England rose to its utmost height during the degraded and degrading rule of Henry III.; but a reaction was near, and it followed under the sway of his successor. Even in the early years of the reign of Edward I., the English clergy, like those of France, preferred being taxed by their own sovereign, rather than by the Pope. Boniface VIII. strictly forbade any member of the priesthood to contribute to the national exchequer on any emergency whatever; but the prohibition seems to have been ineffective, for both the English and the Gallican churches gave subsidies to the Crown whenever they were required, and the growth of a more national feeling on the part of ecclesiastics was inevitably accompanied by a greater spirit of independence towards the foreign Prince who asserted a right to tyrannise over all religious bodies that professed the Christian faith.

In Germany, the contest between the Popedom and the secular monarch was hardly less extreme after the death of Frederick II. than during his life. The Emperor directed in his will that his son Conrad should inherit the sovereignty of Germany together with the Imperial crown. Various members of his family were to receive other parts of his vast dominions; but it was stipulated that the Apostolic See should again receive what had at any time been taken from it. So little was Pope Innocent IV. conciliated by this act of restitution that, on hearing of the death of Frederick,

exclaimed, "Let the heavens rejoice, and let the earth be glad!" He pronounced the title of Conrad null and void, denounced him as an unbeliever and a heathen, and instructed his mendicant friars to preach a holy war against him. A veritable war broke out, and William of Holland, the monarch formerly appointed by the Pope, attacked the unfortunate Conrad at Oppenheim, and defeated him. His death occurred shortly after, and there were those who said that it had been brought about by poison, administered by his personal enemies. William of Holland, however, was not more fortunate than his antagonist. The people detested him, and, Papal champion though he was, the Archbishop of Cologne, on one occasion, ordered his house to be set on fire, to compel his departure out of Germany. Withdrawing into his own country, he perished miserably in 1256, while endeavouring to cross a frozen morass, that he might attack the people of Friesland. In the utter prostration of national spirit which had now fallen upon Germany, the crown was offered for sale to the highest bidder, as the Imperial purple had been offered at Rome after the death of Pertinax. Richard, Earl of Cornwall, obtained the support of the Archbishop of Mainz by the payment of an enormous sum which he had brought with him from England; but Alfonso X. of Castile was chosen at the same time, and by the same means. For twenty-three years, Germany languished under a species of interregnum. There were, indeed, two monarchs; but, as neither could prevail over the other, and as the Pope continually delayed his promised decision between the claims of the rivals, the political state was little better than an anarchy, and every interest suffered from the want of a distinct and settled rule. During this turbulent period, the commercial cities on the Rhine entered into a league for mutual defence, similar to that of the Hanse Towns, established a few years before. The Rhine compact dates from 1255; but this confederation never equalled in importance that of the Northern cities.

The general disruption consequent on the death of Frederick II. affected the south of Italy no less than Germany itself. Innocent IV. declared the throne of Apulia vacant, and in 1254 the crown was offered to Edmund, the second son of Henry III. of England. In all other directions it had been refused, as too dangerous a gift; but the weak-minded Henry grasped at the proffered honour, though he had to purchase it by so large a sum that the heavy imposts he was consequently obliged to lay upon his people were amongst the many causes which led to the revolt headed by Simon de Montfort. The crown of Southern Italy (which, after all, was never worn by Edmund) came ultimately to Charles of Anjou, brother of Louis IX. of France, who immediately led an army into Apulia. Manfred, the son of Frederick II. by his last wife, Bianca, had acted as Viceroy to Conradin, the youthful son of Conrad; but in 1258 he was crowned King of Apulia and Sicily. Pope Alexander IV. refused to recognise the validity of this appointment, and the French prince considered that he had a right to assert his own claim by force of arms. He had, in fact, purchased the position by paying to his Holiness the sum of 50,000 marks of silver, which was to be followed by the annual rendering of 8,000 ounces of gold. The kingdom was to be held as a fief of Rome, and every three years a white palfrey was to be sent to the Papal City, in token of homage and submission. Manfred was defeated by the Count of Anjou, near Benevento, in 1266, and lost his life in the final charge; but the French prince soon found that he had overcome only one of the obstacles which opposed his power. Conradin, the son of Conrad, and the grandson of Frederick II.—a youth in his sixteenth year, gallant, high-spirited, and distinguished by extraordinary personal beauty—entered Northern Italy in 1267 with an army of 10,000 men, and established his headquarters at Verona. He had been invited by the national leaders in Apulia to assume the crown, of which the Pope endeavoured to deprive him. In all parts of Italy he was regarded as the champion of the Ghibelline or anti-Papal party; and it was to give that party time to concentrate its forces that he paused at Verona.

When his army was sufficiently recruited, he marched towards the south, and, after beating the French in several battles, entered Rome in triumph, and was conducted to the Capitol by a troop of girls, strewing his path with flowers. But the Ghibelline hosts, in subsequently making their way through Apulia, fell into an ambuscade, and were disastrously routed on the 23rd of August, 1268. Conradin escaped for the time, but was soon afterwards betrayed into the hands of Charles. Being tried before a commission of eminent jurists, he was sentenced to death, together with his attached companion-in-arms Frederick of Austria. The decision was at variance with the general feeling of the court but the known desires of Charles, as interpreted by his Chancellor, Robert de Bari, and of the reigning Pope, prevailed over right and justice and on the 22nd of October the two friends were

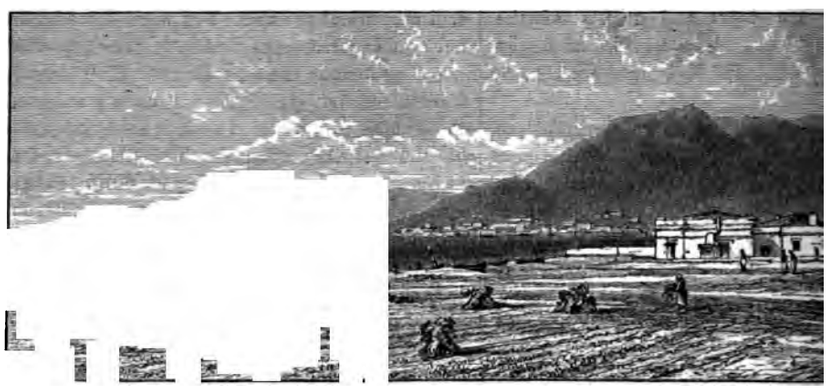
led out on to a scaffold erected in the Bay of Naples, close to the city walls. So strong was the popular sentiment in favour of Conradin (who, by the laws of hereditary succession, was undoubtedly the rightful king), that Robert de Bari, on attempting to read the sentence, was struck to the ground insensible by Robert of Flanders, the son-in-law of Charles, who was watching the terrible scene from the windows of his palace. Before laying his head upon the block, Conradin, in a few impressive words, summoned his judges before the Divine tribunal, and, throwing down his gauntlet, declared that the German people would wash out in French blood the insult offered to their land. The grandson of the great Frederick, and his Austrian friend, then suffered the extreme penalty of their misfortunes; but the tears and groans of the Neapolitans should have given Charles of Anjou sufficient warning that he had succeeded to a perilous throne.

For some fourteen years, Charles continued to reign over Apulia and Sicily; but his rule was detested by the people, and the tyrannical use of his power provoked a conspiracy, the principal organiser of which was John of Procida, a Neapolitan nobleman, who had been favoured by the Hohenstaufen dynasty, and driven into exile by that of Anjou. Procida obtained the support of Pope Nicholas III., and of some foreign monarchs, and was preparing for a revolutionary movement, when an unanticipated catastrophe precipitated the course of events. As the citizens of Palermo were trooping to vespers on the 30th of March, 1282—one of the days of Easter week—a French soldier insulted a Sicilian girl in the presence of her betrothed husband. The offender was at once stabbed to the heart, and a cry of "Death to the French!" was instantly raised. More than two hundred of that nation were slain on the spot; the massacre continued throughout the night; the whole island was speedily in a flame; and the French population was exterminated, even to the women and the children. This is the event known as the Sicilian Vespers, and it has not often been surpassed in horror. Charles at once crossed over to Sicily, and laid siege to Messina; but John of Procida had a powerful ally in Pedro III., King of Aragon, who, as the husband of Constance, Manfred's daughter, laid claim to the Italian possessions of the Hohenstaufens. He accordingly landed at Trapani, and was soon afterwards crowned King of Sicily. His fleet gained a signal victory over that of Charles in the Straits of Messina, and the tyrant himself beheld the destruction of his navy from the opposite coast of Calabria.

Pope Nicholas III. had by this time been succeeded by Martin IV., who excommunicated Pedro for levying war upon a fief of the Apostolic See, absolved his subjects from their oath of allegiance, and issued a Bull, conferring the dominions of the King of Aragon upon Charles, Count of Valois, a son of the reigning French monarch, Philip III. War was made on the rebellious Sicilians and their Spanish sovereign in 1283; but Roger di Loria, the admiral of Pedro, worsted the French fleets on two occasions, and Charles of Anjou died at Foggia on the 7th of January, 1285, either by suicide, or from mortification at his accumulated misfortunes. In the spring of the same year, Philip III. carried the war into Aragon itself—at first with considerable success, though the fleets of Roger di Loria were still masters of the sea. But with the advance of autumn the troops of Philip suffered so severely from contagious diseases that the King hastily retreated through the Pyrenees, closely followed by the enemy, who inflicted serious losses on the rear of the retiring columns. The discomfited army at length re-entered France; but Philip, exhausted with fever, and worn out by prolonged fatigue, expired at Perpignan, on the 5th of October, 1285. The same disease proved fatal to Pedro on the 11th of the following month. He left Sicily to his second son, James; and Alfonso III., who received the throne of Aragon, made peace on the basis of not assisting Sicily. Dying in 1291, he was succeeded by James, who thereupon renounced Sicily; but the people of that island transferred the crown to his brother Frederick. The latter made war against Charles II. of Naples; but peace was concluded in the year 1302, on the understanding that Frederick should retain the insular kingdom for life, and that on his death it should revert to the crown of Naples.

Germany continued in an unsettled and lawless state until the death of Richard of Cornwall, in 1273, when the electors, setting aside the claims of the Castilian Alfonso, chose Count Rodolph of Hapsburg, or Habsburg (so named from a castle in the Swiss canton of Aargau, with which the family was connected), for their sovereign. He had led a roving military life, but had shown courage and capacity on many fields, was a favourite with the clergy, and a devoted adherent of the Papal See. Though aristocratic in his leanings, he had many friends amongst the people; and on the 21st October, 1273, he was crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle, in presence of 20,000 knights, and an immense gathering of the commonalty. In early life, Rodolph had fought under Ottocar, King of Bohemia; but this monarch had of late attained

so dangerous a supremacy that the new German sovereign took the field against him in 1276. Ottocar at once yielded to the demands of his formidable antagonist, and, surrendering Austria, Styria, Carinthia, and Carniola, to the Empire, contented himself with Bohemia and Moravia, which he held as fiefs. Renewing the war some time after, Ottocar was defeated and slain in the neighbourhood of Vienna. Rodolph, being now delivered from all external enemies, devoted the remainder of his reign to restoring the prosperity of his own possessions, which had suffered greatly in the long interregnum. The robber nobles were finally suppressed, vast numbers of their castles destroyed, and twenty-nine freebooters hanged in chains at



MESSINA.

Erfurt. Rodolph died in 1291, and was followed by Adolphus of Nassau, a creature of his cousin, the Archbishop of Mainz. His government was tyrannical and corrupt, and in time he quarrelled with his archiepiscopal relative; upon which the latter persuaded the electors to set aside their former choice, and confer the crown on Albert, Duke of Austria. Adolphus endeavoured to maintain his position by the sword, but was defeated near Worms in 1298, and found among the slain.

Albert was a man of despotic inclinations, and, desiring to establish an unchecked tyranny, he deprived the free cities of their privileges, and reduced the power of the nobility by compelling a hundred knights to remain constantly about his person as a body-guard. His wars were unsuccessful, and he failed in attempts to possess himself of Holland, of Burgundy, and of Bohemia. He was at issue with Archbishop Gerard of Mainz, and with the Count Palatine Rodolph; and the Thuringian Prince Frederick, who had been temporally exiled, twice defeated the Imperial forces, and obtained undisturbed posses nions in 1307. The reign of A to a close in 1308 by a conspirac him by his nephew, John of Boh vain requested the restoration possessions, which Albert had Empire. The despot was assassi spot near Hapsburg, and even Cantons of Uri, Schwyz, and Un had previously risen in revolt, to the assassins. A dreadful m the crime committed by John a One thousand relatives of the accounts have not been exaggera death. John, flying into Italy implore the intervention of th tenced to perpetual seclusion in Pisa. Rodolph of Wart, one of spirators, was broken on the innocent persons were butchere revenge of the Empress and her

The somewhat doubtful story belongs to the reign of Albert. tons, to which allusion has be parts of Switzerland—a country hitherto heard but little. Afte Western Empire, the Helvetia passed successively into the hands tribes, by whom the original po siderably modified. It was long nion of the Franks, during wh tives were converted to Christiani the exertions of Irish mission Empire of Charlemagne was di successors of Louis le Debonnair Helvetia passed to Louis of B Western division was assigned



the representative of Imperial authority on the banks of Lake Lucerne. It is a conspicuous fact in connection with this popular hero that no allusion to him is to be found in contemporary records. As early as 1388, however, a religious edifice called "Tell's Chapel" was erected on the spot where the patriot is supposed to have landed, a little before his cross-bow carried death into the heart of Gessler. His actions were related as veritable history towards the end of the fifteenth century; a few years later, the story acquired the form which is now familiar in all countries of the civilised world. But the critical have always doubted the truth of the legend, and a Swiss historian of comparatively recent times has shown that, although an unbroken series of charters relative to the bailiffs of Küssnacht in the fourteenth century is still extant, no such name as Gessler is to be found there. The legends of the cap of Gessler, before which, as it appeared on a pole in the market-place of Altdorf, he compelled the people to bow, and of the apple which he obliged William Tell to shoot on the head of his own son, are doubtless fabulous. Nevertheless, it is unquestionable that the Forest Cantons rose against their tyrants in 1307; that the war terminated in favour of the Swiss in 1315; and that in 1352 the eight Cantons of Schwyz, Uri, Unterwalden, Lucerne, Zurich, Glarus, Zug, and Berne, entered into a perpetual league, which formed the basis of the Swiss Confederation.

While the Popes of Rome were struggling with the spirit of opposition in Italy itself, in Germany, and in England, their authority was being extended in the south-eastern parts of Europe by the Latin Empire established at Constantinople in 1204. Henry, the brother of Baldwin, who succeeded to the crown after the death of the first Latin Emperor in 1206, had a task of great difficulty in maintaining a power and a religion, both of which were opposed to the feelings of the majority. His abilities, however, were equal to the occasion, and his courage and self-reliance saved the cause he represented from premature extinction. After a while, he received some aid from France, in the shape of men and money; but he had a dangerous opponent in the Bulgarian and Wallachian sovereign Joannices, by whom Baldwin had been defeated, imprisoned, and possibly murdered. This savage chieftain (for he was little more) assumed in the first instance the position of a sympathiser with the oppressed and discontented Greeks; but the latter soon discovered that they had nothing to hope from a despot who, after his first successes, avowed his intention of dispeopling Thrace, destroying its cities, and removing the inhabitants into lands beyond the Danube. Dismayed at such a prospect, the Greeks besought assistance of the Emperor Henry, against whom they had risen. The Bulgarians were worsted by the Latin or Frankish army. Joannices was stabbed one night while lying in his tent; and Henry, after gaining several victories, concluded an honourable peace with the new Bulgarian monarch, and with the Greek princes of Nicæa and Epirus, with whom he had for some time been waging a destructive war. By these agreements, the Emperor relinquished some territory he had previously possessed; but the dominions which remained were sufficient to secure his dignity and power. Henry was one of the best sovereigns of the period. Himself a member of the Latin Church, he nevertheless interfered to protect his Greek subjects from the tyranny of the Papal See; but, though his efforts in this respect were not entirely unsuccessful, many of the Greek clergy, and some members of the nobility, fled to Nicæa, to avoid the persecutions from which they suffered in the Latin realm.

The Emperor Henry died at Thessalonica in 1216, after a reign of ten years. The male line of the Counts of Flanders was now extinct, and in 1217 the Latins conferred the Empire on Peter of Courtenay, Count of Auxerre, who had married Yolande, the sister of Baldwin and of Henry. This prince was destined never to receive the crown with which he had been honoured. Having crossed the Adriatic, he was arrested in Epirus by the despot of that country, and died in captivity in 1219. For many months the Latins of Constantinople were ignorant of his fate, and it was not until 1221 that they elected to the vacant throne the second son of Peter and Yolande. The reign of Robert de Courtenay was distinguished by little save misfortune. The Greeks of Nicæa and Epirus prevailed over the Latins of Constantinople, and the kingdom of Thessalonica, or Macedonia, which had been established by Boniface, Marquis of Montferrat, after the ruin of the Byzantine power, and which was in close alliance with the dominions of Robert, was successfully attacked by Theodore Angelus, the ruler of Epirus, who expelled the son and successor of Boniface in 1222, and, about 1225, possessed himself of Adrianople, despite the rivalry of the Nicæans. Robert de Courtenay died in 1228, and was succeeded by his brother, Baldwin II., who, being yet a child, was for some years simply the nominal monarch of a gradually contracting realm. The associate Emperor was John de Brienne the titular King of

Jerusalem; and this new honour he was to enjoy for life, on condition that Baldwin should marry his second daughter, and in due time succeed to the Constantinopolitan throne. John passed the earlier years of his sovereignty in apathetic reliance on the safety of his possessions, although the vigour and military ambition of John Vataces, the son-in-law and successor of Theodore Lascaris, who died in 1222, should have awakened him to a sense of danger. The new Emperor of Nicæa, in the course of a brilliant reign, extending over thirty-two years, conquered all the Asiatic possessions of the Latin Empire; and it was not until Vataces entered into an alliance with Azan, King of Bulgaria, and in 1225 besieged Constantinople by sea and land, that John de Brienne took energetic measures to defend his dominions. The attacking force was then driven back, and the associate Emperor enjoyed peace and security for the remainder of his life, which terminated in 1237.

When that event occurred, the young Emperor, Baldwin II., was moving about from court to court, soliciting aid from the Western Powers for the support of a monarchy which they had arbitrarily created. The Nicæan Emperor, Vataces, considered this a good opportunity for renewing his attacks, and Constantinople would probably have fallen in the course of a few months, had not its fate been delayed by a sudden change of policy on the part of Azan, the Bulgarian monarch. That potentate, having no longer anything to fear from the feeble Empire of the Latins, suddenly deserted his alliance with Vataces, concluded a separate peace, and formed a league with the subjects of Baldwin. The good fortune of Vataces, however, continued unchecked. His dominions spread from the Propontis to the coast of Pamphylia—a compact and considerable territory; and his influence now extended into Europe. He attacked the Bulgarians in Macedonia and Thrace, and gained so many victories that Azan broke off his alliance with the Latins, and renewed his treaty with the sovereign of Nicæa. The kingdom of Thessalonica was united to the other possessions of Vataces, who now became the greatest Christian sovereign of the East. His death occurred in 1254, and, although he was no longer young, his country could not have sustained a greater loss. Not only did he shine as a warrior; he was a liberal and intelligent politician, who developed the prosperity of his realm by the encouragement of agriculture and industry. His personal expenditure, without being mean, was regulated by a proper spirit of economy; and taxes were diminished, while, at the same time, hospitals and almshouses were founded out of the private means of the Emperor, without any encroachment on the public funds.

The successor of Vataces was his son, Theodore II., a man of good abilities and considerable cultivation, but liable to attacks of epilepsy, during which his violence was often excessive, though at other times his impulses were generous and wise. He died in 1258, after a brief and somewhat troubled reign, leaving behind him an infant son, who succeeded as John IV. The child's guardian was Michael Palæologus, whose dissimulation and hypocrisy blinded most observers to the faults of his character. He contrived to get himself appointed associate-Emperor, and the boy John, who was then only eight years of age, soon found himself relegated to the background, while Palæologus exercised all the functions of government. The ambition of the new sovereign (whose forces obtained some brilliant successes against the Epirotes) prompted him to attempt the expulsion of the Latins from Constantinople, and the restoration of the Empire which had been destroyed by the Crusaders and the Venetians. After an open attack in 1260, which failed, Palæologus strengthened his army, and improved the fortifications of the Thracian cities. In the spring of 1261 he conferred the title of Cæsar on a favourite general, named Alexius Strategopulus, and sent him across the Hellespont with a small force of cavalry and infantry. The object of the expedition was kept secret for the moment; but the people of the rugged territory between the Propontis and the Black Sea were speedily informed that the design was to recover the ancient city of Constantine from the grasp of strangers and of heretics. Numerous volunteers flocked to the standard of Alexius, whose army soon attained respectable proportions. Detaching a part from the main body, the representative of Palæologus proceeded, one night in July, towards the metropolis, planted scaling-ladders against the walls, and, with a chosen few, obtained an entrance without opposition. At the same time, one of the Greeks introduced another party by a subterranean passage into his house, whence they sallied forth, broke down the obstructions with which the Golden Gate had been blocked, and admitted their companions. In the morning, some degree of resistance was made by the Latins; but Baldwin II. basely fled on board a Venetian galley to Eubœa, and the Greeks hailed the conqueror with joyful cries of "Long life and victory to Michael and John, the august Emperors of the Romans!"

CHAPTER XXXVI.

GENGHIS KHAN AND THE MONGOLIAN CONQUESTS.

Rise of the Mongol Tartars—Their Turanian Origin—The Mongols Proper (or Moguls) of Central Asia—Early Years of Genghis Khan—"Prester John" and the Christian Missionaries—Victories of Genghis Khan over Several Tartar Tribes—Unlimited Power conferred on him—His System of Laws—Elaborate Organisation of the Army—Operations of Genghis Khan against Mogul Chieftains—Condition of China—Invasion of Cathay, or Northern China—War with the Khorasmians—Defeat and Death of the Khorasmian Sultan, Ala-eddin—Continuation of the Struggle by his Son—Escape of the Latter across the Indus—Barbarity of Genghis Khan—Withdrawal of the Mongolians from the Borders of India—Conquests of his Generals in Persia, and to the North of the Caspian—Renewed Expedition against China—Death of Genghis Khan—His Character and Tendencies as a Sovereign—Division of the Empire among his Sons—Conquest of Northern China—Use of Cannon by the Chinese—Reduction of Southern China by Kublai Khan—Enormous Extent of his Dominions—Continued Resistance of the Chinese upon the Ocean—Explorations of the Mongolians—Suppression of the Assassins by Holagou, the Grandson of Genghis—End of the Caliphate of Baghdad—The Spiritual Power transferred to Egypt—Mongolian Victories in Western Asia—Conquest of Southern Russia—Invasion of Poland and Germany, and Retirement of the Moguls from Central Europe—Devastation of Hungary—Measures of Frederick II.—The Barbarians in South-Eastern Europe—Subjection of Novgorod—Entry of the Moguls into Siberia—Collapse of their Imperial Power.

FOLLOWING the great movements of the Western World, we have for some time past been chiefly occupied with the struggles of Christianity and Mohammedanism, of Popes and Emperors, of the sacerdotal and the secular spirit. But, while these events were proceeding in Europe and the hithermost parts of Asia, a tremendous power was arising in the East—a power which at one time seemed as if it would overwhelm all the homes of civilisation in a torrent of barbarism. The Mongol Tartars, who acquired such extraordinary prominence under their great leader, Genghis Khan, were a branch of that vast Turanian race—the Hamitic or Cushite race of the Bible—whose antiquity is unrivalled in the history of the world. Long before the Semitic or Jewish family (about the twentieth century B.C.) began to develop itself as a distinct ethnographical element, a Turanian, Scythic, or Tartar population occupied the whole of Asia from the Caucasus to the Indian Ocean, and from the Mediterranean to the mouths of the Ganges. Even when brought under Semitic and Aryan subjection, the Turanian race did not lose its vitality; and the trilingual inscriptions of Behistun, in Persia, executed as late as the sixth century B.C., show that it was still considered necessary to make public announcements in a Scythian and a Semitic tongue, as well as in the Aryan language. It seems probable that the aboriginal races of India were of Turanian stock, though the people of the Hindoo peninsula have now for many ages been chiefly Aryan. These Turanians are still a very numerous progeny, for they include the Tartars (anciently Scythians), Chinese, Japanese, Siamese, Tibetans, Malays, Tungusians, Samoyedes, and other Asiatic nations, together with the Ugrians, Finns, Lapps, Magyars, and cognate races of Europe, and the Eskimo of America. Some degree of Turanian blood, largely modified, however, by Sclavonic tribes (who come within the Aryan family), may be traced in the Russians; and the original Bulgarians also belonged to the same stock, though here again the later Sclavonic element is seen to prevail.

In the annals of antiquity, we find the Turanians acquiring distinction as the founders of the Chaldæan Empire which preceded Assyria and Babylon, as the aboriginal race of Egypt, and, again, as forming an element in the population of Media. The Scythians of the ancient Greek writers, and the Huns and Tartars of the more modern times, were equally members of the immense Turanian stock, but of that nomadic division which comes under the general appellation of Mongolian, and which is widely distinguished, in many of its characteristics, from the ancient Hamitic or Cushite branches. The Chinese are the greatest of the Mongolian races, if we take the entire course of history; but more than once in the Middle Ages it seemed as if the deserts of Central Asia, by means of its conquering hordes, would permanently influence the whole world. Of all these nationalities from beyond the Caspian, the Turks have produced the most considerable and the most lasting effect on the West; but, in the early part of the thirteenth century, the Mongols Proper (more commonly called the Moguls, from a Persian or Indian corruption of the native word) sprang up into sudden power, and made gigantic and alarming strides towards an universal Empire. They were a pastoral and wandering race, leading their flocks and herds from point to point of the great grassy deserts, subsisting mainly on their domestic animals and the produce of the chase, and acquiring, in the sharp, free air of illimitable plains,

the hardihood and courage of resistless warriors. The government of their tribes was patriarchal. Each horde was controlled by a chieftain, who exercised the functions of a judge and of a military commander, and whose power, though nearly despotic, was readily obeyed by men who would never have submitted to an alien tyranny. But, in process of time, the increasing size of these communities, and the development of even such civilisation as they possessed, led to the creation of a more solid and elaborate administration, which was marked by the principal characteristics of Oriental monarchy. The appellative of a Tartar prince is Khan, a word having the same signification as King; and this was the title borne by the famous Genghis, who proved so terrible a scourge to a vast proportion of the human race.

The original name of Genghis Khan was Temujin. He was the son of Yesukai Bahâdûr, a Mongol chief who reigned over thirteen tribes, containing thirty or forty thousand families. Their seat was between the Amûr and the Great Wall of China, and they paid tribute to the Khan of Eastern Tartary.* The future conqueror was only thirteen when his father died, about the year 1177; yet he boldly assumed the government, and showed himself capable of wielding it. The greater number of the subject tribes, disdaining to be ruled by a boy, revolted, and placed themselves under another chief belonging to the same family. Temujin (as he must for the present be called) offered battle to the malcontents. The war lasted several years, and ended in the discomfiture of the youthful hero, who was forced to seek refuge at Karakorum, the capital of a monarch named Toghrul Ungh Khan, the chief of the Keraïte or Krit Tartars, who bestowed his daughter on the fugitive, and gave him the command of his armies. This sovereign was the person who, in the Middle Ages, was vaguely known to Europe as "Prester John"—a name probably derived from the corruption of Ungh into John, and a mistranslation of Khan into Presbyter, or Priest.† It was reported by the Nestorian missionaries from Mesopotamia, who in the twelfth century penetrated into Eastern Asia, and made some converts, that the ruler of the Krit Tartars had adopted the Christian faith, and taken priest's orders. Whether he had really done so is doubtful, though he certainly favoured the Nestorian strangers; but rumours of his piety, his magnificence, and his power, spread through Europe, and gave rise to numerous missionary expeditions, which, if they had no other result, added largely to our knowledge of a very remote and obscure region of the globe. The celebrated traveller, William de Rubruquis, who was sent into Tartary by Louis IX. of France, several years after the death of Toghrul Ungh, found that there had been great exaggeration with respect to the Christianising of the people; yet, for some generations, the search for Prester John—as if he had been a supernatural being, endowed with permanent life—continued to be a sort of religious knight-errantry, which gave rise to many singular adventures.

As the chief general of Toghrul Ungh, Temujin gave proof of the brilliant military genius which he possessed. He vanquished the neighbouring tribes, and became so popular with the troops that the ruler of the Krit Tartars grew jealous of him, and ordered his assassination. The design coming to his knowledge, Temujin fled to his own dominions, which, after much difficulty, he reached at the head of five thousand horsemen. This force served as the nucleus of a much larger army, which the threatened chieftain speedily raised, and with which he completely overthrew his treacherous father-in-law in 1203. Toghrul Ungh took refuge among the warriors of the Naymans, but was shortly afterwards slain. His dominions were appropriated by the conqueror, who now became one of the most powerful of Mongolian princes. But in 1204 a military league was formed against him by Tartar tribes who dreaded his superiority. The movement, however, was speedily crushed by Temujin, who, in a great action fought on the banks of the Amûr, worsted his antagonists, and killed their leader. Nearly the whole of Mongolia submitted to his rule, and the desire of unlimited conquest seems to have been kindled in his breast. During the course of 1206, he summoned a general council of the tribes, who met on the banks of the Onan, a tributary of the Amûr. There, in the midst of the vast green deserts whose pure air nourished their robustness, deputies from all the subjugated hordes of Tartary assembled with their pavilions and standards, to consider the projects of their chieftain. In the midst of the gathering, Temujin sat apart on a piece of felt, long afterwards revered as a sacred relic by the successors and countrymen of the Khan. He had great designs to unfold; but he wished first of all to impress his people with the idea of a religious mission

* The more correct way of spelling "Tartar" is "Tatar." The more usual form is derived from a pun made by Louis IX. of France, who compared the people to the inhabitants of Tartarus, or the infernal regions.

† Some other explanations have been given, which are less generally accepted. A curious account of the various legends of Prester John appears in Jeremy Collier's "Dictionary," Vol. II. 1701.

This purpose was accomplished by a famous magician, or priest, known as the Son of Heaven, who alleged that he could ascend to the skies on a white horse, and who manifested his superiority to ordinary human beings by going about in a state of primitive nakedness. The prophet now came forward, and hailed Temujin as Genghis (or Zinghis) Khan, meaning "the Khan of Khans," or "chief of the very mighty." He declared that the person so designated should rule over the whole earth; and divine authority was conferred on him

seems to have excluded from his mind all the dogmas of particular creeds, though he could use a prophet for the promotion of his ends. But amongst his subjects were men of the most diverse views. Many of the Mongols and Tartars were idolaters; others were Jews, Christians, and Mohammedans. All, however, were alike permitted to practise their religion, nor were any disabilities imposed on this account. Some of the great Khan's other provisions were of a more questionable nature. Servile labour was to be



HOUSE OF GESSLER.

to draw the sword against all who questioned his supremacy.

At this assembly of the tribes, the laws by which Genghis Khan proposed to rule his empire were advanced and sanctioned. In many respects they were distinguished by a severe and lofty spirit of justice. Death was to be the penalty for murder, adultery, perjury, and the theft of a horse or an ox, the value of which, in a pastoral and nomadic community like that of the Tartars, was necessarily very great. Physicians and priests were exempted from taxes and military service. The practice of hospitality was rendered obligatory, and a remarkable degree of religious toleration was established in the steppes of Central Asia at a time when Europe hardly understood the term. Genghis Khan himself was a pure Theist, who

entirely performed by slaves, so that the dominant race might give itself wholly to the pursuit of war—a very dangerous provision for the repose and independence of other nations. It was laid down as an inflexible rule that peace should never be granted without previous conquest and submission; and in every respect the profession of the soldier was exalted above all others. For their more efficient organisation, the troops were divided into bodies of hundreds, thousands, and tens of thousands. The soldiers and officers were made individually responsible for each other's safety and conduct, and the highest sense of military honour was exhorted and enforced. Bows, scimitars, and iron maces were to be the weapons of Mongolian warfare. The chase was regulated, as well as the conduct of hostilities; for, to the tribes of the desert, the



M TELL IN THE MARKET-PLACE OF ALTDORF.

chase is one of the chief means of life. The future election of the Khan was also settled, and it was decreed that, on a vacancy, the new prince should be chosen by the heads of tribes, and other persons of distinction.

Not long after the great council on the banks of the Onan, an agricultural people called the Eighurs, inhabiting the country at the sources of the Hoang-Ho and the Yang-tse-Kiang, gave in their adhesion to Genghis Khan. The civilisation of these Buddhist tribes was much superior to that of their neighbours, who acquired from them a knowledge of writing, and adopted their characters, but not their language. The grand ambition of Genghis Khan was to conquer China and the whole of Southern Asia; but, before he could set out on his expedition, he was obliged to enter the field against some Mogul chiefs who rejected his authority. It took four years to subdue their numerous hordes; but at length, in 1210, when he had reached the age of forty-six, Genghis Khan directed his armies towards the south. China was at that time divided into two dominions—the northern and the southern. The northern was known as Khitai, and is familiar to European readers as the golden realm of Cathay, mentioned by Marco Polo and other old travellers, and famous in poetry and romance as a land of wonders. The second was called Mangi by the Oriental geographers. From the year 184 of the Christian era, when it was split into three sovereignties, China had pursued a various, but not very striking, career down to the early part of the thirteenth century. Sometimes united in one great Empire, sometimes divided among contending factions, the country had fulfilled an important part in the general course of Eastern affairs, without furnishing the remote West with many events of general interest. One of such events was the arrival in China, during the first half of the seventh century, of some Nestorian Christians, a stone monument executed by whom has been found, in more recent times, at Shen-si. The northern parts of the Empire were frequently devastated by Tartar hordes, who found an entrance notwithstanding the Great Wall. Yet, in spite of all these troubles, both within and without, the peculiar civilisation of China—quiet, thoughtful, and industrious—continued to make whatever progress is compatible with so conservative a people. Philosophy and literature, according to the ideas of the extreme East, were cultivated in the great Empire, or Empires, which stretched towards the Pacific. The art of printing from wood-blocks was discovered by the Chinese about the middle of the tenth Christian century; books were multiplied to an extraordinary degree; and the people had become a nation of professors, rather than a nation of warriors, when Genghis Khan led his numerous and disciplined forces against the northern kingdom.

The Mogul tribes had for some time been tributary to the dominion of Cathay; but when, in 1210, Yong-tsi, one of the dynasty of Kin, who had just ascended the throne, sent an officer to demand the usual payment from Genghis Khan, the latter haughtily refused compliance, and prepared for an invasion of Northern China. The Great Wall was scaled in 1211, and a torrent of barbarian soldiers poured into the valleys of Cathay. Ninety cities were taken, numerous towns and villages were burned, and thousands of people were massacred. The Emperor was obliged to purchase peace by presenting the conqueror with five hundred youths and maidens, three thousand horses, and a large tribute in gold and silk, together with the hand of his daughter. It is said that, before departing, Genghis Khan ordered all the children he had taken to be massacred; and what is known of his character on other occasions makes the statement but too probable. War again broke out three years later, by which time the Chinese Emperor had moved farther to the south, in the hope of avoiding his terrible antagonist. Genghis Khan, however, tracked him to his retreat, and laid siege, either to the great city of Pekin (the Cambalu of the old travellers and romancers), or to the ancient capital, Yen-king, which, after being reduced to the utmost extremity by famine, was stormed and fired by the Moguls in 1215. The five northern provinces of China passed under the sway of the resistless Mongolian, whose territories thus acquired an immense extension. His supremacy, however, was still threatened by rebellious tribes, and the conqueror of China was suddenly called back to Tartary, to resist a formidable combination headed by Gutchluk, son of the chief of the Naymans, who had established his authority over the neighbouring hordes.

Advancing against these confederates with a large force, Genghis Khan overthrew them near the sources of the Yenisei; but Gutchluk had previously retired into Turkistan, the north-western limits of which were on the Sea of Aral. Thither he was followed by the Mongolian hosts, who, triumphing in every encounter, at length found themselves in the vicinity of Khorasmia, or Karisme, a Seljukian monarchy which had risen into power and importance on the overthrow of the Persian Seljuks in 1194. When Genghis Khan arrived on the borders of this Empire (the Khiva

of modern geographers, so far as its nucleus was concerned), the ruling prince was Ala-eddin Mohammed, whose dominions touched the borders of Syria in one direction, and the river Indus in the opposite; thus including both Persia and Afghanistan. The Khorasmian sovereign had demanded of the reigning Caliph permission to reside at Baghdad as the secular Emir, which would have conferred on him all but the religious authority of the State; but the petition was refused. Fearing the enmity of Mohammed, and having good reason to dread his power, the Commander of the Faithful (who was now little more than the sacerdotal head of Islam, or rather of the Sunnite division of the Mohammedan world) sent an ambassador to Genghis Khan, to implore his assistance against any possible attack. The Mongolian sovereign did not consider it prudent to draw the sword upon a powerful ruler, with whom at that time he had no cause of quarrel; but a pretext for war was not long in arising. Some Mongolian ambassadors and merchants were treacherously slaughtered at Otrar, a town on the Jaxartes, and within the dominions of Mohammed. Having now a reasonable excuse for hostilities, Genghis Khan despatched his eldest son, Jûjy, or Touschi, at the head of an immense force of cavalry, into the dominions of the Khorasmian Sultan. The Tartar allies of Mohammed were swept aside, and in 1219 a great battle was fought with the Sultan himself near the banks of the Jaxartes. The issue of the encounter was doubtful; but Mohammed, fearing to risk a second contest, withdrew to the remoter parts of his dominions, leaving strong garrisons in all the fortified towns. Jûjy, advancing into the heart of the country, captured and pillaged Samarcand, Bokhara, and all the other important cities of Transoxiana, Khorasmia, and Khorassan; and Mohammed, flying before the face of the destroyer, reached a desert island in the Caspian, where he died in 1221. It was this invasion of Khorasmia which, some years afterwards, drove large bodies of the people into Egypt, and led to the events described in a previous chapter.

The struggle was continued by Gelaleddin, who for a time checked the progress of the invaders, but was unable to retrieve the fortunes of his Empire. Retreating towards the east, and often turning to confront the enemy, whom he encountered in many desperate battles, he at length gained the banks of the Indus, where, finding himself in imminent danger of being crushed by superior numbers, he spurred his horse into the stream, and with difficulty reached the opposite shore. In the meanwhile, Genghis Khan (who had by this time marched in person against the Khorasmian) stood on the western bank, astonished to see the horse and his master breasting so swift and furious a stream, especially when the fugitive, stopping in the middle of the river, discharged a whole quiverful of arrows against the Mogul hosts. Several of the officers would have followed him across the Indus; but Genghis Khan forbade them, and, turning to some of his children by whom he was accompanied, exclaimed, "Any son might wish to spring from such a father." Notwithstanding this generous admission of his adversary's heroism, Genghis Khan ordered all the Sultan's male children to be killed. The better qualities of the Mongolian conqueror were frequently overridden or obscured by the savage instincts of his nature. After he had subdued the northern provinces of China, he contemplated an act of the most stupendous and even unparalleled atrocity. He proposed to slaughter all the inhabitants of Cathay, that the vacant land might be converted into pasturage for cattle. From this crime he was turned aside by a famous Chinese Mandarin, who, probably feeling that his best appeal would be to the interest rather than the humanity of the victor, represented to him that the four provinces then at his mercy might be made to produce every year 500,000 ounces of silver, 400,000 measures of rice, and 800,000 pieces of silk. But, although Genghis Khan was appeased on that occasion, there were others when his appetite for blood was fully satiated. He is said to have caused the death, during the whole of his career, of five or six millions of human beings; and it is certain that many of these persons were despatched in cold blood, after the surrender of cities which had resisted to the utmost.

After the escape of Gelaleddin, the troops of Genghis Khan, like those of Alexander in the same quarter of the world, murmured at their prolonged fatigues, and objected to being carried any farther from their native lands. The greater number of the conqueror's troops were not natives of Mongolia Proper, but Tartars and Turks collected from various parts of Central Asia—kindred races, it is true, but tribes which may not have cared to follow an alien Sultan on expeditions which seemed to have no visible limit or fixed object. Yielding to their solicitations, Genghis Khan turned his face from the sultry plains of India, and, taking with him the enormous spoils which had been collected during many years of warfare, retraced his foot steps in the direction of the north-eastern deserts. Some remorse for his inhuman actions seems at this period to have touched his mind. He declared his

intention of rebuilding the cities which his armies had destroyed; but it does not appear that the design was ever carried out. Indeed, the intoxication of military success left the Mongolian hero little time, and little disposition, to engage in works of peace. In 1224 he returned to his capital, Karakorum, after an absence of seven years, distinguished by extraordinary events and almost unqualified success. He had the good fortune to be served by lieutenants whose genius was equal to his own; and the enormous extension of his Empire was due in no small degree to the enterprise of his son Jûjy, and of his other commanders. While he himself was operating against Gelaleddin on the banks of the Indus, two of his generals had conquered Persian Irak. Being directed to subdue the province of Azerbijan, they reduced Ardebil and Tauris, and defeated a body of Georgians who ventured to oppose their progress. Their forces afterwards penetrated through the gates of Derbend, crossed the Volga and the neighbouring desert, and, passing round the Caspian Sea—a feat of unparalleled daring and labour—re entered Persia from the north.

Age was now coming upon the Mongolian leader; but his restless ambition allowed him only a short period of repose. The entire conquest of China was still the object dearest to his heart, and, having recruited his forces, he conducted them across the great desert of Kobi, or Gobi, to the kingdom of Tangut, lying to the north-west of China. Nin-hia, the capital, was besieged by his armies, and the King promised to capitulate at the end of a month. Before the expiration of that brief period, the career of Genghis Khan was terminated by death. He expired on the 24th of August, 1227, worn out by incessant toil and the responsibilities of his enormous Empire. To the generals of the army who surrounded his death-bed, he declared his fourth son regent until the arrival of an elder brother, Octai. The ruling passion of his life burned keenly to the last. He exhorted his lieutenants to pursue without delay the subjugation of the Chinese Empire, and gave strict injunctions that the King of Tangut, and all the inhabitants of Nin-hia, should be massacred, although the surrender of the city had been already accepted. The death of the great conqueror took place on the mountain Lu-pan, in the province of Shen-si, whither he had gone to avoid the summer heats, and his body was buried under a large tree which he had indicated as the place of his future sepulture. The character of this extraordinary soldier would have stood out more fairly from the records of Eastern Asia had his really splendid qualities been less injured by the greed of military success. We have seen that many of his laws were liberal and intelligent, and his powers of administration will appear remarkable, if we consider that he had to rule over a vast number of scattered and antagonistic tribes, inhabiting an immense extent of mountainous and desert country, to which his sword had added a number of ancient States and Empires, which cannot have regarded him with any feeling of good-will. His dominions at the time of his death reached from the Volga to the Pacific, and from Siberia to the Persian Gulf; yet the whole of this discordant mass was governed with so firm and resolute a hand that murder, robbery, and outrage were entirely suppressed,—though perhaps by processes hardly to be distinguished from the crimes which they controlled. A system of postal communication, similar to that of the old Persian monarchs, was established throughout the Empire, and justice was administered with impartiality, if with sternness. Genghis Khan is stated to have had a respect for men of learning; but undoubtedly the chief element in his character was that passion for military glory which is one of the worst evils that afflict the human race.

The vast possessions of Genghis Khan were divided amongst his three principal sons. His third son, Octai, was appointed Grand Khan, and succeeded to the hereditary possessions forming the country now called Mongolia, together with Northern China, as far as the mouth of the Amûr. The second son, Zagatai, had Turkistan north of the river Jeyhûn; while the eldest son, Jûjy, received Kiptchâk, and all the country west and north of Turkistan—an immense region of the north, extending vaguely towards the Frozen Ocean. The nearer of the two Chinese Empires, which had been partially subdued by Genghis Khan, was entirely conquered seven years after his death. Driven out of his former capital, the Chinese Emperor fixed his residence at Kaifong, a city of extraordinary size and vast population. But the tide of his ill-fortune was checked for only a little while, and in a few years he was compelled once more to fly. He escaped with seven horsemen for his companions, and endeavoured once more to make a stand in a third city of his rapidly-contracting dominions. Here, however, he was again worsted in 1234, and, having ascended a funeral pile, stabbed himself, after giving directions that fire should be set to the materials he had collected. The Moguls continued to overrun the country; city after city was captured, though often at the cost of prolonged labour, and of many lives; and myriads of inoffensive Chinese

were sacrificed to the ambition of the barbarians. During the progress of this destructive war, the Chinese, when besieged in Kaifong in 1232, used cannon against their enemies. This, however, is not remarkable, since there can be no question that both the Chinese and the Indians were acquainted with the composition and properties of gunpowder from a much earlier period. Ancient Sanskrit writings make allusion to some species of missile which was in all probability projected from cannon. The soldiers of Alexander the Great suffered from fiery discharges from the ramparts of towns, and the Great Wall of China is pierced with small holes (apparently made during the original construction), similar to those now used in Europe for the swivels of guns.

Southern China, which maintained its resistance to the strangers for a much longer period than the north, was finally reduced by the celebrated Kublai Khan, a grandson of Genghis Khan through his fourth son. He arrived there in 1260, and soon established himself as an independent prince, who gained the affection of the native Chinese by adopting their habits and ideas, by encouraging men of letters, and by paying peculiar honour to the memory of their former monarchs. In 1279, he extended his power still farther south, and, after conquering the whole of China, founded a new dynasty, which is called that of Yuen. Having already succeeded to the other possessions of the Moguls, his dominions were now bounded by the Arctic Ocean on the north, and the Straits of Malacca on the south,—by the Corea on the east, and Asia Minor on the west. No such stupendous territory has ever been brought under the sway of any other ruler; but Kublai was the last Khan whose authority was recognised over all the countries subdued by the Mongolian sword. He was a man of ability and judgment, and his court was attended by the greatest scholars of India, Persia, and Transoxiana. This mighty sovereign of the east was visited by Marco Polo, and is known to English readers chiefly through the writings of that travelled Venetian, and by the marvellous poem of Coleridge, with which he was inspired in the trances of an opium dream. Xanadu, the palace of the Emperor, is said by the old travellers to have been a perfect square, each side of which extended eight miles in length. Within this enclosure was another, whose sides were six miles long, and within that a third, of four miles square, which was the palace itself. Between the walls were parks, orchards, fish-ponds, forests, and chases for the hunting of game. This was the "stately pleasure-dome" which Kublai Khan "decreed," according to our English poet; and, although the dimensions seem exaggerated, it is highly probable that the conqueror of China housed himself after the superb and dominant fashion of most Eastern potentates.

When the last Emperor of the Chinese dynasty of Song surrendered to the irresistible Mongolian, he struck the ground nine times with his forehead, in gratitude for the mercy which spared his life, but sent him an exile into Tartary. The struggle was still continued on the sea; but in 1279 the native fleet was surrounded and overpowered by the more numerous vessels of the Moguls, and vast numbers of the Chinese, imitating the example of their leader, leaped overboard, and perished in the waves. There was now no further opposition to the Mongolian Khan; and in the latter years of his life he formed a scheme for the conquest of Japan. Fortune, however, this time deserted him. His fleet was shipwrecked twice, and a hundred thousand Moguls and Chinese lost their lives in an attempt which was doomed to irremediable failure. Kublai Khan then turned his arms against Mantchuria, which he succeeded in conquering; and the kingdoms of Corea, Tonquin, Cochin China, Pegu, Bengal, and Tibet, were at various times reduced to some degree of obedience. With a fleet of one thousand ships, Kublai Khan explored the Indian Ocean, and it is not improbable that his mariners reached the Isle of Borneo. The chieftain of that insular territory, however, evaded all attempts to capture him, and the naval forces of the Khan returned without accomplishing the principal object of their expedition. The greatest of the Mongolian Emperors died at Pekin in 1294, leaving behind him an unwieldy realm, which speedily broke up into many separate dominions.

Another remarkable descendant of Genghis Khan was the prince called Holagou, the brother of Kublai and of Mangou. By the latter of these sovereigns, Holagou was sent into Persia to act as his viceroy, and, on assuming the government in 1250, took active measures against the sect of the Assassins, who were nearly extirpated by his arms. Bursting into the hill-forts of Persia in 1256, Holagou slaughtered vast numbers of these wretches, and destroyed their strongholds. The Syrian branch of the association was not put down until near the end of the thirteenth century, and from time to time the evil showed itself again in various parts of Western Asia. But this terrible league of blood never regained its former power after the furious onslaught of Holagou, and the fact must be remembered to the credit of a violent and despotic ruler. Still more noticeable among

the achievements of Holagou was the extinction of the Baghdad Caliphate. After the ruin of the Seljukians of Khorasmia, whose power was shattered by the successes of Genghis Khan, the Abbassides recovered their former dominion over



TARTAR HORSE SOLDIER.

the capital itself, together with the adjacent territory of Irak Arabi. But a power that had been so long held in suspense, and had lost its claim on the obedience of men, was incapable of renewed vitality; and Mostasem, the last of the Caliphs, was a man wholly wanting in the ability to commence a new dominion. Indolent and sensual in his habits, he passed the greater portion of his time in the seraglio, while the several factions of Baghdad disputed on theological niceties which were equally incapable of saving the State, or of benefiting any human soul.

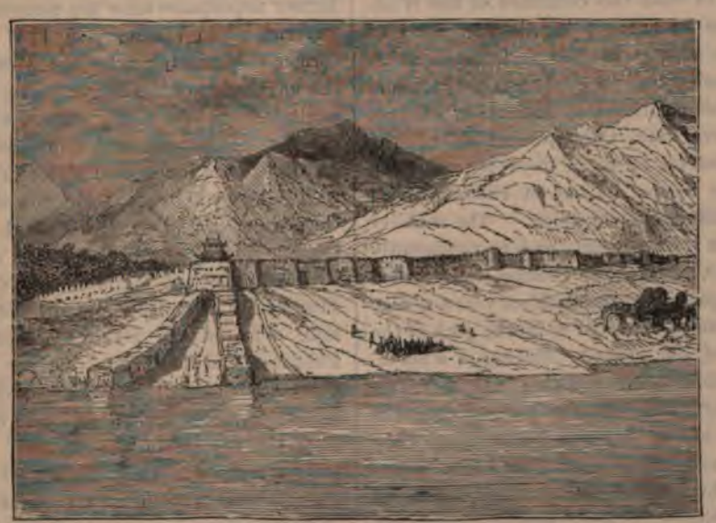
Mostasem had been reigning eighteen years when, in 1258, news arrived that Holagou was approaching at the head of his Mongolian troops. The feeble Caliph declared that the throne of the Abbassides was founded on the divine decree, and that his foes would assuredly be destroyed in this world and the next. Who, he asked, was this

ou, who dared to rise against him? If he for forgiveness, he must at once quit the territory which he had violated by his arms. Vizier of Mostasem flattered him with the erous assurance the barbarians, tering the city indeed, they eded so far— be over- ned by the n and children showers of ging stones. ou, however, ot to be deterred y consideration espect for the sor of Moham- It is said that d received nu- s petitions against the Caliph, particularly a great astrologer named Nasireddin Tousi; y rate, he had permission from his brother overeign prince, angou Khan, to make war ostasem, and even received some additional



MONGOL TYPES.

appear; but it is obvious that the Moguls, even when nominally of the Mohammedan faith, had very little reverence for its traditions, or for its visible head. From the Tartarian deserts they brought with them the habits of savages and the instincts of idolaters; and the refined Monotheism of the Arabian Prophet may have been almost an affront to their grosser and more grovelling natures. In the year 656 of the Hejira, corresponding to 1258 of the Christian era, the Caliphate of Baghdad —which, however indirectly, represented the religious sovereignty of Mohammed himself— came to a violent and bloody close in the person of his fifty-sixth successor. But the power still survived, though in another seat. An uncle of Mostasem went to Egypt in 1261, and renewed the Caliphate



THE GREAT WALL OF CHINA.

to aid in the attack. Arriving before Bagh- Holagou laid siege to that famous city, and, a delay of two months, stormed and sacked ncient capital of the Saracenic Empire. Many ands of the people were slain in cold blood, he Caliph himself was put to death by the eror. What were his offences does not clearly as a spiritual power. Beneath the domes of Cairo it lasted until the year 1517, when the Turkish Sultan Selim vanquished the Mamelukes, carried away the last representative of the Abbasside Caliphs, and, extorting from him the scimitar, standard, and mantle of the Prophet, acquired the spiritual chieftainship which is still retained by Turkey.

Whether Holagou had any designs against the cities of Mecca and Medina, it is impossible to say; but the intervening deserts formed a sufficient protection to those holy spots. Nevertheless, the Moguls crossed the Tigris and the Euphrates, sacked Aleppo and Damascus, and even talked of joining the Franks in the delivery of Jerusalem, which, had they ever appeared there, they would doubtless have treated in the same barbarous fashion as other cities. The tide of invasion afterwards turned in a northern direction. The Moguls entered the Christian kingdom of Armenia, the ruler of which even solicited their alliance against the Mohammedans. Anatolia, or Asia Minor, was also invaded by Holagou, who encountered some resistance from Azzeddin, the Sultan of Iconium; but, being at length worsted, the Seljukian monarch sought refuge in Constantinople, abandoning a miserable remnant of his power, which, in 1272, was still further reduced by the Khans. This was after the death of Holagou, who expired in 1265, bequeathing the viceroyalty—or, perhaps, rather the sovereignty—to his son.

The reign of Octai, the son of Genghis Khan, was distinguished by some remarkable events. Having completed the conquest of Northern China, he determined to visit the countries of the West. For this purpose he brought together an army of 1,500,000 men, chiefly Moguls and Tartars. A third of the number was selected from the rest, and placed under the command of his nephew, Batou, who reigned over the countries north of the Caspian. A festival of forty days preceded the march, and the troops set out in 1235, with all the ardour of the conquering spirit. The rapidity of their progress was so great, and so persistently maintained, that, if we may believe the recorded facts, they compassed, in less than six years, ninety degrees of longitude, equal to a fourth part of the circumference of our globe.* Moving in a north-westerly direction, and crossing the broadest rivers, either by swimming, by passing over the ice, or by the use of leathern boats which they carried with them, these invincible barbarians—who swept aside all obstacles by the imperious and devouring energy of their natures—at length reached the banks of the Danube, after destroying all the independent governments that stood in their way, whether on the plains of Turkistan, or amongst the hills and mountains of the Caucasian range. The eastern parts of Europe soon experienced the fury of their attacks. Russia was at that time torn by civil discords, and the want of settled rule opened the country to the assaults of the stranger. A body of Tartars, called the Golden Horde, laid waste whole provinces, and took possession of the government. Kief and Moscow were destroyed by fire. Fear of the advancing myriads oppressed the populations of Sweden and Friesland, who in the year 1238 forbore, from this cause alone, to send their ships to the herring-fisheries on the coast of England, and thus reduced the price of those fish to an unparalleled degree: a remarkable instance of cause and effect, operating through a long intermediate chain. For more than two centuries and a half, Russia was held in vassalage by the Moguls and Tartars who established themselves at Kiptchâk, in the south-eastern parts of the country. The immense plains between the Caspian and the Volga were overspread by their countless numbers, and the residence of the Khans was fixed on the banks of that great river which runs through the heart of European Russia, and descends into the sea at Astrakhan. The interior of the country still remained under the rule of native princes; but they were usually nominated by the Khans, who of course appointed such as would be most favourable to their own interests. Kief had declined from its former importance after the removal of the seat of government to Vladimir, in 1157; and when the former city was taken by the Mongolians in 1239, the navigation of the Borysthenes, or Dnieper, was neglected by the Russian princes, who, isolated from the rest of Europe, and depressed by their misfortunes, were reduced to abject submission.

Having established their power in Russia, the warriors of Batou entered Poland, and afterwards Germany, destroyed the cities of Lublin and Cracow, attacked Olmutz (which, however, was successfully defended), and, in the battle of Liegnitz, defeated the Dukes of Silesia, the Polish Palatines, and the Grand Master of the Teutonic Order. Although the Christian allies were worsted on this occasion, their defeat was more honourable than the success of the enemy. It is said that their army did not exceed 30,000 men, and that the barbarians counted no fewer than 450,000. Without placing any great reliance on these figures, we may reasonably assume that the preponderance was vastly on the side of the Moguls. The fight lasted two days, and, although the Poles and Germans were forced to retreat, the Mongolian hordes had experienced an amount of resistance which checked any further advance towards the west. They acknowledged the gallantry of their adversaries by calling them "men of iron;" and, laden with nine sacks, filled with the right ears of

* Gibbon's Decline and Fall, chap. 64.

the slain, turned towards the south-east, and carried their devastating arms into Hungary. In every direction their advance was heralded by the terror they inspired. Their mis-shapen bodies and hideous physiognomies gave them the appearance of a diabolical race. Their diet was reported to consist of rats and garbage; and the unrelenting ferocity with which they fired cities, and killed men, women, and children, made them objects of a panic fear which can hardly be blamed. In Hungary, however, some degree of incredulity prevailed as to the imminence of the threatened danger. The people of that country ought rather to have remembered the very similar achievements of their own ancestors in the tenth century; but it was not until the Mongolian columns had surmounted the Carpathians that Bela IV. took measures of protection. The monarch was unpopular, owing to his having settled, in various parts of his dominions, forty thousand families of Komans, a barbarian race, whose loyalty could not be trusted. In the hour of trial, they rose against the Hungarian monarch, on the pretext of some ill-treatment which had involved the death of their chieftain. The Hungarian defence was thus weakened at the very moment when it was chiefly needed. The country was rapidly subdued; cities and churches were destroyed; and an immense slaughter of the people diminished their future chances of resistance. A number of fugitives were allured from the forests, under a promise of mercy, only that they might be slain in cold blood, as soon as they had reaped the harvest, and gathered in the vintage. Bela fled to the islands of the Adriatic; and so complete was the devastation of Hungary, that, of all her cities and fortresses, only three remained untouched.

Yielding to the general sense of apprehension, the Roman Pontiff sent a number of Franciscan and Dominican friars to convert the Mongolians; but their Khan asserted a divine commission to subdue and exterminate the nations, and even threatened the Pope with death, unless he presented himself as a suppliant. These events occurred during the reign of the German sovereign, Frederick II.; and to his practical mind it seemed imperative that the danger should be met by a military combination of European monarchs. A German army was sent against the invaders while they were besieging the city of Neustadt, in Austria, which, although defended by only fifty knights and twenty cross-bowmen, offered a stubborn resistance. When the relieving forces appeared, the Mongolians raised the siege, and, after desolating the whole of Servia, Bosnia, and Bulgaria, retreated towards the Volga in 1245. Their commander, Batou, had received intelligence of the death of Octai, and this seems to have determined his withdrawal from the West. He took up his quarters in the city and palace of Serai, which, before his recent enterprise, he had founded in the deserts near the Caspian Sea; but, a few years later, undertook another European expedition, the object of which was to attack Constantinople. Had this enterprise been carried out, it is probable that the great capital would have yielded, like so many others, to the Mongolian arms; but Batou died on the way, and his brother Borga, abandoning the original design, invaded Bulgaria and Thrace, and then, turning northwards, made his way to the Russian city of Novgorod, where, having taken a census of the inhabitants, he determined the tribute which was to be paid by Russia. Novgorod, which is situated on the river Volkhof, a hundred and twenty miles south-east of St. Petersburg, had acquired importance as a free State about a hundred years before the expedition of Borga. It was a commercial city, self-governed, and forming a veritable republic in the midst of communities little accustomed to the ways of freedom. In the year 1250, the Novgorodians obtained such important victories over the Swedes on the banks of the Neva, and established so predominating a power in the North, that the people gave expression to their pride in the presumptuous phrase, "Who can resist God and the Great Novgorod?" Yet it must have been shortly after their Swedish triumphs that these vaunting citizens found themselves unable to withstand the brother of Batou.

The rage of conquest by which the Mongolians were inspired, and which was almost the only faculty they possessed in any marked degree, seemed at one time as if it would not be satiated until the whole of the known world had acknowledged a barbarian yoke. Even the forbidding regions of Northern Asia, the snowy deserts of Siberia itself, were invaded by their restless hordes. In 1242, Sheibani Khan, a second brother of Batou, led an immense body of military emigrants into those distant wilds. His descendants reigned at Tobolsk until the Russian conquest, more than three centuries later; and their love of enterprise prompted them to pursue the channels of the Obi and the Yenesei until they terminated in the Arctic Ocean. Quoting a narrative given by the Italian traveller, Carpini, Gibbon observes that the Moguls of the thirteenth century were informed of the name and manners of the Samoyedes, who dwelt in subterranean huts in the neighbourhood of the Polar circle. This marvellous

race—marvellous if only for the boundless energy of its temperament—had diffused itself over the greater part of Asia and Europe within a generation of the death of Genghis Khan. But, with all their vehemence and enterprise, their unfailing courage and conspicuous military endowments, the Moguls had not the genius to found a permanent Empire, such as might have changed the fortunes of the world. For a little while, the conquests of the Mongolian hordes were combined under the general direction of Kublai Khan; but the union did not endure longer than his life. The Empire was first divided into a number of large kingdom; these were again subdivided; and the supremacy of the desert hordes was dissipated by that process of violent separation which has destroyed so many other dominions. In 1367, the dynasty of Yuen, which Kublai had established in China, was expelled by a revolt of the people; and, although the military genius of the Mongolians was again illustrated by the astonishing career of Timour, this renovated splendour was but the passing glare of a meteor. By that time, the great body of the Moguls had embraced the Mohammedan faith; and those of the East, who had adopted the principles of Confucius or the practices of idolatry, were disavowed as persons no longer affiliated to the race of Genghis.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

THE EASTERN EMPIRE AND THE OTTOMAN TURKS.

Michael VIII. (Palæologus), Emperor of Constantinople—His Entry into the Capital—Cruel Treatment of the Child John IV.—Melancholy Condition of Constantinople—Extravagance and Tyranny of Michael—Agreement with the Genoese—Subsequent Rupture, and Treaty with Venice—Privileges Granted to the Venetians—Establishment of a Genoese Factory at Heraclea, and afterwards at Galata—Religious Condition of the Empire—Proposals of Michael VIII. for Union with the Church of Rome—Interdiction of the Emperor from Religious Rites by the Patriarch Arsenius—Dissensions between Arsenius and the Emperor—The Sect of the Arsenites—Submission of the Greek Church to that of Rome—Opposition of Many of the Greek Prelates, and Popular Dissatisfaction—Conspiracy, Revolt, and War—Death of Michael VIII.—Rise of the Ottoman Turks—End of the Khorasmian Empire—The Seljukian Turks Supported by Ertoghrul, Founder of the Ottoman Power—Achievements of Othman and his Son Orchan—Conquest of Bithynia—Reign and Character of Andronicus II., Emperor of Constantinople—Dissolution of the Union with Rome—Power of the Greek Church—Andronicus and the Patriarchate—The Revenge of Athanasius—Arrival of the Catalans in the Greek Empire—The Adventurer, Roger de Flor—Military Action of the Catalans in Asia Minor—Assassination of De Flor—Outbreak of Hostilities between the Catalans and the Greek Emperor—Retirement of the Former from Constantinople—Troubles with the Turks, and Disruption of the Greek Dominions.

Had Michael VIII., the first of the Palæologi, possessed a genius equal to his ambition, he might really have become what he desired to be considered—the second founder of Constantinople, and the restorer of the Eastern Empire. There were still some materials on which a great administrator could work: a dominion of considerable dimensions, a capable and intelligent people, and the long traditions of an old renown. But the policy of the new Emperor was despotic and avaricious, and the funds that were obtained by extortion were squandered in extravagance. It must be admitted, however, that he had a difficult task before him when the victory of Alexius Strategopulus, and the flight of Baldwin II., placed the Imperial capital at his disposal. For fifty-seven years Constantinople had been in foreign possession, and the spirit of the citizens had been broken down by an alien occupation and an uncongenial faith. The decrepitude of the State had set in long before, and recent events were not of a nature to arrest the downward tendency. The political character of the Greeks had become so fossilised by years of mechanical devotion to established precedents, that it was extremely doubtful whether it had the power to commence a new life with any prospect of success. It seemed as if the old seat of European civilisation—the south-east of our continent—had become thoroughly outworn, and the vivifying power had passed to lands farther to the north and to the west. Yet the wonderful administrative organisation of the Empire still survived, and for nearly two centuries longer maintained, through many slow gradations of decay, the semblance of a mighty dominion, even when the national life had fled.

While Strategopulus was operating against Constantinople itself, Michael Palæologus was encamped at Meteorion with a body of troops which he supposed would be necessary for besieging the capital. He had not anticipated that the city would be taken so easily, and was astonished when

a report reached him in the course of the night that the object of the expedition had been attained. A courier arrived at daybreak, bringing with him the crown, sceptre, and sword which Baldwin had abandoned in his flight; and Michael would have made his entry into the metropolis at once, but for the formalities which Byzantine customs imperatively demanded. The result was that, although the city was taken on the night of July 25th, 1261, the Emperor did not march in until the 15th of August. Strategopulus subsequently made a triumphal procession through the streets, after the manner of a Roman conqueror, and in due time Michael was crowned beneath the dome of St. Sophia. One of the earliest acts of his reign was marked by great atrocity, though of a nature not at all unusual in Byzantine history. The child John IV., the rightful Emperor of Nicæa, and now, by conquest, of Constantinople and its possessions, was dethroned and blinded on Christmas Day, 1261, less than half a year after Michael's great success; and the unhappy boy was then confined in a fortress. It was to the credit of the Patriarch, Arsenius, that, although not supported by the other prelates, he interdicted the offender from all religious rites. Michael, making a virtue of necessity, admitted the justice of his sentence, and requested that his penance might be fixed. But he revenged himself with cruelty on all who expressed sympathy with the deposed sovereign; and an insurrection among the mountaineers of Bithynia, which was not put down without extreme difficulty, showed how deeply-seated was the sense of John's affliction and of Michael's crime.

When the Imperial city was regained, it presented a melancholy spectacle of devastation and ruin. Repeated conflagrations, spreading over vast areas, had swept away most of the grand palaces, mansions, churches, and other sumptuous buildings, which at one time gave such dignity to the Eastern capital. The remains of these edifices still cumbered the ground; and even where the destruction had been less complete, the mournful evidences of neglect were everywhere visible. The Franks, who knew little of the machinery of government, had allowed the sanitary condition of the city to degenerate, and large accumulations of filth had collected in the squares and porticoes. The population of Constantinople had by this time greatly diminished; the citizens were impoverished and dispirited; and the proud metropolis of the Bosphorus was no longer a centre for the commerce of Europe and Asia. Michael Palæologus did something towards the repair of all this mischief; but his efforts were for the most part ill-directed. Trade was not fostered; roads and bridges were not restored; the army and navy received little attention; the fortresses were left unstrengthened, excepting the walls of Constantinople. The great city was to some extent repeopled by Greeks, and a few useful works were executed. But the Emperor inspired general distrust by his wasteful expenditure on palaces and churches that were not needed, and on officers of State who made the general misery all the more apparent; by the severity of his exactions; and by his disregard of private interests, as shown in a serious depreciation of the coinage. All the property within the walls of Constantinople was seized by him, on the plea that it had passed to the State by the right of conquest, though it was as a liberator, and not as as invader, that Michael had crossed the Straits. The noble and powerful received back their possessions; those whom the Emperor desired to conciliate were similarly favoured; but the humble were left without compensation. In the meanwhile, the Genoese obtained the commerce of the Euxine, and engrossed the largest part of the carrying trade of the Eastern Empire.*

It had been part of the Emperor's policy to encourage the Genoese, as a counterpoise to the Venetians, who were the allies of the Western Crusaders in their attacks on Constantinople. Before making his renewed assault on that city, Michael had signed a treaty with the Republic of Genoa, by which he granted to the citizens of that State several commercial privileges, while both parties bound themselves to carry on war with Venice. The Emperor, in the event of his success on the Bosphorus, was to put the Genoese in possession of the palace, castle, church, and domain then held by the Venetians; and the Genoese, on their side, were to furnish the Emperor with a fleet to assist him in the reduction of the Byzantine capital. Pope Gregory IX., in 1238, had favoured the conclusion of a convention binding the Republics of Genoa and Venice not to ally themselves with the Nicæan Emperor, except by mutual consent; and the understanding between the Genoese and the Emperor Michael Palæologus, concluded in 1261, brought the former into bad repute at Rome, where they were regarded as little better than heretics. Michael now fulfilled the stipulations of the treaty, confiscated the property of the Venetians, and conferred on their rivals the palace they had formerly occupied. Nevertheless, he granted to the Venetian traders in his dominions, and also to the Pisans, legal

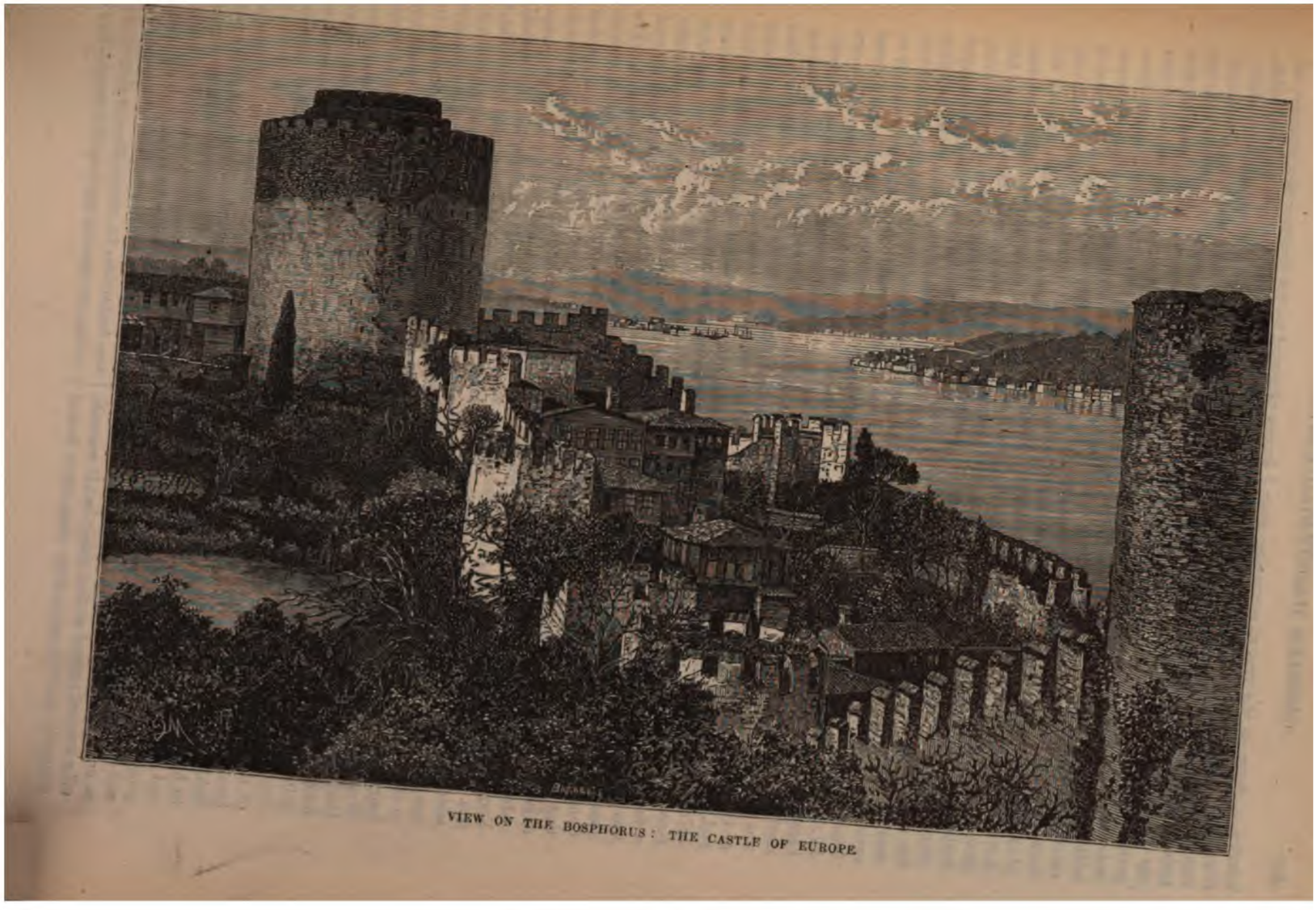
* Finlay's History of Greece, Book IV., chap. 2.

protection in the pursuit of their commerce; but this provoked the anger of the Genoese, who were again at war with the Venetians, and whose violence and haughtiness were experienced equally by friends and foes. They demanded of the Emperor that he should expel every Venetian from his realm; and when this was not done, they attacked their adversaries in the streets of Constantinople, seized their property, and aggravated all the complications of the State. Still, the Emperor found it necessary to pay court to the citizens of Genoa, and for a time took into his service a large number of their galleys. These, however, he subsequently dismissed, on finding that his allies were not greatly to be trusted.

The rupture with Genoa was followed by a treaty with Venice. The agreement was conclude in June, 1265, shortly after the invasion of Ital by Charles of Anjou, and it was accompanied by declaration of war against Genoa. Michael unde took to expel the Genoese from his capital, an not to make peace with them, except in conce with the Venetians, and the latter engaged to len their galleys to the Emperor, with the understan ing that they might be sent against any prince community at war with the Greek Empire. Ev the Pope was not excepted from this provisio yet the Pontiff did not dare to excommunicate t great Republic on this account, although t thunders of the Church had been directed again the Genoese for their previous alliance with t Empire, notwithstanding the fact that they ha



TOWER OF GALATA, CONSTANTINOPLE.



VIEW ON THE BOSPHORUS: THE CASTLE OF EUROPE

inserted a clause in the treaty, exempting their ships from serving against the Pope and a good many other sovereigns. In return for the naval assistance granted by the Venetians to the Greeks, the Emperor conceded to the former several important privileges. They were allowed to establish factories in the chief ports of the Empire, and within the walls of those establishments the citizens of Venice were ruled by their own laws and their own magistrates. The transport of their goods to any part of the Emperor's dominions was unfettered by the payment of duties; they were permitted to erect Latin churches within the precincts of their factories; and in other respects their position was highly favoured by a monarch who commenced his reign with many evidences of hostility. The alliance, however, did not last very long. The Venetians obtained so many victories at sea that Pope Clement IV. made overtures of peace, and Michael VIII. began to distrust the Venetians, as he had formerly distrusted the Genoese. Another treaty was concluded in 1268, by which the stipulations of the earlier agreement were considerably modified, and this was followed by an open rupture in 1270. The Genoese were once more taken into favour, and in 1275 were allowed to establish a factory at Heracleia, on the Propontis. This was transferred a few years later to the Constantinopolitan suburb of Galata, which soon became a Genoese colony of such commercial importance that the Greeks lost nearly all their trade in the adjacent seas.

In acquiring the throne of Constantinople, the Emperor Michael had succeeded to many difficulties. The powerful despot of Epirus proved a formidable neighbour, and the jealousy of the Pope was shown in many ways. The Latin dominion in the south-east of Europe had lasted sufficiently long to create a certain number of partisans of the Western princes and the Western Church. During the period of that dominion, Achaia had been formed into a vassal principality under William Villehardouin, and Urban IV. now forbade the Frankish potentate to acknowledge the suzerainty of the Greek Emperor. When Charles of Anjou became King of Naples, he engaged to furnish Baldwin II. with a force of two thousand knights to help him in reconquering the Greek Empire; and Michael VIII. was so much alarmed at the prospect of an invasion that in 1267 he sent an embassy to Pope Clement IV., with proposals for a union of the Greek and Latin Churches. The offer was not pressed at that time; but it was subsequently renewed more than once, when fear of danger suggested to the Emperor the prudence of making friends at Rome; and, as we shall find, the project was at length accomplished for a while. The intrigues of Michael with the Church of Rome were partly owing to the mutual distrust existing between himself and the head of the Greek communion. We have seen that when the Patriarch Arsenius interdicted the Emperor from all religious rites, on account of his cruel treatment of John IV., the usurper made a pretence of submission; but his repentance was so evidently hypocritical that Arsenius refused to condone the offence. For more than five years, Michael continued in this condition of spiritual outlawry; but at length the other dignitaries of the Greek Church, possibly fearing the consequences of prolonged severity, urged that the time had arrived for again admitting the offender to the benefits of the faith. It was now discovered that certain charges could be brought against Arsenius himself. He was accused of having allowed the fugitive Sultan of Iconium to bathe in vessels bearing the sign of the cross, and of admitting him to the Church, though unbaptised. Arsenius himself maintained that the Sultan was so much a Christian that he had offered to eat ham; but the proof was as little accepted as others by which it was accompanied. Altogether, the Patriarch was out of favour. He was suspected of conspiracy and disaffection, and some irregular steps in his ordination and government exposed him to censure, or at least to suspicion. The Emperor therefore pronounced his deposition from the episcopal office, and sent him under a guard of soldiers to an island of the Propontis, where he died, refusing to the last to pardon the crime which had first moved his indignation. Ultimately, a monk named Joseph was appointed to the Patriarchate, and on the 2nd of February, 1267, the Imperial penitent received the much-desired absolution. It was simply required of him that the captive Emperor, John IV., should be treated with greater lenity. An unflinching sense of justice would have demanded that he should be restored, notwithstanding his blindness, to the throne from which he had been so cruelly expelled; but it was well known that Michael would never have consented to so extreme a penance.

The animosity of Arsenius to the usurping Emperor was perpetuated by several of the monks and clergy, who, for forty-eight years, formed a separate body in the Greek Church. The Arsenites, as they were called, were treated with a good deal of forbearance by Michael, and afterwards by his son Andronicus II., and in the end their views prevailed over those of the Imperial party. The body

of Arsenius was reverently buried in Constantinople, and Andronicus and his people were pardoned their inherited or constructive sins in the name of the departed Patriarch. During the time of Michael VIII., however, the feeling of the Church towards the Emperor was one of not unnatural distrust. The first of the Palæologi was well disposed to make terms with Rome, should such an arrangement appear advantageous to his interests as a sovereign. In the early part of 1274, he assembled a synod at Constantinople, and by threats and violence obtained from it an acknowledgment of the Papal supremacy. Many Greek families emigrated to Wallachian Thessaly, or to the Empire of Trebizond, rather than commit so great an outrage on their cherished faith; but the majority acquiesced in what they were unable to set aside. The Emperor argued in the synod that the members of the Greek Church might agree to recognise the Roman Bishop as the first of the Patriarchs, and urged that the distance of Constantinople from Rome would sufficiently guard against any danger which might attach to the right of appeal. He quieted the scruples of the more conscientious by declaring that he would sacrifice both life and Empire sooner than yield the smallest point of orthodoxy; but his ultimate success was due more to the arbitrary exercise of his power than to any belief in his honesty, or in the soundness of his religious views. It was decided that some species of submission should be made to Rome, and on the 6th of July, 1274, at the fourth session of the Council of Lyons, Gregory, Bishop of Adrianople, George Acropolita, the historian, and some other Greek clergy and nobles, repeated the creed in the Latin form, and swore to observe the faith of the Roman Church, to pay obedience to its orders, and to recognise the supremacy of the Pope.

At Constantinople, the news of this submission was received with a general outburst of indignation, and the Patriarch Joseph was so uncompromising in his opposition that he was removed from his office, and confined to a monastery. Veccus, an ecclesiastic who until recently had resisted the proposals of the Emperor, and whose estates had been devastated as a punishment, was now promoted to the vacant place, having seen the prudence of entirely reversing his former opinions; and many other persons of high position conceded the right of a powerful despot to decide such matters as he pleased. The letters of union and obedience were subscribed, not merely by the Emperor and his son Andronicus, but by thirty-five Archbishops and Metropolitans, with their respective synods, and by many others whose secret inclinations were doubtless quite opposed to such a course. The Pope's Nuncios soon afterwards entered Constantinople, and a sentence of excommunication was pronounced against all who should venture to dispute the supremacy of Rome. Those who still persisted in their uncourtly views were scourged or mutilated, imprisoned or exiled; but, although many submitted through fear, a large number still defied the dangerous union of Emperor and Pope. The recent Patriarch, Joseph, headed the party of resistance, and Michael found himself deserted by many even of his own relations. Nicephorus, the ruler of Epirus, and his brother John Ducas, the Prince of Wallachian Thessaly, supported their orthodoxy by force of arms. The fugitive monks and Bishops from the Greek dominions assembled under the protection of their sceptres, and branded the treacherous Emperor with the names of heretic and apostate. Michael sent an army against John Ducas; but the officers and soldiers showed no enthusiasm in a cause which they condemned, and the movement was entirely unattended by success. The Emperor's sister Eulogia, and two other female relations, conspired against him; his niece, the Bulgarian Queen, entered into negotiations with the Sultan of Egypt for the overthrow of so abominable a heretic; and Michael discovered that his unfortunate intrigues with Rome had brought him face to face with an exasperated people, and a host of secret conspirators.

The Pope's Nuncios, dissatisfied with the progress that had been made, urged the Emperor to complete the work he had begun; and Michael replied by submitting to the representatives of Rome a miserable list of confiscations, proscriptions, and imprisonments, which had brought him into abhorrence, and yet had failed of their object. Four princes of the royal blood were at that moment chained in one of the Imperial dungeons, and two of these were afterwards still further punished by the loss of their eyes. Michael himself seems to have been distressed at the unhappy results of his bad faith; but he had committed himself to a fatal course, and had neither the courage nor the opportunity of retreat. Notwithstanding his violent persecutions of all who denied the supremacy of the Western Church, the sincerity of his conversion was suspected at Rome, because even the utmost exercise of his despotic power had failed to conquer the ecclesiastical independence of the Greeks. At length, in 1281, Martin IV., who had just succeeded to the Pontificate, excommunicated the Emperor, as a hypocrite who concealed his heresy under a pretence of submission. By a treaty

signed at Orvieto on the 3rd of July, 1281, the King of Naples and the Republic of Venice entered into a league for the conquest of the Greek Empire, and it was determined that operations should commence on a large scale in the spring of 1283.

An attempt to assist the Albanians, who were in revolt against Michael, ended in failure; but the contemplated attack on Constantinople itself might have succeeded, had it ever been commenced. The outbreak against the power of Charles of Anjou, and the massacre of the Sicilian Vespers, saved Michael VIII. from an attack which it would have cost him a tremendous effort to repel, even had he succeeded in repelling it at all. In other respects, the reign of the Emperor was rather fortunate than glorious. The State was often threatened by internal revolts, and by wars beyond the frontiers; but these were generally brought to a close by some happy combination of events. In the latter part of his life, Michael secretly aided the conspiracy of John of Procida against Charles of Anjou, the vassal of the Papal throne. But his career had nearly reached its termination. While on his way to levy war against John Ducas, he died in Thrace on the 11th December, 1282, transmitting to his successors the memory of an ignoble reign, marked by cruelty, duplicity, and an ill-regulated ambition. The union of the two Churches was dissolved almost immediately after, and the successor of Michael, his son Andronicus II., signified his disapproval of the late Emperor's conduct by denying to his father the usual funeral honours, and the accustomed testimony of the public prayers.

It was during the reign of Michael VIII. that the Ottoman Turks, who were ultimately to become the masters of Constantinople and the founders of a mighty Empire, first acquired distinction as a race of brilliant warriors. Genghis Khan having abandoned Khorasmia, the Sultan Gelaleddin returned from India, where he had taken refuge, and in 1240 again assumed the government of his paternal territory. His reign was distinguished by the heroism which might have been expected from so brave a soldier. Fourteen battles were waged by him against the enemies of his race, and the rapidity of his movements gave additional force to the skill and energy of his blows. He was encountered, however, by large Mongolian armies, and even by the jealousy of his fellow-Mohammedans, and, being at length entirely crushed, drew his last breath among the mountains of Kurdistan. After the decease of Gelaleddin, and the dissolution of his realm, some of those who had served under him accepted employment from Ala-eddin, the Sultan of Iconium. Among them were certain leaders whose tribes came from the great plains south of the Oxus—a region where the Parthian Empire took its rise. Solyman Shah, chief of the Oghuz Turks, who dwelt in Khorassan, was particularly earnest in rendering assistance to Ala-eddin in his struggles with the Mongolian foe; and when this potentate was drowned in crossing the Euphrates, either on his way to the west, or on his return, his son Ertoghrul determined to remain under the sceptre of the Seljukian monarch. He and his warriors turned their faces to the west, and one day reached the brow of a hill, from which they saw two armies drawn up for battle in the valley below. Ertoghrul sided with the weaker force, which was thus enabled to obtain the victory. When the action was over, it appeared that Ertoghrul had, by the mere accident of a chivalrous instinct, rendered aid to his kinsmen, the Seljukian Turks of Iconium, who had been attacked by the superior numbers of the Moguls. Ala-eddin rewarded his unexpected allies by bestowing on them the fertile pasture-grounds near Angora, while Ertoghrul himself was permitted to assume the title of Emir, or Prince. He afterwards assisted the Sultan in other wars with the Mongolian hordes, and also with the neighbouring Christians. Further grants of territory extended his dominions to the frontiers of the Greek Empire; but it was understood that he was to hold these possessions simply as a fief of the Seljukian, and on condition that he defended the monarchy of Ala-eddin from invasion by the Constantinopolitans.

Ertoghrul died in 1288, and was succeeded by his son Othman, or Osman, after whom the Turks are still called Othmans, Ottomans, or Osmanlis. Othman was a ruler of great ability, as well as a brilliant general. His triumphs in the field were numerous, and his civil administration was illuminated by justice and prudence. In 1307, the Sultan Ala-eddin was dethroned and killed by the Moguls, and the once mighty sovereignty of the Seljukian Turks came to an end, except in a few scattered principalities, where it still maintained a precarious existence. The Ottoman Turks had even before then become the dominant power in the north-western parts of Asia, and, after many successful wars, Othman gained possession of nearly all Bithynia. The Greek Emperor himself conduced to this result by neglecting his armies in Asia, leaving them without pay, and offending their pride by conferring special privileges on a body of Alans who had been permitted

to settle in his dominions, but who proved very turbulent subjects. Thus aided by the folly of their adversaries, the Ottoman Turks made rapid progress. Multitudes of the Greeks fled from the inland cities to the coast; thousands died of disease or famine; large tracts of country were left empty and desolate; and in a few years the Greek race and language disappeared from the ancient colonies of Æolis and Ionia. The armies of the Empire could make no head against this terrible inroad of barbarism: they were beaten in several encounters, and compelled to yield up province after province. Broussa, or Prusa, was conquered by Orchan, the son of Othman, and this picturesque city became the Asiatic capital of the Ottomans. Othman himself was by that time too old to take the field in person, and he was carried in a dying state into the captured city, where he expired in 1326. Down to the present day, every Turkish sovereign is girded with the sword of Othman on succeeding to the throne, and the memory of this great chieftain is revered wherever the crescent of the Osmanlis guards the traditions of their race. The rise of his power marks another period in the decline of Constantinople. The loss of Bithynia was a most serious blow to the Greek Empire; but it was one that had been brought about by the rapacity and misgovernment of Michael VIII. Until the reign of that monarch, the passes of Mount Olympus, through which Bithynia was approached from the east, had been guarded by the militia of the country, who, in consideration of the service thus performed, were exempt from the payment of Imperial taxes. The Greek Emperor deprived them of this honourable office, collected tribute from their cities, and entirely disregarded the protection of the defiles. The consequence of his short-sighted policy was that the Ottoman warriors crossed the mountains into the country beyond, and extended the power of the Turks almost to the Bosphorus and the Hellespont. Othman died in the fulness of glory, and his power was continued by two sons, of whom Orchan, the younger brother, succeeded to the absolute sovereignty, while the elder, being of a more pacific disposition, acted as Grand Vizier, in which capacity he signalised himself by the production of a code of laws for the regulation of society and manners throughout the Ottoman dominions. It was to the credit of the elder-born that he accepted, with loyal self-abnegation, a position of nominal inferiority; but he was in truth the brain and intellect of the Empire. Orchan was the soldier, and his career is a record of unbroken success. His army was supported by a fleet of considerable size, so that, before the conclusion of his reign, nothing but the narrow waters separated him from the shores of Europe.

These alarming advances of the Ottoman Turks took place during the reign of Andronicus II., which extended from 1282 to 1328. During this long period of forty-six years, the decadence of the Greek Empire became more confirmed and irremediable. For such a result the people themselves were doubtless to blame in no slight degree; yet the faults of Andronicus II. were equally potent in the evil work. The second of the Palæologi was a man of wholly contemptible character, without even those military virtues which had to some extent counterbalanced the vices of his father. He is said to have been a man of learning; but, if so, it was the learning of a pedant, which in no respect fitted him for the practical duties of a monarch. A restless spirit of interference in all departments of the State made poor atonement for the feebleness of his administration, and the declining fortunes of his realm. The expenditure of the court perpetually increased; the taxes became more onerous; and the constant diminution in the number of subjects threw on every individual a greater share of the public burdens. In one respect, however, Andronicus was unquestionably in accord with the great majority of the people. He was strictly orthodox, as orthodoxy was understood in the south-east of Europe at that time. His temporary assent to the union with Rome had doubtless been extorted by the commands of his father. It did not last a day after his father's death, and, on succeeding to the throne, Andronicus II. laboured to promote the fortunes and authority of the Greek Church. The clergy were now so powerful that they exercised judicial as well as ecclesiastical functions. This, indeed, was an innovation which had arisen before the time of Andronicus II.; but he lost no opportunity of confirming it. He sanctioned the establishment of a tribunal, consisting chiefly of monks, whose duty it was to fix the penance to be performed by all who had offended by their submission to the Latin Church. The rich were forced to pay large sums of money; the poor suffered in other ways; while many ecclesiastics were suspended from their offices. By these and similar measures, society was kept in a state of continual agitation, and the secular affairs of the Empire were neglected for vain disputes on subtleties of doctrine, which had no other effect than to divide the nation, and irritate the minds of men. Throughout his reign, Andronicus was little else than a crowned priest: the Patriarchate

itself became a department of State, in which the Emperor was supreme. Several of the Patriarchs were compelled to resign because they failed in complete subserviency to the Imperial mandates; and Andronicus was never satisfied unless when a puppet filled the office, and blindly executed the general instructions he received.

One of the most singular episodes in the reign of Andronicus II. is that having reference to the Patriarch Athanasius, a hermit of ascetic principles, who had been raised to the chief ecclesiastical position that he might reform abuses in the Church. This purpose he carried out with such inflexible zeal that he raised against himself a host of enemies, who compelled his retirement, after a stormy period of four years. It was gravely reported that Athanasius had punished a sacrelegious ass which had eaten the lettuces of a convent garden. But it was not the ass that caused his overthrow. That result was brought about by a combination of Bishops and nobles, of monks and ladies, whose pleasures he had reproved, and whose privileges he had curtailed. The Emperor himself was opposed to this austere reformer, in whom he found rather a rival than a servant. But Athanasius was determined on revenge, and he brought it about after a very singular fashion. He wrote a public farewell which breathed an exemplary spirit of charity and forgiveness, but at the same time secretly prepared another document, justifying his conduct, and anathematising his foes. That all might be complete and regular, he affixed the leaden seal of the Patriarchate to this scroll, and then, placing it in an earthen jar, concealed it in the ornamental stonework above the gallery of St. Sophia. In that position it was discovered, four years later, by some boys who were searching for pigeons' nests about the eaves of the cathedral. When the contents of the paper were revealed, nothing could exceed the consternation of the orthodox. The whole Empire felt itself under an interdict, and, as Athanasius no longer occupied the chief position, it seemed as if there were no means of relief left open to the condemned. Andronicus himself was so overcome with fear, that when, in the dead of the night, a monk knocked at the door of his bedchamber, and announced a speedy visitation of plague, famine, inundation, and earthquake, it was not long before he persuaded himself that the ground really trembled beneath his feet. With much difficulty, however, the Emperor obtained from Athanasius a written statement that he had revoked the anathema before his resignation, and had accidentally forgotten to destroy the original writing. Athanasius was shortly afterwards restored, but again made himself so disagreeable, both to priests and laymen, that they once more conspired against him, and, resigning his second Patriarchate in 1311, he retired to the monkish cell from which he ought



BROUSSA, THE ANCIENT CAPITAL OF TURKEY.

never to have emerged. The story, though related at tedious length by Byzantine historians, would hardly be worth repeating, were it not that it sheds a powerful light on the causes which were hastening the fall of the Eastern Empire. Athanasius may have been sincerely desirous of eradicating the manifest evils of the Church; but his methods were calculated rather to exasperate than to amend. Andronicus may have wished to promote a deeper religious spirit; but he had no conception of religion apart from the fears of an anchorite, and the formalism of a devotee.



THE BOSPHORUS, FROM THERAPIA.

The declining strength of the Greek Empire was sorely tried by the outrages of a horde of soldiers from Spain, consisting chiefly of Catalans and men of Aragon. By some writers, these people are said to have been of Gothic race; by others, of Moorish. It is not improbable that they inherited the blood of both nationalities, and combined the martial fervours of the North and of the East. Extraordinary tales are related of their courage and strength. They boasted their ability to overthrow any troops in the world, and it was generally believed that, with a blow of the broadsword, they could cleave a horseman and the horse he rode. However this may have been, it is certain that the Catalans, as they were generally called, were consummate soldiers. They had fought in the long wars with Charles of Anjou, and were unfitted for the ordinary occupations of life, which they had learned to despise. In the course of years, their numbers had been augmented by a certain proportion of Genoese, and the whole body was distinguished by the sounding title of "the Catalan Grand Company." It was in truth an association of freebooters; but the commander of these irregular legions was a man of great ability and force of character. Though passing as Roger de Flor, he was the son of a German named Robert Blum, a falconer in the service of the Emperor Frederick II., who married an Italian lady of Brindisi. As a mere child, Roger exhibited a remarkable capacity for the sea, and in later life he entered the naval service of the Templars. His courage was unquestionable; yet he absented himself from the last desperate defence, of Acre when it was attacked by the Mohammedans in 1291. It would seem that he was too much engaged res

those who were willing and able to pay large sums for places of safety on board his vessel, to pay attention to the military situation. For this dereliction of duty, he was very properly degraded from his rank; and, fearing the further penalty of imprisonment, he escaped to Genoa, fitted out a private galley at his own expense, and ultimately obtained employment from Frederick of Sicily. The coasts of Italy and France were ravaged by his ships; even Spain did not escape, for, although Frederick was brother to the King of Aragon, his claims were opposed by that monarch, and a state of war existed between the two. Contributions were levied in friendly as well as in unfriendly districts; but in the former case Roger gave receipts for the amount, which were to be honoured by the Sicilian treasury at the close of the war. After the conclusion of peace, the naval hero, having reason to dread the vengeance of the Templars, offered his services to the Emperor Andronicus. The offer was accepted, and he arrived at Constantinople, with the rest of the Grand Company, in September, 1303. Frederick of Sicily rejoiced to be delivered from a dangerous ally, and contributed largely to the equipment of the force. Roger was thus enabled to place at the disposal of the Greek sovereign a fleet of thirty-six ships, and an army of six thousand men.

Andronicus saw at once that de Flor was a man to be conciliated. He adopted him into the Imperial family, and arranged a marriage with Maria, daughter of Azan, King of Bulgaria (then in exile), and grand-daughter of himself. The social rank of the adventurer was advanced by the title of Grand Duke, while his official appointment made him commander-in-chief of the army in Asia Minor, and of the Imperial fleet on the Asiatic coast. The other leaders were flattered with handsome presents; a succession of splendid fêtes served to dissipate a large amount of treasure; and the Spanish troops received four months' pay before they had done anything to earn it. In a little while, Andronicus perceived the folly he had committed in accepting the services of a band of desperadoes who obeyed no law but their own pleasure. The Catalans quarrelled with the Genoese of Galata, and engaged in sanguinary battles which the Imperial troops were unable to prevent. It was a relief when the soldiers of the Grand Company reached the other side of the Bosphorus, and were fairly engaged with the Turkish hordes. The enemy was driven back from the neighbourhood of Cyzicus and Pegæ before the close of 1303, and the Catalans wintered in the former of those cities. The people, however, suffered from the exactions, the ferocity, and the insolence, of their so-called friends. Michael, the eldest son of Andronicus, who himself enjoyed the Imperial title, and held a military command in Asia, assumed a posture of direct antagonism to the strangers, whom he provoked by the underhand nature of his opposition. The curse of mercenary warfare descended on the unfortunate provinces which were the scene of these desultory operations. The soldiers of fortune from Spain saw that the Turks were reaping the rewards of piratical valour. They had no scruples as to pursuing a similar course themselves, and the feeble measures of Michael only exasperated their passions.

When the war was resumed in 1304, the Catalans inflicted several defeats on the Turkish invaders, but omitted to push their advantages to an extent which might have proved fatal to the Mohammedan cause in Asia Minor. They were in fact thinking more of their own interests as a set of plunderers than of the stability of the Greek Empire. Roger de Flor even conceived the idea of creating a principality for himself, for which he was willing to do homage to the Emperor, but which would have been really independent. Already, indeed, the authority of Andronicus and Michael was at an end in all parts of the Lesser Asia. Some cities obeyed the tyrannical power of the Catalan leader,—the foreign Grand Duke whom Andronicus had promoted to his own undoing. Others established local governments which had almost the character of small, self-ruled republics. Among the latter, Magnesia particularly distinguished itself; and when Roger de Flor fixed on that city as the place where he would secure his treasures and his stores while he was elaborating plans for the future, the Greeks put his Catalans to the sword, and seized the coin and booty they had brought with them. Marching against the place with his whole army, the Grand Duke invested Magnesia; but he had neither siege-artillery nor engineers, and the citizens made so vigorous a defence that the attacks of Roger were repelled. This disaster was the first important check which the Catalans had received; and the check had come, not from the Greek Empire, nor from any of the Turkish chieftains, but from a city which depended solely on its own resources for resisting the assaults of one who had hitherto appeared invincible. The reverse was productive of effects not unusually experienced under similar conditions. The discipline of the Catalans was relaxed; the Alans who had taken service under the flag of Roger deserted his ranks; and the whole

of Asia Minor was given up to anarchy and rapine.

It being now evident that Magnesia was impregnable, Roger de Flor raised the siege, and, after extorting enormous sums of money from the people of other towns, to replace the treasures he had lost, turned towards the Hellespont, crossed over into Europe, and occupied the Thracian Chersonesus near the close of 1305. The Grand Duke then went to Constantinople, and demanded money for his soldiers to the extent of 300,000 byzants. He had already, however, so exhausted the resources of the Empire that Andronicus could furnish him with only a small sum, which was paid in the depreciated gold currency of the time. The Catalans were soon afterwards reinforced by two Spanish noblemen, who brought with them several ships, and considerable bodies of cavalry and infantry. One of these chieftains, named Beranger d'Entenza, was specially honoured by Andronicus, who hoped to use him as a rival to the formidable Roger de Flor. A period of intrigues ensued; but Roger, soldier though he was, proved equal to the Greeks themselves in artifice and finesse. Meanwhile, the Turks recovered their lost ground in Asia Minor; the Empire was threatened with numerous dangers; and Andronicus, in his embarrassment and fear, conferred the dignity of Cæsar on the arrogant adventurer who had wrung enormous sums from the Greeks, and had proved a greater scourge to his allies than to their enemies. The doubtful honour thus conferred on the guerilla chieftain was unproductive of any good effect. The soldiers of the Grand Company still clamoured for payment, and the adulterated coinage which they received was forced upon the people at its nominal value.

But a terrible storm was approaching. Roger, having visited Adrianople to pay his respects to the Emperor Michael, was assassinated in the apartment of the Empress by the general of the Alans, and three hundred of the Catalan cavalry were massacred at the same time. Three of the Spaniards escaped to Gallipoli, and measures were immediately adopted for revenging a treacherous outrage. Andronicus was informed that the Catalans abjured their allegiance to the Empire. War was formally declared; but the envoys who had made the announcement were waylaid and murdered at Rhedestos, on their way back to the camp. Many others were slain by the cavalry of Michael, or by the infuriated people; but the Grand Company soon concentrated its forces, and carried out reprisals of the most sanguinary nature. Not merely were the Greeks massacred in large numbers, but deliberate tortures were inflicted both on women and children. After the loss of their fleet, which was attacked and worsted by the Genoese allies of Andronicus, the Catalans fortified themselves at Gallipoli, under the command of a leader named Beranger de Rocafert. Here they were speedily confronted by the forces of the Emperor Michael; but their superior valour and discipline discomfited the mailed warriors of the Imperial army. Michael himself was defeated before Apros, and narrowly escaped with his life; but the fortress itself repelled the assaults of the Catalans, who then returned to Gallipoli, laden with the plunder of the enemy's camp.

The open country on the Thracian shore of the Propontis fell beneath the sword of the Catalans, as a consequence of their victory before Apros. The people of Rhedestos, where the envoys had been murdered, suffered the penalty of an indiscriminate massacre, and the town was converted into the head-quarters of the Grand Company. The ranks of the invaders were considerably augmented by volunteers from several tribes, and a large body of Turks, commanded by a descendant of the Seljukian Sultans, added to the warlike resources of de Rocafert. Several Greeks joined this Turkish division, as a protest against the incompetence and tyranny of their Government. The Alans, acting on their own behalf, plundered in every direction, but were presently attacked by the soldiers of the Grand Company, with whom a desperate action was fought near the Bulgarian frontier. Their commander, who had contrived the assassination of Roger de Flor in revenge for the death of his son, killed in a tumult at Cyzicus, was slain in the course of the action, and his followers were so completely routed that their wives and children fell into the hands of the victors. It would have been well had this achievement brought the war to an end; but the Emperor Michael was still in possession of some strong cities, and the Catalans pursued their career of conquest and devastation. The miseries they inflicted can scarcely be understood at the present day, when even war is conducted with some reference to the principles of humanity. Cities were sacked, mined, and destroyed by fire; orchards and vineyards were uprooted; and countless numbers of both sexes were sent to the slave-market of Gallipoli. In the immediate vicinity of Constantinople itself, five thousand persons were massacred.

Andronicus at length entered into negotiation with the Spanish brigands, in the hope that he might induce them to quit the country; but their

terms were so exacting that the attempt ended in failure. Adopting a policy of desperation, the Emperor then laid waste the country between Selymbria and Constantinople, that he might starve out the inexorable hordes; and this terrible remedy was attended by some measure of success, for the Catalans withdrew from the neighbourhood of the Imperial capital, and established their chief quarters in Macedonia. Here they found themselves in a country which their ravening legions had not yet exhausted; but, on the whole, their fortunes began to decline from the period of their retreat towards the west. The body was now divided into three sections, and Frederick of Sicily, desiring to renew his former association with the Grand Company, sent the Infant Fernand of Majorca to take the supreme command, as his lieutenant-general. A good deal of jealousy existed among the several captains, and on one occasion two of the divisions came into actual collision. The charm of unbroken success had passed away from these grasping and ferocious heroes. They failed in taking some of the towns which they attacked, and in 1308 were foiled in an attempt to force the pass which conducts from the plain of Philippi to that of Christopolis. Rocafert was treacherously seized by the French admiral, Thibaut de Sipoys, and delivered as a prisoner to Robert, King of Naples, by whom he was starved to death in the dungeon where he was confined. His men slew all their colonels for conniving at the bad faith of Sipoys; and the dispirited band then elected new leaders, and considered how best they could repair their waning fortunes.

But the strength of the Catalans was broken, and, quitting the Byzantine territory in 1309, they entered the service of William de Brienne, the independent Duke of Athens, who quarrelled with them in the following year. A battle was fought on the Cephisus, in which the Duke was defeated and slain, and the Catalans then overran the whole of Attica and Bœotia—one of the principalities formed by the Latins when masters of Constantinople. In the government of those regions, they acknowledged the sovereignty of the house of Aragon, and the dukedom of Athens was bestowed by the Kings of Sicily on persons whom they desired to honour. After the westward retreat of the Catalans, their Turkish auxiliaries marched towards Asia, which they would probably have re-entered without making any attack on the Greeks, but for the treachery of the Emperor Andronicus, who formed a plot to disarm them as they were waiting for vessels in which to cross the Straits. The Orientals then turned on the forces of the Emperor, worsted them in several engagements, and on one occasion seized the Imperial crown of Michael in his abandoned camp. At length, in 1315, they were themselves defeated by Philes Palæologus: and this affair brought to a termination the disastrous series of events which had begun with the entrance of the Catalans, twelve years before.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

EDWARD I., WALES, AND SCOTLAND.

Accession of Edward I. to the English Throne—General Character of his Epoch—Writings of Roger Bacon—Division of Britain into England, Wales, and Scotland—Edward's Project for Effecting a Union of the Three—State of Wales in the Time of Edward I.—Results of the Prolonged Contest between the British and English Races—National Uprising of the Welsh under the Two Llewellyns—Brilliant Successes and Sudden Collapse—Wales United to England by Edward I.—State of Scotland from 1189 to 1286—Dispute as to the Succession after the Death of Alexander III.—Edward acknowledged as the Suzerain of Scotland—Position of the Scottish towards the English Kingdom—John Balliol appointed by Edward to the Scottish Monarchy—Refusal of Balliol to Admit the English Claims—Rising of the Scottish People—Doubtful Nature of Edward's Assumptions—Perilous Situation of the English King—Capture of Berwick-on-Tweed by Edward—Submission of Scotland—Firm Government of the Conqueror—Renewed Outbreak of the People—Leadership of William Wallace—Defeat of the English at Stirling, and of the Scots at Falkirk—Temporary Abandonment of Scotland, and Renewed Expedition in 1303—Final Years, Capture, and Execution of Wallace—English Rule in Scotland—Fresh Rising under the Younger Robert Bruce—Advance of Edward towards the North, and Death in 1307—Retreat of Edward II.—Establishment of the Power of Bruce—Entrance of the English King into Scotland, and Defeat at Bannockburn—Desultory War, and Conclusion of Peace in 1328—Legal Reforms of Edward I.—Increase of Popular Power—Development of Parliamentary Institutions—Social Condition of England.

With the reign of Edward I. begins the really and deadly struggle between the kingdoms and Scotland. There had been many collisions in earlier ages, and, in days before the Norman Conquest, the sovereigns of Northumbria, as the reader is aware, ruled from the Humber to

e Frith of Forth. But in later times the power the Scottish kings extended over some portion of e North of England, which they held in fealty to e English crown. The differences of the Anglo-ɔrman monarchs with those of Scotland, who : many years represented rather the dispossessed nglo-Saxon sentiment than any Gaelic interest or ulition, led to many hostile encounters; but ıgland made no attempt at actual subjugation ıtil the reign of Edward I. From an early age, at prince had shown a remarkable capacity for ır, and a vigour in the administration of affairs ry different from the vacillation and imbecility his father. He had prevailed over the redoubt-le Simon de Montfort in the final contest at ɾesham; in the Holy Land he had revived the ɔries of Richard; and, even when a youth, he d assisted Henry in the government of the ngdom. He was on his way back from Palestine ıen his father died on the 16th of November, 72; but it was not until the 25th of July, 1274, ter a leisurely passage through France, where he d homage for Guienne (formerly Aquitaine), that and his Queen landed in England.

He succeeded to a realm at peace with foreign untries, and undisturbed by factions at home. new spirit was abroad amongst men. The world as full of prophecies of the modern age. The tablishment of Universities (that of Oxford had en incorporated only a few years before), the ntact of the West with the East, owing to the usades, the reaction against the extravagant ims of the Papacy,—all these things were itating the minds of men with novel and sur-ising ideas. England partook of the excitement. ɔger Bacon, the scientific miracle of his age, the obable inventor of gunpowder so far as Europe concerned, the preacher of method and exact vestigation in the pursuit of knowledge, the man ho anticipated in the thirteenth century the work his namesake in the seventeenth,—this mar-llous friar, whose mind travelled far beyond the lls of his monastery, and who suffered the nalty of genius in the persecution of the ignorant, s thinking and working when the first of our lwards ascended the throne; and, although s audience was but few, his influence was not tirely lost upon his country and his age. The ccessor to Henry III., however, was indifferent all such considerations. His task in life was to a soldier and an administrator, and it is im-ssible to deny that in these respects he exhibited usual powers and a clear conception of policy, ough his methods were characterised by the vices arbitrary force.

The leading idea in the mind of Edward Long-shanks, as he was called from the length of his legs, was the union of Britain under a single government. The island was at that time divided into three distinct parts, each under its own head. England, Wales, and Scotland were as entirely separate as France, Germany, and Italy at the present day. Variety of interests, and to some extent of race and language, led to repeated conflicts; and it may not unnaturally have occurred to a thoughtful politician that the whole territory between the four seas was too small to accommo-date three jealous rivals, though large enough to make a goodly realm under one command. We must recollect that the rights of nationalities were not recognised in those days. The strongest must rule, and ought to rule: such was the view generally taken by kings and statesmen. It is unquestionable, moreover, that England suffered frequently from the inroads of her poorer neighbours. The border-lands were harried by Welsh and Scots; and the expedition of David I. in 1138, when he penetrated as far as Northallerton, in Yorkshire, and was defeated with difficulty, proved how formidable an enemy the latter might be. The western descendants of the ancient Britons were less numerically strong, less civilised, and more inorganic as a nation; yet they gave considerable trouble as disturbers of the peace. Doubtless there was much aggression on the part of the English too; but, as more was to be gained by the invasion of England than by the violation of the Welsh or Scottish borders, the inducement to engage in enterprises of pillage seems to have been greater amongst the neighbours of the English than with the English themselves. The subject, however, is one on which no nationality can look back with feelings of satisfaction.

The condition of Wales in the time of Edward I. was little removed from that of a savage country. The people were for the most part herdsmen, clad in the skins of beasts, and living in the primitive style of their remote ancestors when Julius Cæsar landed on the shores of Kent. Of political organisation they had scarcely any. Such as existed was tribal rather than national; yet the chieftains were always ready to acknowledge the superiority of a great military leader, and to allow him as much kingship as was possible in Wales, where every head of a clan considered that he possessed royal prerogatives. This minute sub-division of the people into a number of self-centred bodies was perhaps a natural result of the long contest between the British and the English. During many ages, from the time of King Arthur

to that of Edward I., the sword had hardly ever been sheathed. The greatest of the Anglo-Saxon kings, such as Offa, Egbert, and Athelstan, lost no opportunity of driving the Cambrians still farther into the western mountains: even the peace-loving Alfred found time amidst his Danish wars to circumscribe the dominion of the older race. The same policy was pursued by the Anglo-Norman sovereigns, and the borders of Wales progressively diminished. But, towards the end of the twelfth century, the tide suddenly turned. A succession of valorous and energetic princes of the house of Gryffyth-ap-Conan restored the fortunes of the Welsh people, drove back the forces of Henry II. from the fastnesses of Snowdon, and on several occasions routed the English both by land and sea. One of the greatest of these leaders was Llewellyn, the son of Jorwerth. Having obtained the homage of all the Welsh chieftains in 1195, he stood forth as a veritable king, and the true representative of his countrymen. Though occasionally discomfited, he always renewed the assaults, and, in the troubled times of John, obtained some marked successes. The English began to recede from the border. Shrewsbury was taken; the alien garrisons in other places were expelled; and the Flemings settled in Pembrokeshire by Henry I. were forced to render homage.

As the triumphs of Llewellyn-ap-Jorwerth increased in number and importance, it was thought by many that the mighty Celtic hero, Arthur, was about to reappear on earth, according to the old belief. Welshmen quoted a prophecy of Taliesin (a bard of the sixth Christian century) to the effect that "the Germans" — meaning the English—would at length abandon Britain, and return to their original country. Like other Celtic races, the Welsh have always been a poetical, an impulsive, and an emotional people. These dreams and aspirations, with their mysterious shadowings of miracle and magic, appealed powerfully to imaginative temperaments; and the martial fervour of the time was stimulated by a profusion of magnificent war-songs, which must have burnt like fire in the hearts of the people. Thus the struggle went on; and the achievements of Llewellyn, the son of Jorwerth, were rivalled by those of Llewellyn, the son of Gryffyth, his successor. The reign of the latter, which is comprised within the years 1246 and 1283, brings to a close the history of Wales as an independent country. This brilliant soldier marched to the very gates of Chester. His fleet dispersed an English fleet which was coming from Ireland with reinforcements; and although, at the termination of the barons' war under Henry III., when the whole force of England was again united, he considered it prudent to make a species of submission, it was only on the understanding that he was to retain the title of Prince of Wales, and to receive, as formerly, the homage of the chieftains. His position, consequently, was that of a vassal, but of a vassal who was nearly independent. When Edward I. ascended the throne, his representatives made the customary demand for homage. It was refused again and again during a period of two years, and at length, in 1277, the English monarch entered North Wales at the head of an army. Considering the recent successes of Llewellyn, and his unquestionable heroism, it is surprising that the conquest of the principality should have been so easily and rapidly effected. But the chieftains of the south and of the middle parts went over to the English; the island of Anglesea submitted to a naval attack; and Llewellyn was compelled to surrender. Four years later, he renewed the struggle, though he had been treated with much generosity; and the English were for a while defeated. But the unflinching resolution of Edward overcame all opposition, and in 1282 Llewellyn fell in a skirmish on the Wye. The whole of Wales shortly afterwards succumbed, and, by means of military force, wise government, and civilising laws, the peace of the country was assured for a time.

After the complete subjugation of Wales, Edward gave attention to the reform of his English realm, the lawless and unsettled condition of which, consequent on many years of civil war and contention, he reduced by a system of administration which combined firmness with a liberal regard for popular rights. When he had thus settled affairs at home, he began to formulate his designs on Scotland, where a disputed succession to the crown supplied a favourable opportunity for interfering. During nearly a century, extending from 1189 to 1286, Scotland had enjoyed a period of remarkable prosperity. In the whole of that time, there had been no war, nor even dissension, between the smaller kingdom and England. The Scottish kings ruling during those ninety-seven years were William the Lion, Alexander II., and Alexander III.—all of them wise and capable monarchs, just in their conceptions of the regal office, and fortunate in the circumstances by which they were surrounded. The troubles with the Popedom which afflicted England, and France, and Germany, were entirely excluded from Scotland by the prudence of her sovereigns, who would not allow the representatives of Rome to enter their dominions, or exact tribute from their people. The Parliament



THE BATTLE OF STIRLING BRIDGE.

appears to have been similar to that of England, except that it was not until a rather later period (about the beginning of the fourteenth century) that the Scottish boroughs were permitted to send representatives to the national council. It would be absurd to say that at the earlier period the interests of people were represented with any completeness; yet the assembly of nobles and ecclesiastics maintained a certain check upon the Crown, and satisfied the general sense of what was needful to the State. The government of the country was one which it required no little skill to carry on at all. Scotland in those days was not a homogeneous nationality, but a collection of various races, generally ill-affected towards one another. The English of the south-east, the Britons of the south-west, the Picts and Irish Scots of the north, and the Scandinavians of Caithness, were distinct in language, traditions, and objects; and to this discordant gathering must be added a nobility which was mainly of Anglo-Norman descent. It says much for the wisdom of the Scottish kings that they should have kept the peace among such a wild confusion of antagonistic communities.

On the sudden death of Alexander III., in 1286, a brief interregnum ensued, which was followed, in 1290, by a dispute as to the succession. In accordance with strict legality, the crown of Scotland had passed, on the death of Alexander III., to his grand-daughter Margaret, called "the Maiden of Norway," a child only three years old, the daughter of the Norwegian King Eric. A treaty, concluded in July, 1290, provided that Margaret should be married to Edward, the eldest surviving son of the English sovereign; but two months later the infant princess died in one of the Orkney islands, on a voyage from Norway. The crown was now claimed by no fewer than thirteen competitors, and, on the 10th of May, 1291, Edward I. held a conference at Norham, immediately south of the Tweed, with the clergy and nobility of the Scottish kingdom. The question at issue was then submitted to the English potentate, who was acknowledged as the lord paramount or suzerain of Scotland. Edward took a long time to consider his decision, but, in November, 1292, pronounced in favour of John Balliol, who accordingly succeeded to the throne. Balliol was the Lord of Galloway, and his claim to the throne rested on his descent from the eldest daughter of David, brother of William the Lion. Another claimant was Robert Bruce, Lord of Annandale, descended from the second daughter of David; while competitor was John Hastings, Lord of Abergavenny, who came from the third daughter of the same prince. The other ten pretenders were persons whose titles were so vague and shadowy that they do not demand any special notice. But, whoever might be recognised, Edward determined that he would himself be the actual King of Scotland in all matters of State policy. To secure the hold upon the country which he had obtained in terms, the English monarch brought an army into Scotland, took possession of the castles, and extorted from the Bishops and nobles an oath of homage. For acting in this way, he had a plausible justification in the fact that, during the reign of Henry II., the Scottish kings had acknowledged some kind of dependence on the crown of England—a dependence dating from the year 924, and based on the Imperial power over the whole island which was then claimed by Edward the Elder. But this acknowledgment had been very grudgingly made, and Richard I. had renounced some at least of his father's claims. Edward determined to proceed rather by the earlier than by the later custom, and, at the conference of Norham, his assumption of suzerainty was acknowledged by the Scottish lords. The fact is the less surprising when we recollect that those lords were mainly of Norman descent, as, indeed, were Bruce and Balliol; and that consequently they did not represent the true feeling of the country. The commons were opposed to any such concession to English demands; but the Scottish commons, as we have seen, had no means of making their views prevail.

The arrangement with John Balliol was not likely to endure, and in fact it came to an end very speedily. In 1293, the King of Scotland was summoned to Westminster, as a vassal of Edward, to answer for some conduct which had been impugned. There cannot be a question that the English monarch had no right to make this demand upon his Scottish brother. The judicial independence of Scotland had been acknowledged in the treaty having reference to the contemplated marriage between the infant Margaret and the young Prince Edward; indeed, no claim to the contrary had been made since the days of William the Lion. But Edward, in the imperious strength of his nature, determined that the appeal should be enforced, and Balliol appeared at Westminster, but refused to answer unless by the advice of his Council. His mere presence in the English capital, however, was considered an undue submission to superior power, and both the barons and the people expressed their wrath at the demands of Edward, and the partial compliance of Balliol.

The latter saw that he must adopt a national tone, or relinquish all hope of ruling; yet it was equally apparent that so small a country as Scotland could not successfully resist the military force of England, unless some degree of support could be obtained from abroad. France was already watching the progress of affairs with considerable interest, and a war between that country and England would facilitate the resistance of the Scottish people. War actually broke out in 1294, and by the summer of that year the whole of Southern Scotland had uprisen against the dictation of Edward. Before the commencement of the outbreak, the English sovereign had summoned the Scottish nobles to aid him in the prosecution of hostilities with Philip IV. But here again he violated the marriage treaty of 1290; for it was there covenanted that Scotland should remain a separate and free kingdom, that its laws and customs should be preserved inviolate, and that no military aid should be claimed by the English King from the people of that country. The subsequent acknowledgement of Edward's suzerainty does not appear, according to the custom of those times, to have conferred the right to require military aid; and this demand of Edward was another cause of the national insurrection against his authority. A secret alliance with France was concluded by the Scottish King and Parliament; the Pope absolved Balliol from his oath of fealty; and the flame of insurrection burst forth with vivid brilliance from one end of the Lowlands to the other.

The situation was most serious for Edward. Across the Channel he had to encounter the hostility of the French; on the northern borders of his kingdom he was threatened by the Scots; while in the west he beheld a fresh movement of the Cambrians. But his wonderful energy enabled him to meet all these perils with a firm and unyielding front. The rising of the Welsh was put down without much difficulty; the designs of the French were checked; and Scotland for a time seemed as if it would share the fate of Western Britain. The struggle with Scotland began in 1296. The northern men were by that time beyond the border, besieging Carlisle; and they had already slaughtered a small body of English troops who represented the King's authority in the north. Edward at once advanced to Berwick-on-Tweed, a flourishing mercantile city, defended by nothing better than a wooden stockade, from behind which the citizens hurled taunting defiance at the English monarch. The stockade, however, was stormed with a sudden rush, and a terrible massacre repaid the gibes of the people. The city has never recovered its prosperity since that day, and Edward himself shed tears when a procession of priests appeared before him with cries for mercy. The character of this warrior-prince was made up of those contradictions which are not unusual with despotic sovereigns, in whom a disposition naturally generous struggles with the temptations of arbitrary power, or with the exasperation of a thwarted will. His conduct was often placable and forgiving; at other times, his ferocity was unsparing; and it is certain that he never allowed any considerations of humanity to interfere with the attainment of his designs. He said of himself, and perhaps with justice, that no man ever asked mercy of him, and was denied. But the asking of mercy—the confession of inferiority—was a condition precedent; otherwise, the traitor's death requited the rebel's audacity.

The work of destruction at Berwick was suspended in accordance with the prayers of the clergy; but it had proceeded so far that terror spread throughout Scotland. The King continued his march, and encountered no further opposition. The principal cities, including Edinburgh, opened their gates to the fierce Plantagenet. Balliol surrendered, and was sent a prisoner to England; Bruce joined the invading army; and it seemed as if the spirit of the people were completely broken. A worse man than Edward might have continued his ravages even after this tacit submission; but the English monarch forbore from any further cruelties. Nevertheless, he declared the independence of the kingdom at an end, and the nobility swore homage to Edward as their liege-lord. It was then that he took away with him to England the sacred stone on which the Scottish kings were crowned, and which is still preserved in Westminster Abbey. The government of Scotland was given to Warrenne, Earl of Surrey, who was assisted by an English Council of Regency. As in the case of Wales, the administration of the victor was for the most part just, and even beneficial; but it was the rule of a stranger and a conqueror, and the national spirit of the Scots, whose component elements seem to have been consolidated by the stress of war, rose angrily against the armed intrusion. By a very questionable exercise of the new authority, English priests were thrust into Scottish livings, and Scottish lands granted to English barons. The turbulent, moreover, fretted under the strong and equable government which repressed their lawlessness, their bloody quarrels, and their habitual thefts; so that an immense mass of opinion was formed against further submission to the commands of Edward. In May,

1297, Scotland was again throbbing with the wild pulse of insurrection; and this second movement brought forward a man who has achieved enduring fame as the typical representative of his countrymen.

Of the birth and family of William Wallace very little is known. The popular conception of the hero is largely fictitious, and is mostly derived from the metrical writings of Blind Harry, or Harry the Minstrel, who appears to have lived about two centuries after the time of Wallace. His name suggests a Welsh descent; but he seems to have been one of a knightly race established in the south-west of Scotland. The commonly-received picture of Wallace, as a Scottish Highlander in kilt and feathered bonnet, is as ridiculous a misrepresentation as can well be imagined. In personal appearance he was probably very similar to the Englishmen on the other side of the border; and, judging from the part of Scotland where he is thought to have been born, it is probable that he belonged mainly to the old British stock. In any case, however, his feeling was intensely national, and therefore strongly opposed to the English invasion. He is said to have been a man of enormous stature and prodigious strength, and, although we must allow for a good deal of legendary amplification in the accounts of his exploits, he was doubtless as great a hero as ever drew a sword in defence of violated independence. Wallace was the leader of the second insurrection. At the period of the rising, he was an outlaw, owing to his having killed a young Englishman of high position; and he was probably known to his countrymen as a man of courage and resource. Edward was then in Flanders, and the Earl of Surrey, seeing that the national revolt was serious, led his forces to Stirling, where, on the 11th of September, 1297, they were totally defeated by the Scots under Wallace. The army of the latter consisted principally of men drawn from the maritime districts north of the Tay, where the population was mainly of Anglo-Saxon origin. There can be no doubt, however, that a large part of Scotland was united in opposition to Edward, though the resistance was naturally rather in the south than in the north. Wallace handled his army with admirable skill, and his victory placed him in the undisputed position of national leadership. He acted as "Guardian of the Realm" in the name of Balliol, and his authority was universally accepted.

Encouraged by success, Wallace crossed into England, and ravaged a large tract of country without ntering any serious resistance. The English as at an end in Scotland; it was defied even in territories farther south. Edward saw that no time was to be lost. He returned from the continent in March, 1298, and, after making the necessary preparations, led a great army into Scotland. The battle of Falkirk, which was fought on the 22nd of July, ended in the entire defeat of Wallace, owing, it is said, to the jealousy of some among the Scottish nobles, who could not endure the exalted position of the popular hero. However this may have been, certain it is that the battle was so gallantly fought by Wallace that for a long while it seemed doubtful whether the English hosts would not be hurled back in disastrous rout. He formed his troops in those hollow squares or circles, with kneeling spearmen in front, archers within the enclosure, and cavalry in support, which have since been so effectual in many great encounters, including that of Waterloo.* For a time the English ranks were shattered; but Edward brought his bowmen to the front, and, after the Scottish lines had been pierced by their storm of arrows, sent his knights against them in a wild career of victory. It was only with difficulty that Wallace escaped from the field; but his spirit was unbroken, and he continued the struggle with a constancy and heroism which have endeared him to the minds of his countrymen for all time. Of the latter years of his life little is known with certainty. A vast amount of legend takes the place of exact history; but the existence of such tales may be reasonably accepted as proof of the valour and self-devotion of the Scottish champion.

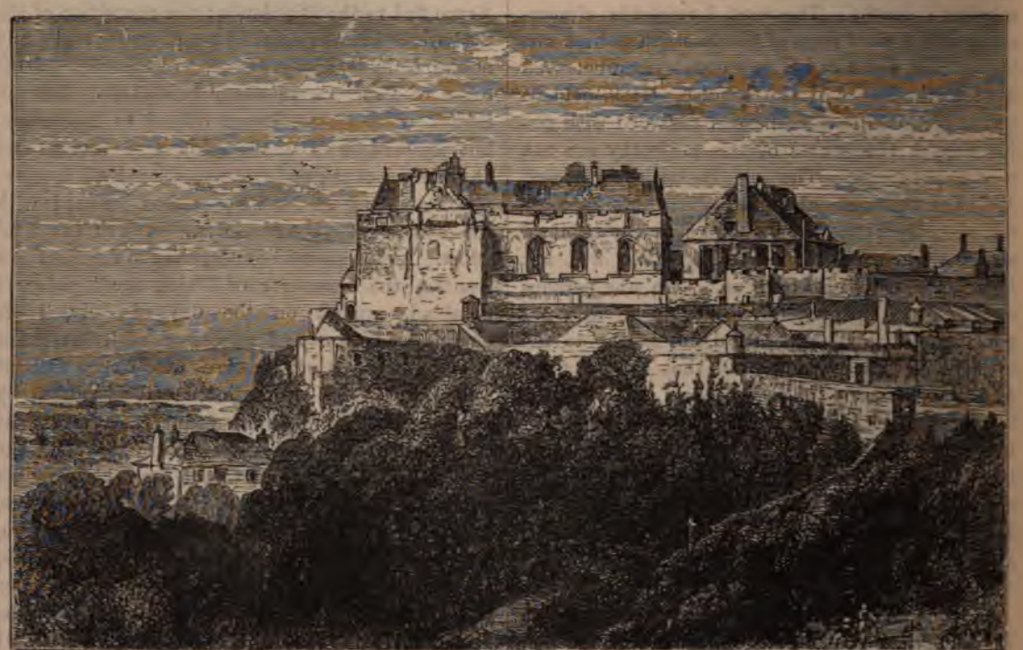
Victor as he was on the field of Falkirk, Edward I. soon found that he could not secure his hold on Scotland. Failure of supplies compelled him to retreat in 1300; yet he did not relinquish his favourite design. Having in 1299 concluded a treaty of peace with the King of France, he again invaded the North in the early summer of 1303. The force by which he was accompanied was of a most formidable nature, and Scotland was so much exhausted by the efforts of previous years, that for a time her nobles and people submitted to the threatening advance. The Irish Scots of the North —the Highlanders, as we call them—were ill-affected towards the British and Anglo-Saxon population of the south; and they now proved the allies of Edward. After his discomfiture at Falkirk, Wallace had resigned his position as Governor, or been forcibly deprived of it, and a Regency was formed under Robert Bruce, and Comyn, the Lord of Badenoch. As Edward

* Green's History of the English People.

aced into Scotland, Comyn acknowledged his eignty, and Stirling was surrendered to the ish King. Once more the conqueror exhibited lemency and spirit of justice which appear to been natural to his character, so long as there ıot an overt enemy to be vanquished. Scot- was ruled with moderation and strength, and nnesty was granted to all who had shared in ecent events. Wallace, however, was excepted the terms of this pardon, except on condition eking it, and, being captured, he was tried at minster in August, 1305, and condemned to itor's death. The most lamentable circum- e in the final days of the Scottish patriot was act that some of his own countrymen betrayed into the hands of the English. It is evident in certain quarters he was regarded with dis- though the causes of this antipathy are not ly apparent. The old Scottish chronicler, un, who wrote about a century later, records several of the nobility were in the habit of g, with respect to Wallace, "We will not this man to rule over us." He was perhaps dered an upstart, for, although he came of e blood, his parents did not belong to the ity. Edward knew well that his chief de- ence was on the nobles, and he entrusted overnment of Scotland to a Council selected their ranks, though some of its members had ately been in arms against his power. He llowed to Scotland ten representatives in the ish Parliament, and the country was divided for ial purposes into four districts, each of which ruled by an English and a Scottish justiciary. e conquest of Scotland now seemed complete. King had reason for believing that he had commenced that fusion of the two countries ı to him appeared so desirable, and which, it have been effected by a pacific agreement, t really have been beneficial to both. But his ı were doomed to disappointment, and another ; of the Scottish people in 1306 led to events ı entirely shattered the projects of Edward. ıew danger proceeded from a source which the had no reason to suspect. The Norman ; of Bruce had been well inclined to support nglish policy. From the Robert Bruce who me of the claimants to the Scottish throne on eath of the Princess Margaret, proceeded a lson of the same name, who had been brought the English Court. The family, indeed, was cted with Yorkshire as well as with Scotland, could hardly be considered Scottish in any of the term. Young Bruce was a favourite e English King; but he cherished projects of ambition, and in 1306 Edward discovered that he was intriguing with the Bishop of St. Andrews for his advancement to the Scottish throne. Finding that his plot had been revealed to the King, Bruce fled across the border, and in a church at Dumfries slew Comyn, whom he regarded as a traitor to his plans. Scotland again broke into fierce revolt; Bruce openly assumed the crown; and a fresh contest began between the two kingdoms. Edward was wrathful at the death of Comyn, and an English force, commanded by Aymer de Valence, Earl of Pembroke, was sent across the border. Bruce fled to the Highlands; the opposition of the Scottish levies was speedily swept aside; and many nobles, knights, and priests, who had supported the cause of Bruce, were either beheaded or hanged. Struck with terror, Bruce offered to capitulate; but Edward, who was on his way to Scotland at the head of the main army, refused all compromise, and, ill as he was, pushed forward with the ardour of younger days. It was his final effort. At Burgh-upon-Sands, close to the Northern frontier, the conqueror of Wales, the invader of Scotland, expired on the 6th of July, 1307, charging his son and successor with his latest breath to prosecute the war against Bruce without a moment's pause or hesitation. It is related by Froissart that he made the younger Edward swear that he would boil his body in a cauldron till the flesh fell off, and that he would carry his skeleton with him whenever he marched against the Scots. It was the wild dream of a distempered brain, struggling against the bitter necessity of death, and striving to perpetuate its influence even after the grave had closed upon all mortal toils. Possibly the story is not true; it is even doubtful whether the son was present at his father's death; yet the anecdote is in accordance with the proud and imperious nature of the man. The oath, however, if exacted, was never kept. The bones of Edward I. presided over no battle-fields after the breath had quitted his body, and, what was more important, the spirit of the old King vanished with his life.

The younger Edward had made a great pretence of eagerness in pursuing the Scottish expedition. Before starting from England, he had vowed that he would not remain two nights in the same place until he passed the Scottish borders; and on entering the northern kingdom he committed such unsparing cruelties as to call forth the reproof of his father. On succeeding to the crown, however, he did scarcely anything towards the subjugation of Scotland. At Cumnock, in Ayrshire, he turned back, and retreated to England. Robert Bruce,

left to himself for a period of seven years, gradually established his power over the whole country, though, as a Lowlander, he was at first regarded with great displeasure by the Highland clans. During the earlier portion of the time, his life was that of a guerilla chieftain, often hunted for his life, but as frequently turning upon his pursuers with fierce and sudden blows, the success of which brought many adherents to his side. In these adventures he was materially assisted by James Douglas, the principal of the Lowland barons, who, like his predecessor Wallace, never scrupled to employ fire and sword in the prosecution of his plans. Bruce rapidly advanced from one success to another, until at length the Scottish adherents of the English cause, and the jealous Highland chieftains, had all come over to his flag, and in 1313 the great fortress of Stirling was invested by the Scottish army. This important position was the last to be retained by any English force. If that were captured, all was lost; and even the feeble and effeminate Edward roused himself from his idle and unworthy pleasures, to make one supreme effort for the reduction of Scotland. He marched into the North in 1314, followed by 30,000 horsemen, and by a body of infantry which was to a great extent made up of wild and rugged levies from Ireland and Wales. The legions of Bruce, which consisted for the most part of foot-soldiers, were drawn up south of Stirling at a place called Bannockburn, from a small brook which there flanks the rising ground. Kneeling in their serried ranks, they received the benediction of the Abbot of Inchaffray; and the fire of patriotism mingled with the glow of religious exaltation. The formation of the Scottish army on that memorable 24th of June was similar to what had been adopted at Falkirk, and this time it was more successful than before. The charges of the English force were repeatedly broken by the steadfast squares of the enemy, and the wounded horses of the knights spread confusion among their own ranks. A panic set in among the discomfited assailants; the horsemen turned and fled, and, in the confusion of the moment, many were precipitated into a number of deep pits, covered with hurdles, and filled with sharp stakes, which had been excavated in the level ground to the left of the Scottish line. The English archers, and the Welsh and Irish auxiliaries, were slaughtered where they stood. Edward II., who showed the spirit of a coward, escaped to Dunbar with an escort of five hundred knights; but the English camp fell into the hands of the victors, and a vast amount of plunder rewarded their



STIRLING CASTLE.



BANNOCKBURN: THE ABBOT OF INCHAFFRAY BLESSING THE SCOTS BEFORE THE BATTLE.

courage and perseverance. This famous encounter was followed by a number of desultory actions, in which the Scots extended their power to the very borders, and harassed Northumberland by repeated inroads. Bruce and his brother Edward even invaded Ireland, and it was for some time doubtful whether that island would not be transferred from the English to the Scottish dominion. Another army was despatched into Scotland, but compelled to retreat. At length a truce for thirteen years was concluded, and the royal title of Bruce was recognised by the English monarch. Fresh troubles broke out in 1327, when Edward the son of John Balliol was received at the English court. Robert Bruce, then near the end of his life, revenged himself by sending a marauding force across the borders. The English were wholly baffled in their endeavours to repel this irregular invasion; and in 1328, shortly after the accession of Edward III., a treaty was concluded at Northampton, by which the independence of Scotland was formally recognised.

Apart from his Welsh and Scottish wars, the reign of Edward I. was distinguished by some important events. Considerable advances were made during those memorable years towards the consolidation of the English laws, and the settlement of the Constitution. Edward has sometimes been described, though with inexactness, as the English Justinian. The Great Charters of the previous reigns were confirmed; the bounds of ecclesiastical jurisdiction were defined and limited; the courts of justice were reformed; the regal power was circumscribed in some important respects; and the administration of the law was simplified. The division of Parliament into two Houses—the House of Lords and the House of Commons—took place under the sceptre of Edward I. It was then that for the first time the King depended wholly upon Parliament for the granting of supplies—a most valuable alteration in the earlier practice, since it put an end to arbitrary exactions, and gave the representatives of the people an opportunity of making the King's revenue dependent on the redress of grievances. Edward had the good sense to concede these changes; but he did so with some reluctance. The inheritor of despotic power never likes the relinquishment of his privileges; but a prudent ruler will give way where an obstinate and irritable man will push his resistance to the very extremity of ruin. Edward I. avoided actual conflict with the barons; but the barons sometimes found it necessary to apply coercion. Whenever the King was at war, whether with Scotland or with France, the English Parliament, representing the nobles, knights of the shire, and burgesses of the country, made some concession of popular rights the condition of their granting whatever money or other assistance might be required for the prosecution of the enterprise. Defeats were generally made the occasion of fresh demands, and the English people thus obtained solid advantage from the very reverses which their arms sustained. In 1306, the royal assent was given to an enactment by which the right of taxation was plainly affirmed to reside in the Parliament; indeed, the same concession had been made, though in less explicit terms, nearly ten years before. Notwithstanding repeated wars, the prosperity of England increased during the days of the first Edward; yet his commercial policy was far from liberal, and in matters of finance he gave the earliest example in our country of the practice of debasing the coinage. His oppression of the Jews, and banishment of those people from all parts of the realm, showed that he was not superior to the bigotry of the times. But, on the whole, the reign of Edward I. stands out conspicuously from the annals of England, as that of a statesman gifted both in war and peace, successful in most of his operations, and capable of leaving a distinct and permanent mark upon the nation which he ruled.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

DECLINE OF FEUDALISM AND THE PAPACY.

Philip IV. of France—His War with Aragon—Hostilities with Edward I. of England for the Possession of Guienne—Previous History of Flanders—War between Flanders and France—Conclusion of Peace with Edward I.—Flanders Annexed to the French Monarchy—Insurrection of the Flemings—Defeat of the French before Courtrai—Restoration of Flemish Independence—Contest between Philip IV. of France and Pope Boniface VIII.—Character and Previous Actions of the Pontiff—The Roman Jubilee of 1300—Renewal of the Quarrel with France—Mutual Bitterness and Recriminations—Plot against the Liberty of Boniface—His Seizure at Anagni, Release, and Subsequent Death—Strange Compact of Philip IV. with the Archbishop of Bordeaux—Succession of the Latter to the Papacy as Clement V.—Removal of the Seat of Papal Government to Avignon—Designs of Philip against the Templar Knights—Decline in the Character of that Order—Power and Riches of the Templars—Accusations of Idolatry and Immorality—Inquiry into their Conduct Ordered by Philip IV.—Evidence procured by Torture—Vacillation of the Pope—Condemnation of the Templars, and Execution of Several Knights—Suppression of the Order—Burning of Jacques du Molay—Death of Clement and of Philip—Fate of the Knights in Various Parts of Europe—Reigns of Louis X., Philip V., and Charles IV., of France—The Salic Law—Religious Persecutions.

On the death of Philip III. of France, in 1285, the crown devolved on his son Philip IV. (the Fair), who, on succeeding to power, carried on the war against Aragon which his father had commenced. Six years later, peace was concluded, on the understanding that Charles of Valois, brother of the French King, should renounce all pretensions to the Aragonese crown, and should receive in compensation the hand of the Princess Marguerite of Anjou, with the counties of Anjou and Maine for her dowry. At the same time, the King of Aragon engaged that his brother James should restore Sicily to the house of Anjou; but, as the reader is aware, the islanders placed themselves under the control of another brother, and Sicily remained a separate State from that of Naples. The settlement of this question enabled Philip to look in other directions. His great ambition was to deprive his kinsman, Edward I. of England, of the duchy of Guienne, or Aquitaine, which had descended to him from his ancestress, Eleanor, the wife of Henry II., and which was now almost the only remaining portion of the Plantagenets' continental possessions. A quarrel between some English and Norman seamen in the port of Bayonne, in the year 1292, and an irregular war between the fishermen of the Cinque Ports and the merchant-navy of France, at length embroiled the two monarchs, and gave Philip an excuse for attacking Edward. He seized Guienne in 1294, and then declared that the English King, having neglected to appear before the Parliament of Paris, in his capacity as Duke of that province, to answer the charges of his suzerain, had forfeited all his fiefs held of the crown of France. This of course led to direct hostilities between the two States; but Edward was greatly embarrassed in his operations by the war in Scotland and the insubordination of the Welsh. He had a valuable ally, however, in Guy of Flanders, who, having been unjustly and insultingly treated by the French sovereign, threw off his allegiance, and assumed a position of enmity.

Flanders, which is included in the modern kingdom of Belgium, was in ancient times a part of Gallia Belgica, the tribes inhabiting which gave considerable trouble to Julius Cæsar. At that date, the population was partly Celtic; but, towards the end of the third Christian century, the Franks began to enter the land, and in time the prevailing element became Teutonic. From the early part of the seventh century, Flanders was governed by an officer of the Frankish royal household, called the Grand Forester, or High Ranger, whose office was hereditary. The Counts of Flanders arose at a later period, and were not created until after the time of Charlemagne. One of the earliest of these Counts was Baldwin of Ardennes, surnamed Bras-de-Fer, or Iron-Arm, who, having married Judith, the daughter of Charles the Bald of France, and widow of Ethelwulf of England, received the province of Artois from his father-in-law, in 864, as a hereditary fief. To this ruler is to be attributed the commencement of that manufacturing industry for which Flanders was eventually so remarkable. In an earlier age, the country had to a great extent been covered with forests and marshes; but the land was afterwards cultivated, and towns sprang up, into which Baldwin introduced the fabrication of woollen and other goods. Baldwin IV. received, as a fief from the Emperor Henry II. of Germany, the burgraviate of Ghent and Walcheren, together with the islands of Zealand, and so became a prince of the Empire. His son and successor, Baldwin V., who reigned from 1036 to 1067,

added various German territories to his dominions, as Baldwin of Ardennes had added Artois. The county of Hainault, in particular, was a valuable augmentation of the Flemish realm. It will thus be seen that Flanders was originally a dependency of the Frankish Empire; that it was afterwards associated with the German realm; and that, for some centuries before the reign of Philip IV. of France, it had been an independent State, though owing fealty to the French sovereigns. A succession of prudent rulers developed a social state which in many respects offered a pleasing contrast to the lordly violence of countries more completely under the influence of feudalism. The towns were granted charters, by which they obtained the right of electing their magistrates, managing their local affairs, and defending their walls against invaders by a militia consisting of the burghers themselves. In this way, the cities acquired a position scarcely distinct from that of small republics; but they had to pay a fixed revenue to the Count, and received in return the protection of his authority. The result was seen in a remarkable development both of commerce and of manufacturing industry, and ultimately in the creation of a school of art which produced some of the greatest triumphs of the Middle Ages. The reader will recollect that it was one of the Baldwins who founded the Latin Empire of Constantinople; but, however stately and picturesque this episode may be, we must look in other directions for the true glory of the Flemings.

The war between France and Flanders was at first attended by great success on the part of the former. The whole of Western Flanders submitted in 1297, after a disastrous engagement near the town of Furnes. In another direction, Philip IV., commanding in person, took Lille and Courtrai, and then advanced against the Count of Flanders and Edward I. of England, who were stationed at Bruges, but who, feeling their inability to cope with so powerful a foe, fell back on Ghent, and requested a suspension of hostilities. This was granted, and, by the mediation of Pope Boniface VIII., a treaty of peace between France and England was signed in June, 1299. A matrimonial alliance between the families of the two monarchs was arranged at the same time, and, while Edward abandoned Flanders, Philip turned his back upon the Scots, whom he had previously supported. Flanders was speedily overrun, and in 1300 annexed to the crown of France; but, although the people gave a brilliant reception to the conqueror [illegible] progress through the subjugated country, [illegible] soon abundant reason to regret the change. Jacques de Châtillon, who was left as viceroy in Flanders after the return of the King, acted in the spirit of a petty tyrant, and a revolt burst forth at Bruges, in March, 1302. At the instigation of Peter Koning, syndic of the weavers, the French were suddenly attacked in the middle of the night, and slaughtered before they could make any resistance. A new army was at once sent into Flanders, under the command of Robert of Artois, who had distinguished himself in the previous campaign. But a terrible disaster awaited the invading hosts, and, almost for the first time in the history of the Middle Ages, it was seen that humble citizens, unaccustomed to the usages of war, could defeat, and almost annihilate, a force of well-appointed nobles and their retainers.

The Flemings resolved to make their defence before the walls of Courtrai, where their line was protected by a dyke running between high embankments. The French, disdaining their enemy, and therefore omitting all previous survey of the ground, rushed forward at the charge, and plunged headlong into the yawning gap. The dyke was soon filled with a mass of cavaliers and horses, struggling in vain to release themselves from their terrible position. The very armour, which, under ordinary circumstances, protected its wearer from the chances of the battle-field, now proved a misfortune and an embarrassment of the direst kind. A knight in full mail, dismounted from his horse, and thrown upon the ground, was unable to rise without assistance; and here there were hundreds of persons so situated, with no one to help, and with an equal number of maddened horses plunging wildly in their efforts for deliverance. At the same time, the infantry became confused by the sight of what had happened in their front; and the Flemings, crossing the dyke at two separate points, assailed the flanks of the enemy, on whom they inflicted a tremendous slaughter. Those of the nobles who endeavoured to climb up the banks of the sluggish stream were attacked with jagged clubs, which beat in their helmets and their skulls, so that very few escaped. Robert of Artois himself, and Jacques de Châtillon, lay stark among the slain. Four thousand golden spurs were picked up on the field of battle, and the 11th of July, 1302, has ever since remained a memorable day in Flemish annals. A subsequent campaign, in which the French King himself commanded, retrieved the fortunes of the invaders; but a definitive treaty of peace was concluded in 1305, by which Philip restored the Flemings to their former position, excepting in one portion of the country, which was united to France.

While these events proceeded, Philip IV. was conducting another contest of a very different and much more serious kind—a contest with Boniface VIII., in which the old question of the spiritual and temporal power once more rose into prominence. The disagreement was occasioned by a tax originally levied by the King on merchants only, but afterwards extended to other classes, so as even to include the clergy. This was so completely in defiance of what the Popes considered due to the exceptional position of the Church, that, in August, 1296, Boniface issued a Bull, in which he forbade the clergy to furnish princes with any kind of subsidy whatever, without permission of the Apostolic See. Philip retorted by a decree prohibiting his subjects from sending out of the kingdom any money or other property without his sanction. Such an edict was a very serious fact for the Papacy, since it deprived the Pope of that large portion of his income which resulted from the contributions of the French priesthood. A correspondence ensued between the Pontiff and the King, and, after some concessions had been made by the Pope, the amicable relations of the two potentates seemed to be restored. But Boniface was not the man to relinquish permanently any principle affecting the prerogatives of his office; and Philip IV., who was well acquainted with his previous career, could hardly have felt much confidence as to the future. Cardinal Benedetto Gaetani, who now filled the Papal chair as Boniface VIII., had from the first exhibited a spirit of ambition which, so far as his desires were concerned, placed him on a footing with Gregory VII. and Innocent III. In January, 1294, he had persuaded his predecessor, Celestine V. (who had reigned only a few months after quitting the cell of an anchorite), to abdicate the Papal chair on the ground of incapacity, and had confined him in the castle of Fumone, where he soon afterwards died, under circumstances which raised a suspicion that his end had been hastened. At the inauguration of Boniface, the Kings of Hungary and Sicily held the reins of his horse as he proceeded to the Lateran, and served him at table with their crowns upon their heads. He supported the Neapolitan King, Charles of Anjou, against the Sicilians whom the tyrannies of that sovereign had goaded into revolt. Subsequently, he waged a relentless war against two Cardinals of the house of Colonna who had opposed his election, and refused to admit Papal garrisons into their castles. The Cardinals wrote to the King of France, and to other monarchs, questioning the validity of the Pope's election, and complaining of the arrogance with which they were treated. Boniface replied by excommunicating the whole race of Colonna, together with their adherents, proclaiming a crusade against them, and depriving all the offenders of their estates and other property. The family was completely ruined; the city of Preneste, which had supported its cause, suffered demolition: and the two Cardinals, escaping into France, did their utmost to inflame the mind of Philip against his priestly foe.

Nevertheless, the compromise between Pope and King might perhaps have lasted, had it not been for the almost insane pride and extravagant assumptions of the former. Boniface proclaimed a jubilee, to be celebrated at Rome in the year 1300; and to all appearance it proved a great success. A Bull was issued, granting plenary indulgence to those who should visit the sanctuaries of the Papal city in that year, though, in previous times, such indulgences had been confined to persons who had joined the Crusades for the delivery of Palestine. So great a boon attracted countless numbers. It is stated that 200,000 visitors were simultaneously crowded within the walls of Rome, and that, taking the whole year, no fewer than 2,000,000 strangers entered the historic capital of the West. At the same time, a bounteous stream of money flowed into the Pontifical coffers; and Boniface may perhaps be excused for believing that the predominant and authoritative position of the Church, which had undoubtedly been declining for several years, had recovered its full height and magnitude. In the pride of his heart, he presented himself before the people with all the external marks of absolute dominion. The old man, now turned of eighty, appeared in the processions of the jubilee dressed in Imperial robes, preceded by two swords and the globe of sovereignty, and accompanied by a herald, who kept exclaiming, "Peter, behold thy successor! Christ, behold thy vicar upon earth!" Among the persons present at the Pontifical celebration was the greatest intellect of the age, the prince of Italian poets, Dante. His keen and uncompromising vision discerned the real weakness of the Papacy under all this flare of splendour and riot of exultation. His austere and lofty nature revolted from the coarse ambition and unscrupulous policy of Boniface; and he has left his character written for all time in the enduring pages of the "Inferno."

The quarrel with France burst out again with additional bitterness shortly after the jubilee of 1300. Boniface renewed his pretensions, but encountered in Philip a combatant as arrogant and unscrupulous as himself, and, as the event showed,

more powerful. The French sovereign demanded homage from two rulers whose fiefs were held of the Church; the Pope forbade them to comply, and sent to France, as his Legate, Bernard de Saisset, Bishop of Pamiers, who had shortly before been appointed without the King's consent, and who was suspected of treasonable views against the royal authority in Languedoc. The Bishop took the first opportunity of making himself personally offensive to the King. Philip immediately ordered his arrest, and caused him to be examined before the Parliament at Senlis. The Pope then addressed a Bull to his rival, which is known by the title of its two first words, "Ausculta, fili" ("Listen, son"), and which was expressed in so haughty a tone that it was publicly burned at Paris, in presence of the nobles and the people. It is certain that the King had the general support of his subjects in this contest with the Apostolic See. The days of absolute submission to Rome had passed, and it was seen that the liberties of France were intimately concerned in the quarrel. On the 10th of April, 1302, Philip IV. convoked the States-General, and obtained from them an unanimous vote, supporting him in his policy of defiance to the demands of Boniface. A manifesto was despatched to the Pope, and presently answered by another Bull, even more extreme than its predecessor. It was here declared that the Church was one body under one head, but possessing two swords: one spiritual, to be wielded by the Pope himself; the other temporal, to be employed by kings and knights at his will, and with his permission. Every human being, Boniface added, was in subjection to the See of Rome; and he concluded another Bull with the words,—"Since such is our pleasure, who, by Divine permission, rule the world." Philip was excommunicated in April, 1303, and his kingdom given to the German Emperor Albert; but he met the blow by an act of indictment against the Pope, in which he charged him with a number of serious offences, and required that he should be judged by a General Council of the Church. It is a curious feature of this not very dignified controversy that the replies of the French King to the Roman Pontiff were issued to the people in a form very different from that in which they were really despatched to Rome. The actual documents were couched in respectful language; the sham replies, produced for the amusement of the French populace, abounded in the most extravagant insults.



PHILIP IV. OF FRANCE.

Boniface was probably unaware of these flowers of rhetoric; but he knew that the contest had already gone to such extremities that one or the other disputant must be absolutely crushed. He did not feel safe even in Rome, and therefore

retired to Anagni, his native town, where he was surrounded by friends and relations. From this place he prepared to issue a Bull, announcing the deposition of Philip, and releasing his subjects from further allegiance. The French sovereign, however, had received some intimation of his design, and had despatched William de Nogaret, a professor of the civil law, to the neighbourhood of Anagni, to concert measures for bringing the Pope



BATTLE OF COURTRAI.

under some species of coercion. There he formed a league with Sciarra Colonna, a member of the family whose wrath had been kindled so highly against the Pontiff, and also with a military adventurer named Supino, who had accepted a bribe of ten thousand florins from Philip IV. No time was to be lost, if the sentence of deposition was to be stifled before its promulgation. On the 7th of September, 1303—the day before that on which the deposition was to be pronounced—Nogaret, Colonna, and Supino, accompanied by a few hundred men, entered Anagni, burst open the gates of the palace, and appeared before the aged Pope, whom they found seated on his throne, with the crown on his head. Cries of "Death to the Pope!" "Long live the King of France!" were uttered by the conspirators. The Pontiff was menaced, perhaps even treated with physical violence; but, after a moment of weakness, he met the brutality of his enemies with a dignity and self-control rarely wanting in men who are conscious of a moral support. The Cardinals had less courage, and fled in dismay from the palace. Anagni was pillaged, as much by the populace themselves as by the conspirators; but, two days later, the feeling of the people changed. Nogaret and his friends had overdone their violence, and even the turbulent saw that there was something shameful in thus ill-using an old man of eighty-six, who, whatever his personal faults, was at any rate the spiritual head of Western Christendom. Suddenly rising against the anti-Papal faction, the citizens drove its leaders away, and restored the Pope to freedom. But the end of his life was close at hand. During the time of his confinement, he had refused to take food, owing to the fear of poison; and when released, and carried into the market-place, he is reported to have said, "Good people, I tell you truly, I have nothing to eat or drink. If there is

any good woman who will charitably bestow on me a little bread and wine, or even a little water, I will give her God's blessing and my own. Whoever will bring me the smallest thing in my necessity, I will give him remission of all his sins." This humility, though perhaps sincere at the moment, covered a volcano of fiery and tumultuous passion. Boniface soon afterwards returned to Rome, burning with animosity against his enemies, and threatening vengeance which it was not given him to execute. The shock which his system had sustained from alarm, anger, and deprivation of food, was more than a man of his advanced years could sustain. Fever passed into delirium; delirium deepened into madness. Celestine, whom Boniface had deprived of the Pontificate, had prophesied that he would die like a dog; and, as a dog in the crisis of madness, he now foamed at the mouth, and ground his teeth. Cursing and raging even against his friends, he expired without the sacraments of the Church, in October, 1303, after a troublous reign of nearly ten years.

Boniface was succeeded by Benedict XI., whom Philip IV. hoped to use for his own purposes, and who did actually rescind the Bulls of his predecessor, and admit the French monarch to communion, without requiring any concessions. The latter demanded of the new Pope a formal condemnation of his predecessor for heresy and other crimes. Benedict, however not merely refused, but pronounced sentence of excommunication upon Nogaret, Colonna, and their companions. A month afterwards, Benedict died suddenly, and it was believed that he had been poisoned by some figs presented to him by the sister of a religious order. The agents of the French King were accused of having prompted this crime (which occurred in 1304), and the facts look suspicious. Philip had been intriguing with the Roman Cardinals, and had obtained from them a promise that they would vote for whatever candidate he chose to name at the next vacancy. Bertrand de Goth, Archbishop of Bordeaux, was the person designed by the King for the perilous honour of the Popedom; but Philip determined first to extract from him a specific promise that he would do in all things as his patron might require. They met secretly in a forest, heard mass together, and mutually bound themselves by an oath to keep absolute silence with regard to the interview, and the compact by which it was to be distinguished. Philip revealed to the Archbishop the letters he had obtained from the electoral colleges, and which showed that the Cardinals were pledged to appoint the nominee of the French sovereign. Bertrand de Goth, who was ambitious and unscrupulous, expressed unbounded gratitude to the King, and promised to obey him in every particular. Philip then required of the prelate that, on succeeding to the Papal chair, he would reconcile him entirely to the Church, and get him pardoned for his misdeed in arresting Boniface; that he would grant the communion to him and all his followers; that he would allow him to take tithes of the clergy for five years, in order to defray the expenses of the Flemish war; that he would destroy and annul the memory of Boniface VIII.; and that he would confer the dignity of Cardinal on certain of his friends and supporters. He also demanded a sixth favour, the nature of which he would not then divulge, as it was a great and secret thing. The Archbishop not merely promised to accept these terms, but gave his brother and two nephews as hostages; and the strange interview in the shadowy wood was brought to a close by an oath on the part of the King that he would cause the election of Bertrand to the Pontifical dignity.

The official title of the new Pope (whose reign began in 1305) was Clement V., and it is almost needless to say that he was the humble servant of the French monarch. He allowed the King to extract what money he pleased from the French clergy; he authorised the Count of Flanders to tax his priests in the same way, to the end that he might discharge his debt to Philip; he wrung from the miserable ecclesiastics equal sums of money for the maintenance of his own state; and he lived in boundless luxury and profusion, without heeding the ruin which his exactions brought on many flourishing districts. Next, the Jews were plundered for the benefit of Pope and King; and the pride of the Romans—to a certain extent, the feeling of all Western Christendom, except France—was outraged by the determination of his Holiness (probably at the instigation of Philip) to quit the Eternal City, and to rule the Christian world from Avignon. This town, now the capital of the Department of Vaucluse, was formerly included in Provence, but had been granted by Philip III. to the Popes in 1273. It was in 1309 that Clement V. removed his court thither, and for sixty-eight years—viz., until 1377—Avignon continued to be the Papal residence. The six successors of Clement V. (all of them Frenchmen, like himself), who wore the crown during that period, were regarded by the Italians with feelings of dislike and contempt. They compared this long interval in the annals of the true Roman Pontiffs to the Babylonish captivity of the Israelites; and it is certain that the Popes of Avignon were little more than the ecclesiastical agents of the French monarchy.

The sixth favour which Philip IV. demanded f the Archbishop of Bordeaux when he should e chosen as Pope, and which for the time e kept a secret, had reference, probably, to the ontemplated suppression of the Knights Tem- lars. The consent of the Pope to this act was emanded with the more eagerness because Cle- ıent, with all his meanness and base compliance, ras unwilling to expose the wrong-doings of his redecessor, Boniface VIII., by condemning his ıemory, as he had undertaken to do in the forest. Philip at length consented to waive the gratifica- ion of his implacable hatred, on the understanding hat he should receive material help in his persecu- ion of the Templars. His motive for desiring their estruction was that which influenced so many of is actions. They were wealthy, and Philip wished o possess himself of their abundant riches. They ıad also offended him by taking the side of Boni- ace VIII., and supplying him with funds for arrying on the struggle with France. The glorious lays of the Knights Templars had departed with he particular form of heroism developed by the Crusades. Yet in 1307 they were still a very mportant body, numbering altogether fourteen housand cavaliers, owning many of the best nanors in France, and possessing numerous castles n various parts of that country. Unfortunately for their worldly position, they were at issue with he Knights Hospitallers, another powerful body, who, in combination with the Templars, might have placed the latter beyond all fear of attack. As it was, the Templars had done much to invite aggression, and to invest it with a plausible air of justice. They had become luxurious, sensual, and selfish; and, although the worst charges brought against them may not be true, there was quite enough to give Philip a pretext for his attack. The decline from their original virtue had com- menced within half a century of their establish- ment, and had progressively deepened with every generation. Nevertheless, they retained their courage, and the knightly perfections of the Templars were brilliantly displayed on many a hard-fought battle-field, down to the last struggle for the Holy Land, in 1291. The head-quarters of the Order had long been settled in the island of Cyprus; but their possessions were spread all over the West of Europe, and the Temple at London, now devoted to the study of the law, was at one time the dwelling of these religious warriors. In Paris they had obtained undisputed command over one-third of the city—a place of retreat which they defended with towers and battlements, so that it had all the character of an impregnable fortress. Philip IV. might not unreasonably have objected to the existence of such an *imperium in imperio;* and had he merely considered the safety of the State, and proceeded with fairness and equity, it would perhaps be impossible to blame his action.

The constitution of the Order was such as naturally excited suspicion. Everything was shrouded in mystery; and where there is a secret procedure, men will generally infer a guilty prac- tice. The reception of new members was held to be so sacred that any intruder—even the greatest in the world—would assuredly have been slain on the spot. It was an inevitable result of this dark seclusion that stories grew up as to abominable practices, hideous ceremonials, and outrageous blasphemies, by which the inner chambers of the Order were defiled. People alleged that the Tem- plars, while in Jerusalem, had been converted to the Mohammedan faith, and that it was one of their ordinary habits to insult the image of Christ and the sign of the cross. They were said to employ the word "Baphomet," as denoting a species of idol; and it was supposed that this word was a corruption of the name Mahomet, or Mohammed. The alleged etymology, however, is doubtful, and the German scholar, Count Hammer-Purgstall, who in the early part of the present century published an elaborate essay on the secret practices of the Templars, believes it to be derived from two Greek words, signifying "the God who baptizes according to the Spirit." The deity in question, says Von Hammer, was the God of the Gnostics and the Manichæans, and the consecration referred to was the baptism of fire, significant of that spiritual illumination which the Gnostics boasted as their privilege. The views and customs of the earlier Gnostics were doubtless perfectly innocent; but the reaction on mysticism is frequently sensual, and the particular sect of Gnostics called the Ophites, or Serpent Brethren, who arose in Egypt in the eleventh Christian century, appear to have been addicted to many licentious rites. From the Ophites, in the opinion of Von Hammer, the Templars derived whatever was morally objection- able in their ceremonials; and although this view has been strongly controverted by high authori- ties, it is supported by some facts not easily to be explained away. Certain symbols, found on Gnostic and Ophitic bowls still extant, are also to be dis- covered in many churches built by the Red-Cross Knights in Germany and France.

Pressed by the demands of Philip, Clement V. consented, though with some unwillingness, to an inquiry into the conduct of the Templars, but

added that their estates must be applied to the purpose of succouring the Holy Land, and should not be converted to any secular use. The King now proceeded with confidence, but at the same time with craft. He prayed the Order to accept him as a brother, in the hope, doubtless, that he would be made Grand Master, and thus obtain full command over the corporate funds. But the Templars refused to admit the King into their ranks, and Philip, who had just before commended their singular piety and virtue, charged them with the most extravagant crimes of which it is possible to be guilty. At this time, Jacques du Molay, the Grand Master of the Templars, was staying in France, to which he had been sent by the Pope, under pretence of organising a new Crusade. He brought with him an immense amount of gold and silver, and was attended by some of his chief officers. Though at first received by Philip with flattering distinctions, he was suddenly arrested on the 13th of October, 1307, and at the same moment all the Templars in France were deprived of their liberty. Philip at once took possession of the great fortified position of the Temple at Paris, and an inquiry into the conduct of the knights was speedily instituted. The inquisition was based on certain revelations made to the King by two members of the Order who had been punished by their fellows for misconduct; but the testimony of such witnesses was insufficient, even in those days, to give the smallest pretence of justice to a legal condemnation. It was therefore necessary to obtain other evidence, and this was done after the usual fashion of barbarous times, by putting the accused to torture, and wringing admissions from their lips. Others were seduced into confessions by promises of pardon and favour; and in these ways many damaging statements were procured. On the other hand, thirty-six knights, in Paris alone, maintained their innocence till death put an end to their sufferings.

Similar measures were taken in the provinces, and a vast mass of testimony was thus manufactured, which, whatever may have been its worth, answered the purposes of the King. Many of the so-called confessions were retracted shortly after they had been made; but the words taken down in writing were all that the inquisitors recognised. In May, 1308, a meeting of the States-General was held at Tours, when the alleged facts were brought forward in detail. The Templars were declared guilty, and worthy of the punishment of death; but Clement V., revolting against the dictation of his royal master, proclaimed that the affair of the Templars was for him, and him only, to judge. He accordingly suspended the inquisitors from their functions, and sent two Legates to the King, to demand that the persons and property of the accused should be given up to them. It was but a brief and feeble outbreak of spirit. Philip speedily persuaded the miserable Pontiff to adopt a more compliant course, with the single concession that, before the case was submitted to the General Council, a Papal commission should be opened at Paris for the re-examination of the prisoners. The commission met in August, 1309. Opinion seemed turning in favour of the knights, when Philip, desirous of hastening the proceedings, assembled a provincial council at Paris on the 10th of May, 1310. By this obsequious body, fifty-four of the accused were condemned to death, and all perished at the stake, in a field behind the Abbey of St. Antoine, a few days later. Similar proceedings were taken in various parts of France, and, in March, 1312, Clement pronounced a decree abolishing the Order of the Templars. Their landed estates were bestowed upon the Knights Hospitallers of St. John of Jerusalem (then called the Knights of Rhodes, from their new place of residence); but two-thirds of the movable property were claimed and appropriated by the French monarch.

Jacques du Molay, and the Preceptors of Normandy, Aquitaine, and Poitou, were kept in confinement until the 11th of March, 1314, when they were condemned by a Papal commission to perpetual imprisonment. In passionate terms, the Grand Master and the Preceptor of Normandy called Heaven to witness their innocence; and Philip, dreading the effect of such declarations, hurried the two speakers on to a small island of the Seine, where, in the course of the ensuing night, they were burned to death. The Italian historian, Ferretti of Vicenza, relates a very striking incident, to the effect that Jacques du Molay, after the flames had been kindled, summoned the Pope and the King to answer for their iniquities before the tribunal of God, the one in forty days, the other within a twelvemonth. As a matter of fact, both potentates expired within the specified periods; but it is probable that the story arose subsequently to the event, and in consequence of it. The death of Clement took place on the 20th of April, 1314; that of Philip on the 29th of November in the same year. Of the two men, it is perhaps fair to say that the one was more contemptible, the other more wicked. Clement seems to have had occasional impulses of a respectable nature; but he had made himself the slave of Philip, and had no strength to shake off that

degrading yoke. The personal views of Philip have sufficiently appeared in the course of this narrative; but, by breaking the power of the feudal nobility in France, and restoring the supremacy of law, he ensured the ultimate progress of his country to a higher level than that of earlier times.

The Templars were prosecuted in other lands besides France, though for the most part with less severity. As regards England, the weak-minded Edward II. was undoubtedly influenced by his father-in-law, Philip IV., although, in the first instance, he expressed the utmost surprise at the charges alleged against the knights, and even wrote to the sovereigns of Portugal, Castile, and Aragon, urging them not to credit such improbable accusations. He also addressed the Pope, imploring his favour on behalf of an injured and calumniated body; yet in a little while he ordered the sheriffs of England and Wales to seize the estates of the Order, and to imprison the cavaliers themselves. After remaining in durance more than a year and a half, these unfortunate men were brought to trial in the latter part of 1309. The investigation lasted until July, 1311, and several confessions of heresy were drawn from the incriminated persons; but the charges of gross immorality appear to have been denied. After their recantations, the English Templars were re-admitted to the bosom of the Church, from which they had been temporarily excluded; but they were at the same time condemned to perpetual penance in several monasteries. It is to the honour of this country that not one of the knights was put to death, and that torture was not employed for the extraction of damaging statements. The Archbishop of York, in writing to his clergy, mentioned the fact that torture was unknown in England, and added that there was no machine for such a purpose in any part of the realm. Nevertheless, he put the question to his ecclesiastics, whether torture might be used, and whether he should send to foreign lands for the implements commonly employed in judicial proceedings. The opinion of the clergy would seem to have been against such a course; but it may be that the admissions of the Templars were to some extent obtained by the fear of ill-usage. In Italy, the members of the Order were subjected to cruel persecution; but in Germany and Spain they were acquitted of all charges. The designs of Philip, however, were in the main successful. The Order, as we have seen, was suppressed, and the property of the corporation passed into other hands.

The French King, Philip IV., was succeeded by his son Louis X., whose reign, commencing in 1314, terminated prematurely in 1316. The young man, having neither the experience nor the strength of mind of his father, was unable to resist the discontent of the nobles, who protested against the increasing power of the Crown, and demanded the re-establishment of aristocratic privilege. While granting these requirements, Louis issued an ordinance enfranchising the serfs upon the royal domains; but this was done rather as a means of obtaining money than as a concession to justice. The serfs were obliged to purchase their freedom, and the measure was exceedingly unpopular amongst the very class it professed to benefit. On the death of Louis, his brother Philip was appointed regent, and, as the late King had left no son, the question arose as to whether his daughter Jeanne could succeed. During the whole period of the Capetians, the French crown had regularly descended in the male line, and the question whether a woman could succeed had never been considered, because it had never yet arisen. A posthumous son was born to Louis about four months after his death; but the infant died in six days, and the regent was crowned King of France on the 9th of January, 1317. At the next assembly of the States-General, it was formally declared that women were incapable of inheriting the crown of France. This decision was supported by an article from the code of the Salian Franks—a document written in the barbarous Latin of the fifth century, while the people were still heathens. The clause, which is somewhat obscurely expressed, had in truth no relation to the royal succession, but simply provided that Salic land—in other words, the allodial property of the tribe—should not descend to females. French jurists affirm that the exclusion of women from the throne has at all times been a fundamental maxim of their government. There appears, however, to be a failure of proof that any such principle was ever set forth in ancient days; yet, as a matter of fact, no woman had occupied the throne of France since the time of Clovis, and custom might not unreasonably be cited as tantamount to law. The great fiefs, indeed, could descend to women, and, as regent for her son, Blanche of Castile had actually exercised the rights of sovereignty. But the French of the fourteenth century could not reconcile themselves to the idea of a reigning Queen, and the Salic Law, as it was called, became thenceforth the established and acknowledged custom of the French monarchy.

The most important incidents in the reign of Philip V. were religious persecutions, which on several occasions distracted the land, and injured

the prosperity of the people. As usual, these disturbances occurred principally in the southern provinces, especially in Languedoc and Provence. The mendicants of the Franciscan Order, who had shown great zeal in denouncing the corruptions of



CASTLE OF THE POPES, AVIGNON.

the Papacy, were severely repressed, and large numbers died at the stake in 1318 and the following year. In 1320, the Pastoureaux, whose extravagances have been mentioned on a former page, sprang up into renewed activity, and, after committing terrible excesses, were massacred in heaps on the marshy plains near Aigues Mortes. The year 1321 was frightfully distinguished by an outbreak of popular ferocity against the Lepers, those miserable sufferers from defective sanitary laws, who in the Middle Ages were the objects of a cruel and irrational hatred. On this occasion, they were accused of having poisoned the wells and fountains in Poitou and Guienne, of dealing in sorcery and magic, of acting in the service of the Moorish King of Granada, and of being associated with the Jews. The oppression of the Lepers, many of whom were executed without even the form of a trial, was followed by an onslaught on the Jews themselves, who were burned alive in large numbers, without any specific charges being established against them. Bigotry amongst the ignorant was seconded by cupidity on the part of the King; and an enormous sum of money was transferred from the pockets of the Jews to the treasure-

chests of the sovereign. Philip expired at an early age, on the 3rd of January, 1322. His successor, Charles IV., was the third and youngest son of Philip IV. His reign was principally distinguished by troubles with England, and by the commencement of those complications which afterwards led to the great war with Edward III. Charles died on the 31st of January, 1328, and with him the House of Capet came to an end, after having ruled over France from 987—a period of three hundred and forty-one years, marked by many important events, and signalised by the rise of Modern France out of the previous contests of Gaul and Frank.



CHURCH AND TOWER OF THE TEMPLE, PARIS.

CHAPTER XL.

SOCIAL LIFE AND ART IN THE MIDDLE AGES.

English Life at the End of the Thirteenth Century—The Model Bishop—Journey to London and Visitations—A Village—Serfs and their Services—Their Houses—Opportunities of Rising in the World—England at the Close of the Fourteenth Century—Characters Described by Chaucer—The Knight, Squire, and Yeoman—Six Representatives of the Church: Prioress, Monk, Friar, Summoner, Pardoner, and Parson—The Clerk of Oxford—The Professions: Sergeant-at-Law and Doctor of Physic—Representatives of Rural Life: Franklin, Reeve, Miller, and Ploughman—Craftsmen—Rural Life in France—Comfort and Cleanliness—The French Court—Interior of Castles—Improved Furniture, &c.—Cities of the Netherlands—Markets—New Town Walls—Sanitary Regulations—Baths—Good and Evil of Mediæval Life—Florentine Treatise "On the Government of the Family"—Management of Wives—Gothic Architecture—Its Characteristics: Pointed Arch, Gable, and Foliation—The Early English and Decorated Styles—Gothic Architecture in France, the Netherlands, and Italy—Spirit of Gothic Work—Function of the Workman—Revival of Painting in Italy—Cimabue and Giotto.

It is scarcely possible to draw a picture of social life which shall be true of the whole of Western Europe during the Middle Ages. The differences between one country and another, in natural wealth and physical characteristics, brought about differences in national life; and the relations of classes to one another varied with the development of each people. Yet this was a period when the

several states of Western Europe were probably more closely bound together, and during which there was greater uniformity in externals, than at any time until the introduction of railways. The nations were only gradually becoming conscious of their separate being; they were not yet divided from one another by religion and commercial rivalries; and they were held together by one Church, by the institution of Chivalry, by University intercommunication, and by town-leagues. Everywhere the ecclesiastical organisation was the same, the language of worship Latin, the training of the clergy identical; everywhere the work of the "regulars" was supplemented by orders of monks and friars, regardless of national divisions. Men were admitted to knighthood in all countries with much the same ceremonies, and put before themselves the same ideals; scholars wandered freely from University to University, and in each attacked the same problems in the same way; and the towns everywhere aimed at similar liberties, and followed the same main lines of internal change.

In giving a somewhat detailed account of the manner of living of a few representative persons and groups, our illustrations will naturally be drawn from England as at once the most interesting country for us, and that in which the materials for such an inquiry are most abundant. First we will take the mediæval Bishop; not the great minister whose work was chiefly secular, such as Wyckham of Winchester, but a Bishop of the second rank, zealously occupied with discharging the duties of his office. Such a Bishop was Swinfield of Hereford, whose "Household Roll" for the years 1289 and 1290 has come down to us, and been printed by the Camden Society. In addition to the episcopal palace at Hereford, and his dwellings at Worcester and London, he had eight manor-houses, to each of which a farm was attached, and we are able to trace him from one to the other. Each of these manor-houses consisted of a great hall, wherein festivals were held, ecclesiastical causes heard, and homage rendered by the lay-tenants, together with a private chamber for the Bishop, a separate kitchen, and a buttery. But these latter were very small, so that the hall was the one common living-room of the household, where they ate and slept. Upon his journeys, the Bishop was attended on horseback by a chaplain, two clerks (probably for secretarial work), a steward, a couple of farriers to do the shoeing which the rough roads rendered necessary, and other servants. Sumpter horses and carts bore clothes, provisions, and kitchen utensils, including in the latter a large supply of crockeryware, which was constantly being broken by the carts turning over. The cavalcade was preceded some few hours by the domestic baker, who prepared a goodly store of bread for consumption upon arrival. Meat was plentiful, and was supplied by the tenants upon the episcopal estates. In November, large numbers of oxen, sheep, and pigs, and also of deer, were, with apparent impartiality, slaughtered and put into the salting-tubs. During the winter, the rich occasionally had fresh meat; but salted meat was usually eaten, and the great majority of the people had no alternative. Fish was abundant, and was the chief food of fast-days and Lent: in estates situated upon a river, the tenants were often bound to pay dues of eels, &c. Ale was brewed by women at each of the manor-houses; a vineyard on one of the Bishop's estates yielded seven casks of white wine yearly, and foreign wine reached him by way of Bristol.

On December 20th, 1289, the Bishop set out for London to attend Parliament and Convocation, when the troop included as many as fifty-one horses. By slow stages, they reached the Berkshire Downs; and here the country was so saturated with rain, and the fords were so dangerous, that a guide had to be hired. After partaking of the hospitality of the Abbot of Reading for four days, the party arrived on January 7th, 1290, at the Bishop's house in Old Fish Street. It shocks our notions of episcopal dignity to learn that the Bishop assisted commerce, and at the same time added to his income, by letting his London house to a pepperer, or grocer, who occupied it when the owner was not in London. Each day, the Bishop went to Westminster by boat, while his attendants made their way on horseback along the Strand to join him there. The Strand was a very rough road, with bridges across little streams, and almost impassable for foot passengers in the muddy season. It was not till some years later that there was a paved way, though pavements had already been made in the City. Comparatively few houses were of stone at this time; most were almost entirely of wood, or of wood and clay. Coal was very little used, and, as has been well said, "in an age of dirt, London looked brighter than in an age of cleanliness." After about a week's attendance in Parliament, the Bishop of Hereford set out upon his homeward journey, his steward having meanwhile laid in a store of "town goods." It is pleasant to see them met on their way by two students of Oxford, who were maintained there at the expense of the Bishop, himself a man of humble origin. Returning home to Prestbury on January

25th, the prelate rested for a month, and then in March set out on his episcopal visitation. This round lasted only three weeks; but in April and May he again devoted seven weeks to similar work. He had thus fairly earned the holiday trip which we find him taking later in the year as far as Kent, to purchase an estate.

It may be well now to look at the life of an ordinary village in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.* The chief person within it was of course the lord of the manor, dwelling in the manor-house, cultivating the demesne personally or by a bailiff, and exercising certain rights over the other inhabitants. At the manor-house the court-baron and court-leet were held, the former of freeholders for civil proceedings, the latter of all tenants, free and serf, for minor criminal matters. Beneath the lord was the rector with his glebe-land; or, in his place, if some neighbouring monastery had gained the impropriation of the benefice, a vicar or ordained monk, receiving only a small part of the tithes. Then came the military tenants, if any, who held their land by knight-service; the free tenants paying rent; and the serfs (*nativi*) and cottagers (*coterelli*),—the last class being usually the more numerous. But the proportion varied considerably: thus, in one manor, which belonged to Merton College, there were only three freeholders, thirteen serfs, and eight cottagers; while in another there were twenty freeholders, four serfs, and four cottagers. One actual instance of the condition of a serf will sufficiently illustrate the position of the class. He holds twelve acres of arable land, and for this is bound to pay a halfpenny on November 12th, and a penny whenever he brews (the value of these sums was probably twenty times as much as now), and to perform the following services:—"He is to pay a quarter of seed-wheat at Michaelmas, a peck of wheat, four bushels of oats, and three hens, on November 12th; and at Christmas a cock and two hens, and two pennyworth of bread. He is to plough, sow, and till half an acre of his lord's land, and to give his services, as he is bidden by the bailiff, except on Sundays and feast-days. He is to reap three days with one man, at his own charges, in harvest time. He is not to marry son or daughter, to sell ox, calf, horse, or colt, or to cut down oak or ash, without the lord's consent." The cottagers occupied much smaller pieces of land, and some were engaged in the various crafts customary in the village. "The houses of these villagers," says Mr. Rogers, "were mean and dirty. The better class of yeoman had timber houses, built on a frame, the spaces being either lathed and plastered within and without, or filled with clay kneaded up with chopped straw. The floor was the bare earth. The sleeping apartments under the thatched roof were reached by a ladder or rude staircase. A few chests were ranged round the walls, the bacon rack was fastened to the timbers overhead, and the walls of the homestead were garnished with agricultural implements. The wood fire was on a hob of clay. Chimneys were unknown, except in castles and manor-houses, and the smoke escaped through the door, or whatever other aperture it could reach. Artificial light was too costly for common use, for a pound of candles could only have been procured at nearly the price of a day's work."

Such as it was, however, the position of the serf was secure. In spite of the legal theory that he could possess no property, he was really safe in his holding as long as the dues were satisfied. These dues differed enormously in character and degree, being in some places scarcely more than a slight money payment and a day's labour, in others extremely burdensome. Everywhere during the fourteenth century, these labour-rents were gradually commuted for money payments, and thus the class of copyholders was created. We must beware of supposing that life in the Middle Ages was less hopeful as well as rougher than to-day. It is not improbable that the serf had a better chance of rising than the agricultural labourer of our own generation. He could save enough money to buy permission from his lord to migrate to a neighbouring town, and there seek his fortune. During war, also, a bold and skilful warrior could rise to knighthood and command, even in the midst of the narrow, mock-chivalry of the fourteenth century. Still more important was the fact that there was no strongly-marked class distinction between the lower orders of the clergy and the common people. The parish priest picked out bright lads for the service of the Church; and the son of a villein might rise—as Grostête, one of the greatest scholars of mediæval England—to her highest places. Still, the ordinary lot of a serf was unquestionably hard, and subject to the caprices of despotic power.

It has been thought well to give this account of the life of a working Bishop, and of an ordinary village, rather than of those more brilliant figures—kings, barons, and knights—of whom most people have derived a fairly adequate idea from the pages of Scott. Let us now leap over a

* We shall here follow Mr. Thorold Rogers's "Six Centuries of Work and Wages," which deserves careful study.

hundred years, and look at the external appearance of English society at the end of the fourteenth century, as it is described to us in Chaucer's "Canterbury Tales." This is rendered the easier by the arrangement of the poem. Some thirty pilgrims are represented as starting for the tomb of St. Thomas à Becket at Canterbury, and in the Prologue Chaucer describes each. It is to be noted that almost all belonged to the middle class: the Ploughman here described is of much lower social position than the others, and the highest in rank is the Knight. With these limitations, then—viz., that no account is given us of the life of the noble, and but slight information as to the condition of the lowest class—Chaucer presents a most life-like picture of the men of the fourteenth century. Only a few of these typical figures can be here mentioned. First comes the Knight, who had "loved chivalry from the time that he first began to ride out," and had fought at fifteen mortal battles in Christendom, as well as in "heathenesse." The absurd admiration of fourteenth century chivalry which used to be the fashion some years ago has led to a reaction; and more recent writers have done well to point out its dark side. In so far as it was merely a glorification of the military life, of fighting for fighting's sake, it was evil. But it would seem to be an exaggeration to say that the literature of the time "does not reveal to us anything that shows the national character to be growing in the more precious qualities of truthfulness and tenderness."* The "chivalric" ideal included other qualities besides physical valour and courtesy; and the description of the Knight with which Chaucer opens his poem still presents a character to be imitated. Though an adventurous and successful warrior, he was

> ". . . of his port as meke as is a mayde.
> He never yet no vilonye ne sayde,
> In all his lif, unto no maner wight:
> He was a verray parfight, gentil knight."

His "array" suits the character. He had but just returned from his travels, and had immediately set out on pilgrimage upon a horse "good, but not gay," with his fustian "gepoun," *i.e.*, undercoat or cassock, still stained by the habergeon, or coat of mail, which he wore over it. Attending him is his son, a young Squire of twenty, curly-headed, in a short gown with long sleeves, "embroidered like a meadow"; who had also fought well in Flanders, Artois, and Picardy, "in hope to stonden in his lady's grace." The only servant of the Knight is a Yeoman in coat and hood of green, with a mighty bow, a sheaf of peacock-arrows, a sword, a buckler, and "a gay daggere." The word "yeoman" had not yet come to have its later sense, and this particular person, Chaucer tells us, was a forester, and probably came from the Knight's own estate.

Of the Church six typical representatives are set before us—a Prioress, a Monk, a Friar, a Summoner, a Pardoner, and "a poor Parson." The Prioress, Madame Englentyne, has nothing of the "religious" character but her attire, and her "full seemly" manner of "entuning in her nose" the divine services. She is indeed a picture of the fashionable woman of the day. Of course she spoke French decently, though "after the school of Stratford-at-Bow;" but she is especially commended for her good manners at table, and these are described with almost too minute circumstantiality: *e.g.*, she did not thrust her fingers deep into the sauce, and could skilfully carry morsels to her mouth without dropping them—for forks were unknown. She took a good deal of trouble to copy court manners, and to have a dignified appearance; and, to complete the character, wept at the sight of a mouse in a trap, and fed her pet dogs with roasted flesh, milk, and cake,—

> "And al was conscience and tendre herte."

Chaucer's Monk is apparently a man of dignity —"a fair prelate"—with full many a dainty horse in stable. He is sleek and comfortable, and a mighty hunter, seeing no reason why a man should trouble himself about books or manual labour. His ecclesiastical habit is richly trimmed—the sleeves edged with minever, and the hood fastened by a golden pin. For him irony is sufficient: the description of his companion, the Friar, "a limitour"—*i.e.*, a person licensed to perform the offices of the Church within a certain district, and to gather alms for his order—is a bitter invective. Put shortly, he is a fair-speaking rascal, who could wheedle a gift out of the poorest widow, and is accurately acquainted with every tavern. But, though the mendicant orders had already become corrupt, and personages such as our limitour were probably to be found, we must beware of taking every sentence of Chaucer as a fair description of a whole class. It must be remembered that the poet was an adherent of the party of John of Gaunt, which was struggling with the great prelates for the control of the administration, and which adopted the cause of Wyclif without really sympathising with him, only as a weapon against their enemies. So, after

* : Constitutional History, Vol. III., p. 623.

noting that the Friar does not wear a "threadbare cope," like a poor scholar, but one of double-worsted, we can pass on to the Summoner, whose duty it was to bring persons before the ecclesiastical courts. He is guilty of all the crimes which the archdeacon's court was set to punish, accepts bribes not to inform about great offenders, and is accustomed to tell "good fellows" not to fear the archdeacon's curse, for they would only be punished in their pockets: "Purse is the archdeacon's helle," quoth he.

Here the poet's account is confirmed by the verdict of the most cautious of modern historians. "The spiritual courts," says Dr. Stubbs,* whose tendency is ever to lay stress on the worthy sides of mediæval church life, "whilst they imposed spiritual penalties, recognised perfunctory purgations, and accepted pecuniary fines, really secured the peccant clerk and the immoral layman alike from the due consequences of vice. . . . The Church courts became centres of corruption, which Archbishops, Legates, and Councils tried to reform and failed, acquiescing in the failure rather than allow the intrusion of the secular power." This was the character of ecclesiastical courts over all western Europe.

The Summoner's particular friend was the Pardoner, who rode along merrily singing in a shrill voice, "Come hither, love, to me," while the Summoner accompanied him in a deep bass. The Pardoner carried before him his wallet, crammed full with pardons all hot from Rome, and had a choice selection of relics, including a bottle full of pig's bones. He fooled the country parsons finely, and went off after a day's preaching with more money than the parson got in two months. He tells us himself his method of exhortation. His text is always, "The love of money is the root of all evil." He begins with declaring whence he came—*i.e.*, from Rome—and shows his bulls, that no man should be so bold as to disturb Christ's holy work, putting in occasionally a word or so of Latin for greater edification; and then proceeds to dispose of his relics and pardons.

Now none of these men are concerned with the ordinary religious teaching and care of the people, and the question arises—what was the character of the parish clergy, "the seculars," as they were called? Fortunately for literature, unfortunately for history, Chaucer has contrasted with the ideally bad monk, friar, and summoner the ideally good parish priest. The description is so well known that it must not here be quoted. Rich in holy thought and work, he preached the gospel diligently; was benign, and loth to curse for his tithes—nay, would give of his substance to his poor parishioners; patient in affliction; assiduously tramping, staff in hand, to the widely-scattered houses of his parish, in all weathers, to visit the sick. He aimed at being an example to his flock—"if gold rusts, what shall iron do?"—did not run up to London to get preferment, or join some Order, but dwelt at home, and kept well his fold. To sinners he was tender; yet obstinate ill-doers, of high or low estate, he sharply "snubbed."

> "To drawen folk to heaven by fairenesse,
> By good ensample, was his busynesse.
> * * * * *
> But Christe's love, and his apostles twelve,
> He taught, but first he folwed it himselve."

The picture is evidently an ideal. Yet it seems clearly proved that the great body of the seculars in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries did their duty; and the Reformation itself was largely a revolt of the hard-working parish clergy against Roman innovations, which undid their work of teaching the people.

There is one other clerical figure among the pilgrims—the "Clerk of Oxenford." Though he was in orders, and might by-and-by be provided for by a benefice, there is a broad distinction between the average parson and this clerk, who is to be regarded as the type of the earnest University scholar. In threadbare coat, upon a horse as lean as his master, the scholar rode quietly onward, speaking no more than was needful. As in the case of the "poor parson," the absence of personal details in the description shows us that Chaucer is describing an ideal, rather than drawing from an individual. Yet the picture of the man who had devoted himself to "logic," would rather have "twenty books of Aristotle and his philosophy" than rich robes, or fiddle, or psaltery, and, though perhaps somewhat of a pedant, would "gladly learn and gladly teach," should make us distrust the common pictures of the intellectual darkness of the Middle Ages. Its "logic"—mediæval scholasticism—seems to have little bearing on practical life, and may appear the merest word-play and splitting of hairs; yet, after all, it dealt with the great problems of existence—problems which will remain even when "practical science" is completely victorious.

The other "professions" had, in the fourteenth century, nothing like their modern importance compared with the Church. Chaucer gives us two examples—the Sergeant-at-law and the Doctor of

* Constitutional History, Vol. III., p. 373.

Physic. The Sergeant-at-law, who had won repute by his complete knowledge of the statutes, and of all cases from the time of William I., was upon the ladder of promotion: he had already been often sent as judge of assize. The legal profession was indeed one of the ways by which a poor man might rise to dignity and wealth, and there are many instances of men of villein birth gaining honour in this way, and "founding families." The latter parts of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries were especially marked in England by the efforts of new men to create estates for themselves; and of this particular sergeant we are told, doubtless as a common characteristic of the profession, that he was a great purchaser of land, and all his purchases were in fee-simple.



CHAUCER AS A CANTERBURY PILGRIM. (*From the Ellesmere MS. of Chaucer.*)

In contrast to the homely appearance of the lawyer—in a "medley" coat, or kind of plaid, with a silk girdle—was the crimson and blue of the Doctor of Physic. In him we have a curious characteristic of the age—its belief, or half-belief (for it is not clear whether Chaucer is quite in earnest), in astronomy, *i.e.*, astrology, and "natural magic." To his knowledge of these sciences was due, we are told, the physician's great success. As was the case centuries later, every disease was attributed to some "humour," and our physician is able accurately to put each malady into its proper class, whether cold or hot, moist or dry. The study of alchemy seems to have been prevalent, especially among the clergy. On their way, the party are joined by a Canon and his man. The man begins by boasting that, if his master pleased, he could turn all the road to Canterbury into gold. A few sharp questions show him that the party are not likely to be deceived; whereupon he begins to complain of his master: they are always at work—"after it we grope"—and nothing ever comes of it, and the persons who lend money, to get one pound turned into two, are continually disappointed. The Canon rides off in disgust, and his man proceeds to deliver his soul on alchemy. "That sliding science has ruined him;" let every one take warning—it can only empty a man's purse, and make his wits thin. Then comes a list of apparatus and materials, "arsnek, salarmoniak, and brimstoon, the foure spirits and the bodies seven," with a graphic account of the bursting of a vessel, and the contradictory explanations of the canon's friends. From the man's concluding remarks, praying that canons will not think he wishes to slander their order, but urging that, if there is a Judas in the convent, he should be removed in time,

we may gather that the religious orders were credited with addiction to the pursuit of alchemy, and that its pretensions were already disbelieved by the educated public opinion of the day.

Four representatives are given of rural life—a Franklin, a Reeve, a Miller, and a Ploughman. The Franklin was, it would appear, a large socager, or freeholder, but not holding on military service.



CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL, FROM THE NORTH-EAST.

He was an important person in rural life, and in politics.

> "At sessions there was he lord and sire;
> Ful ofte tyme he was knighte of the shire."

He was hospitable and epicurean in his habits; his table stood ready all day in the hall; "it snewed in his house of mete and drink." But little is said of his appearance, except that he was ruddy, wore a white beard, and carried at his girdle a dirk and a silver purse.

Riding last of the company upon a good dapple-grey, in a long sky-blue coat, and with a rusty sword dangling by his side came the Reeve, *i.e.*, the bailiff of some lord of a manor. His personal character—"a slender, choleric man"—belongs, of course, to the fitness of things. More important is it to note his duties. Since his lord was twenty years of age, he had managed the estate, and sent up annual accounts. He was skilled in agriculture, looked well after the farm-stock, and was never in arrears. Yet he had managed to enrich himself; lived in a fine house upon a heath shadowed with green trees; and gained the cast-off coats and gratitude of his master for the loans he made to him. He was also a "carpenter," that is, a builder, and doubtless the work he did upon the estate contributed largely to his income. Chaucer dwells on the accuracy of the accounts of this model bailiff; and modern investigators of economic history wax enthusiastic in the descriptions they give of the bailiff's rolls, which afford so much valuable information as to mediæval society. Mr. Rogers* gives a most interesting account of

* Six Centuries, &c., pp. 48–9.

the various items in a certain roll of 1316-17: under income,—rents of assize, *i.e.*, fixed rents of tenants, rent of a corn and of a fulling-mill, payments made instead of labour by villeins, sale of produce, and manorial fines; under expenses,—purchases of stock, and wages; the whole balanced. On the back of the roll is an account of all the farm-stock, &c.; and our authority concludes with the outburst, "The account is more full and exact than any modern account. Printed in full, it requires twelve pages of closely-ranged type in a full-sized octavo page."

In fine contrast to the Reeve is the brawny, rudely-animal Miller, in his white coat and blue hood, who noisily plays them out of town on the bagpipes. Every manor had its mill, which belonged to the lord, and which the tenants were bound to use. The miller was therefore the most important tenant, and had plentiful opportunities of robbing the villagers by taking too much toll. In mediæval stories he is usually represented as a well-to-do rogue, and this is the character given to him by Chaucer.

"Well coude he stele corn, and tollen [take toll] thrice."

Of the Ploughman we should be glad to hear more. In Chaucer he is the "poor Parson's" brother—an illustration of what has been mentioned before, the close connection in mediæval England, as in modern Ireland, between the rural priesthood and the labouring classes. But little is said of him, save that he worked hard, and lived in perfect charity.

This catalogue of characters is perhaps already too long; but we cannot refrain from mentioning the group of five Craftsmen,—haberdasher, carpenter, weaver, dyer, and tapestry-maker each in the livery of his company or guild. They were all well dressed, with silver fittings to knife and pouch, and were well enough to do to become aldermen, to which, as it has been quaintly said, "their wives were willing, for it is a fine thing to be called madam, to wear a mantle of state, and to have precedence in going to church." The guild organisation had not yet given way; manufactures were carried on in small shops, each with a master, two or three journeymen, and one or two apprentices; as yet there was no gulf between capitalist and labourer. The average journeyman could expect in his turn to become a master, and one of the chief personages of his guild; if he was prosperous, even to arrive at municipal office.

We will now pass to France, and look at some of the more prominent features of the extreme social life of that country. Unfortunately, historians have paid almost exclusive attention to their own land, and have selected their facts in a somewhat hap-hazard manner, so that it is difficult to compare one state with another. We must, however, perforce be content with the materials before us. Probably there were more villages in France in the first half of the fourteenth century than there are now, and the best modern authority on the period* mentions the fact that he has himself come across more than a hundred villages in contemporary documents, of which all trace has disappeared since the Hundred Years' War. The houses were not isolated, but grouped in hamlets, and were of very rough construction. As in England, they were usually made of clay, or mud-plaster, sometimes even of crossed laths and poles with the interstices filled with straw; and, as in most rural districts until a recent day, the houses were all thatched. Tiled and slated roofs were to be found only in the towns, and in the neighbourhood of slate-quarries. As everywhere else, few houses were one storey high. There were seldom windows, and most of the light came in from the door, of which the top shutter-half was usually left open. Such windows as there were, were also narrow and without glass, so that in cold or rainy weather the shutter would naturally be closed, and no light could enter at all. Window-glass was being introduced, of that thick, bluish, knotted kind which is still occasionally to be seen; but this was too dear to be employed by peasants. Oiled cloth and parchment were also occasionally used. The furniture was of the simplest description, and perhaps not very different from what it was some fifty years ago, though in France, at any rate, silver vessels were at that time to be found in peasants' homes.

In some districts the peasants lived on rye bread, but elsewhere white (wheaten) bread was very generally used. Pork or bacon was the staple animal food; but every cabin had a spit to cook poultry. When relations and friends were entertained, a cloth was put on the table. Wine, of course, took in France the place of beer in England; but beer was still drunk, especially in Normandy, though cider was beginning to take its place. With comfort came greater refinement. In every town there were public baths, which were places of meeting and amusement. Possibly our authority exaggerates when he says that "every decent house had its bath-tub, and public baths

* Siméon Luce, in his "Histoire de Bertrand du Guesclin et de son Epoque," which will be here followed.

ere found even in small villages;" but certainly atters were by no means so bad in the Middle ges as they are usually represented. Everybody, cept persons in prison, now slept on mattresses, th a rough woollen covering; and though they nt naked to bed, they wore shirts during the y. Looked at from some points of view, the st notable fact of the fourteenth century that the use of shirts spread from the upper sses to the whole population. Indeed, in ny rural districts it was so common that ecial washing-places were established on that count.

This wearing of shirts is naturally connected th the use of paper—though the fact may at first ght appear strange. Papyrus had been used till e Merovingian period, and had then been sup-anted by parchment. In the middle of the irteenth century, cotton, introduced by the usades, began to be used, but it was much too stly for ordinary purposes. Under Philip of ois, however, paper began to be used very ex-nsively. As rags are necessary for paper, and as, thout paper, it is doubtful whether printing uld have been brought into use, it is obvious at one of the results of an improvement in rsonal cleanliness was the development of modern erature. The dark stain on this cheerful picture as the barbarity of seigneurial justice. It was w, difficult to move, intricate (owing to the fre-ent division of jurisdiction in a village between ree or four lords), and cruel. The royal tri-nals were equally terrible in their punishments; iminals were not unfrequently burned alive or owned, and torture, though forbidden by the dinances, was continually employed. Yet, on e other hand, the grossest offences could escape nishment, if the criminal belonged to the tinue of some lord of the court.

In what has been said above as to France, tention has been paid only to the peasant and rmer class: we must now turn to the other tremity of the social scale. The court of Philip ugustus had been one of extreme simplicity. ery few servants were employed; new clothes ere bought only three times a year; and the one be adorned with precious stones was the royal antle, which was used simply on state occasions. nder Louis IX., the court seems to have been ore magnificent, though the King's own dress as very plain: after his first Crusade, he deter-ined to save as much as possible, and gave up e use of furs and scarlet robes, wearing only common stuff gown with a trimming of hare-in. Under his successors, however, luxury increased, and spread downward to the nobles. It was thought necessary, as early as 1294, to issue an edict regulating the expenditure of persons according to rank; but all such regulations were in vain. Philip the Fair reorganised his household for the sake of economy: his wife was to have only five ladies in her suite, and but two carriages were allowed her—one for herself, and one for her attendants. It was the Queen herself to whom these measures were probably due, for after her death the court again became unnecessarily extravagant, and the marriage of Philip's three sons gave plenty of opportunity for the display of magnificence. There is even mention of a gilded and painted state-carriage.

Meanwhile, a change was taking place in the character of the castle furniture. Until the middle of the thirteenth century the articles of furniture were few in number, and rough in make. The stone walls were either left untouched, or covered with whitewash and distemper, and were adorned with armour and pennons. In the great central hall stood a long heavy oaken table with benches each side; at the head was usually placed, for the lord of the house, a large arm-chair, over which was a canopy of silk, or cloth of gold. Sometimes, however, in the greater castles, the walls were covered with tapestry, whereon were depicted hunting scenes, or episodes from the tales of chivalry. The floor was of stone or tile, strewn with fresh leaves in summer, and straw in winter; and in the larger establishments care was taken to have them cleared and freshly strewn each day. To reach their bedrooms, the dwellers had to mount the steep and narrow stairs to the top of the towers. In these bedrooms were to be found a bed, a box to hold clothes, and a faldstool. Light was admitted through a small window, closed by oiled paper, or thin horn.

Great changes, however, took place during the fourteenth century. The courtyard had gradually been surrounded with domestic offices of all kinds—kitchens, "spiceries," and the like. The rooms were larger and more comfortable in the châteaux of recent construction. In the castles of the higher nobility, the walls of the living-rooms were often hung with embroidered cloth of gold, or satin; chairs were comfortably padded with leather, and the table shone with massive gold and silver plate. For the ordinary country noble, the château was still much of the same kind as the manor-house of the Bishop of Hereford described above. Yet the custom of sending the young men of the lower nobility to receive their training in the household of the great magnates, must have maintained a

great uniformity in manners and culture among all the members of the noble class.

We have already obtained a glimpse of the condition of London at the end of the thirteenth century. The wealthiest towns of Northern Europe, however, during this period, were those of the Low Countries. Ghent manufactured cloth for the whole world from English wool; Bruges was the entrepôt of the Teutonic Hansa, and the point at which its merchants, bringing the products of the Baltic countries, met the Italian merchants who had come down the Rhine with the wares of the East. The Netherland towns may therefore be taken as illustrating the highest point in material well-being arrived at north of the Alps, and as furnishing models for their neighbours. More especially did the towns of Germany resemble those of Flanders and Brabant, though they lagged much behind. As early as the thirteenth century, the streets of the Netherland towns were paved, while in Frankfort, as late as 1328, the dean and chapter were sometimes prevented from going to church by reason of mud. The magnates and wealthy folk inhabited stone houses, surrounded by walls and ditches, and battlemented like castles; but the great body of the people (the artisans) lived in houses of wood, mud, clay, and thatch. Large parts of the town were frequently consumed by fire, and the magistrates issued repeated orders that tiles should be used for roofing; indeed, at Bruges in 1417, they promised to pay a third of the cost.

If, however, the towns had in some respects scarcely risen from the condition of villages, in others they surpassed the noblest works of modern times. The fourteenth century is the great age of the construction of market-halls. The Netherlands differ from France in this, that in France the church is usually the most important building in the town, while in the Low Countries it occupies only the second place. The churches, indeed, seem in Flanders to be modelled on the markets: they are without transepts, and they frequently have three naves of equal height. These towns more nearly succeeded in gaining complete independence than any others outside Italy. It is therefore natural that their chief buildings should be the markets where their commerce centred, the town halls where the communal magistracy ruled, and the belfries from which the citizens were so frequently called together to defend their liberties. The population had long become too large for the narrow limits of the old town walls. Large suburbs had grown up outside, chiefly inhabited ·ans; and as these could not be protected when the town was attacked, great suffering was continually inflicted. Brussels, therefore, in the second half of the fourteenth century, built new walls, and tripled the enclosed area; in which respect it was imitated by many other towns, such as Louvain.

The growth of population also rendered sanitary regulations necessary: some attempt was made to get rid of open sewers from the streets, and every one was to clear the road in front of his house *once a fortnight*. Yet the total absence of anything like a system of drainage, the nature of the dwellings, and other causes, occasioned frightful pestilences, as well as constant disease; and these evils were but slightly lessened by the numerous hospitals which existed. There was, however, one institution which tended to produce a better state of things—the public baths, which appear everywhere in the fourteenth century. Brussels, for instance, had more than a dozen of these; and the use of them was so popular that a bath-ticket was often given in place of drink-money. Nor was their use confined to the middle class. The Duke of Brabant frequented the baths of Brussels, and at the end of one year his accounts show that he owed at one bath for twenty-seven visits.

It is difficult to sum up the good and evil in fourteenth century society. Much of our information, especially concerning morality, comes to us from preachers, who have always represented the age in which they live as worse than any that has gone before. Life was rough and coarse; and among the mass of the people there was little delicacy of word or thought. There was a good deal of open violence and immorality; man was more of a mere animal than he is now. Yet increasing material civilisation was slowly producing greater refinement, and much had been done by the friars of the thirteenth century in holding up a higher standard of morality. As to the material basis of life, probably for the mass of men it was in some ways more secure than it is now. The peasant or the artisan did not live throughout his life on the verge of want; he usually enjoyed a rough plenty. But, on the other hand, he was very liable to be killed by plague or battle, or to be starved to death by famine.

Nothing has been said of social life in Italy, for this reason, that the towns of Italy form a world apart, and their condition can be understood only in connection with their history. But it may be a pleasing change from the somewhat tiresome details which have been given above, to conclude what is here said about social life with an Italian picture. At the end of the fourteenth century, a

certain great merchant of Florence, by name Agnolo Pandolfini, wrote for the use of his sons a treatise "On the Government of the Family."* He had retired from business and political life to his villa outside the town, where he lived the life of a great seigneur: "here he had a most worthy house, full of everything necessary to the condition of a man of gentle blood"—and yet he had been a tradesman—"dogs, hawks, and every kind of nets, both for fishing and birding. . . . He never went out after the birds with less than fifteen or twenty companions on horseback, besides those that went on foot with the dogs." Yet, when his sons ask him what occupation a man ought to take up, and suggest that the life of a merchant is the most satisfactory, he replies, "Perhaps; but for greater ease of mind I would rather choose something more secure—working in wool or silk, or some such trade;" and one reason is that such business gives employment to many hands. Then comes a most amusing account of the way in which he managed his wife. Two or three days after marriage, he says, "I took her by the hand, and showed her all the house, and instructed her where everything was kept,—the provisions above, the wood and the wine below. Then I took her into the bedchamber, and, locking the door, showed her all my precious things, the silver, the tapestry, the precious stones and all our jewels, and the places in which they were kept." But there was one exception: "only my books and my writings, then and afterwards, I kept secret and shut up, that she might neither read nor even see them. I always kept my writings in my study, wherein I never gave my wife permission to enter, neither with me, nor by herself." He cannot sufficiently denounce those men who take counsel with their wives, for women are only fit to be good housekeepers. Agnolo had much trouble in curing his wife of the habit of painting her face. Again and again she relapsed into this grievous fault, because it was the fashion. But one day when she had offended, "I waited till I found her alone; then smiled and said, 'I am sorry to see that you have got your face plastered; *have you struck it against some saucepan in the kitchen?* A woman who is the head of a family should always be clean and in good order, that the family may learn to be obedient.' She understood me, and wept. I left her to wash her paint and her tears, and never had occasion to speak to her more on the subject." After this example of mediæval irony, we may leave Agnolo.

* Copious extracts are given in Mrs. Oliphant's "Makers of Florence," and from these the following quotations are made.

The thirteenth century is one of the most important in the history of art. It was during that century that Gothic Architecture was generally adopted in Europe, and that the art of painting, which had disappeared during the dark ages, revived in Italy. The term "Gothic" may require some little explanation. First employed as a term of contempt to vaguely designate the buildings of the Middle Ages, it has come to be applied to one great style which followed Romanesque (or, as it is called in England, Norman) Architecture and preceded revived-Classicism. In a celebrated chapter in "The Stones of Venice," Mr. Ruskin analyses the various characteristics of Gothic, and arrives at this definition:—"Foliated architecture, which uses the pointed arch for the roof proper, and the gable for the roof-mask." This must be taken to pieces, and looked at in detail. "Roof" is to be understood in the sense of the covering of a space narrow or wide, and will thus include narrow window or door-arches, and bars of tracery, as well as roofs in the ordinary sense. The ordinary conception of Gothic architecture is that it consists of pointed arches; and this is in the main correct. Yet thus understood the term would not include thousands of buildings which are yet in spirit Gothic, especially street dwelling-houses and farm-houses. Hence the distinction between the roof proper, the shell-vault or ceiling internally visible, and the roof-mask, the roof seen from without. This external roof is, in good Gothic, of gable-form; and "this gable, built on a polygonal or circular plan, is the origin of the turret and spire." With the above definition, we can bring under the term the sharp-gabled mediæval houses which, in other respects—in windows, for instance—do not satisfy the conditions.

There is one other element, that of "foliation." When men began to see the beauty of the curved outlines of leaves, they attempted to give to their buildings the same kind of grace; to strengthen their arches with cusps, and to cut their walls into forms which looked like leaves, and thus gradually to arrive at "tracery." No good Gothic can be entirely without foliation; but it should be used moderately, in due subordination to sculpture, for, while good sculpture is the work of imagination, foliation is easy, and mechanical work requires little thought. The immoderate use of foliation is therefore the characteristic of declining Gothic, which may be said to begin in the middle of the fourteenth century. The best period of pure Gothic is the century and a half from 1200 to 1350. England possesses the earliest complete pure Gothic building, the choir of Lincoln Cathedral,

built by Bishop Hugh between 1192 and 1200. By the opening of the thirteenth century, the transition from the Norman style had taken place all over England. It is usual to speak of the work done during the greater part of the thirteenth century as Early English, and of that during the fourteenth as Decorated. Good examples of Early English are to be found in Canterbury Cathedral (completed 1194), Westminster Abbey, Beverley



SALISBURY CATHEDRAL.

Minster, and Rochester and Wells Cathedrals. But the typical example of Early English work is Salisbury Cathedral—typical not only for its beauty, but also because it was built more nearly in the same style throughout than any other great structure, being commenced and completed in the comparatively short space of thirty-eight years (1220—1258), before the transition to Decorated had commenced. Of Decorated, which is marked by large windows with elaborate tracery, and by greater wealth of decoration generally, the finest example is probably the nave of York Cathedral. English churches are distinguished by their exquisite proportions and variety of outline; those of France by internal loftiness, the beauty of their stained glass, and the luxuriance of external sculpture. Mediæval cathedrals, with their coloured windows, and huge porches, and galleries crowded with statues, were illustrated manuals of theology and history open before all men. If there is any truth in the doctrine of the influence of environment, the constant sight of objects such as these should have tended to ennoble and elevate men's lives; yet it is not certain that such was really the case.

While no town in France possessed a town-hall of any note, the characteristic of the Belgian cities, as we have already observed, is the grandeur and magnitude of their municipal buildings. Of these, the most important, falling within the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, are the town-hall of Bruges (begun 1377) and the belfry of Ghent. Many of the most celebrated buildings of Belgium were, however, not constructed till the following century. Germany adopted the

pointed style from France, but not till it had already reached perfection in that country; and though, in Cologne and other cathedrals, it possesses noble works, they are rather "noble conceptions of masons" than works of artists in the highest sense. They are too mathematically accurate; every inch seems to have been arranged with rule and compass; and there are but few traces of fancy or invention.

The great characteristic of Italian Gothic is its small use of painted glass. The Italians delighted in frescoes and mosaics, and the effect of these would have been spoiled by the light of stained glass. Their windows are therefore usually small and have little tracery. In such few churches as have retained their painted decorations—the Certosa or Carthusian monastery near Pavia, and the Church of St. Francis at Assisi—the effect is very beautiful; but, where these have perished, the churches will by no means bear comparison with those of France and England. It is more useful, however, to consider the general character of Gothic work than to catalogue its varieties. By far the most important point to be noted is the opportunity which it gave for the display of individual fancy and invention on the part of the workman. In Greek architecture the ordinary workman had but to execute mere geometrical forms, requiring only mechanical dexterity; and it is much the same under modern conditions where no initiative is allowed to the workman, and he has to "turn out" copy after copy of the same pattern. It is the principal excellence of the Gothic schools of architecture (as Mr. Ruskin remarks) that they



CIMABUE.

receive the results of the labour of inferior minds; and "out of fragments full of imperfection, and betraying that imperfection at every touch, indulgently raise up a stately and unaccusable whole."

Finally, the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries are marked by the revival of painting in Italy. This is especially associated with the names of Cimabue (born 1240, died after 1302) and Giotto (born 1276, died 1336). Before that time, Italian artists had merely copied Byzantine models, imitating their masters by painting such conventional and characterless figures of saints upon a ground of gold as are still to be seen in Greek and Russian churches. Cimabue was not without predecessors and masters, though he has been given a solitary prominence by his position at the beginning of Vasari's "Lives of the Painters," from which, until recent investigation, most of our knowledge of the history of Italian art was derived. Others before him had attempted to break loose from the old rigidity, and to put more life into their pictures. In Cimabue, however, a great improvement is to be seen. He has evidently attempted to imitate Nature, and his figures begin to have expression and marked individuality. The greatest of his pupils was Giotto, whom Cimabue is said to have found as a lad drawing the sheep he was set to watch. With Giotto the history of Italian art really commences; he freed himself almost completely from Byzantine tradition, and, according to Vasari, was the first of the moderns who successfully attempted portraiture. Some forty years ago, the portraits of Dante and several of his contemporaries, painted by Giotto in the chapel of the Podestà's Palace at Florence, were discovered. Giotto left behind him a great school of disciples; but no marked advance is to be seen till the fifteenth century, nor was it till about that time that painting in Northern Europe begun with the Van Eycks.

CHAPTER XLI

THE GERMAN EMPIRE AND THE WESTERN CHURCH.

Position of the Papacy and of the German Empire towards One Another—Louis of Bavaria and his Italian Policy—Creation of an Anti-Pope—Contention of France and Germany with Respect to the Popedom—Vicious Rule of Pope John XXII.—Declaration of the German Empire—Death of Louis of Bavaria—Charles IV. of Bohemia—His Imperial Administration Subordinated to Bohemian Interests—The Golden Bull of Charles IV.—Reform in the German Constitution—Alliance of the Free Cities, and Rise of a Middle Class—Discovery of Gunpowder, and its Application to the Purposes of War—Terrible Effects of the Black Death in Asia and Europe—The Beguines and Flagellants—Persecution of the Jews—Affairs at Rome—Fallen State of the City—The Factions of the Nobles—Crowning of Petrarch in the Capitol—Early Life and Aspirations of Rienzi—His Visit to Pope Clement VI. at Avignon—Democratic Revolution at Rome—Government of Rienzi as Tribune of the People—Temporary Alliance with the Pope—Proposals for a Great Italian League—Imprudent Measures of Rienzi—His Growing Unpopularity, and Expulsion from the City—Appeal to the Emperor Charles IV.—Imprisonment at Avignon—Return of Rienzi to Rome, and Resumption of his Dictatorship—Insurrection against his Power, and Assassination—Return of the Popes to Rome—Election of Urban VI.—His Subsequent Repudiation by the Majority of the Cardinals—Commencement of the Great Schism of the West—The Church Divided between Two Popes—Period of Contention and Warfare—The Council of Pisa—Appearance of Three Popes—Important Decisions of the Council of Constance—Crying Abuses in the Roman Church.

PURSUING our way through the later Middle Ages, we are frequently struck by the evil consequences of that compact between the State and the Church which resulted in the nominal re-establishment of the Roman Empire in the person of Charlemagne. The monarchs of Germany, as the successors of Charlemagne in his Imperial capacity, were placed in an invidious position as regarded the Papacy, which always assumed the existence of a debt of obligation to itself. It is true that quarrels arose between the Pontiffs and other sovereigns as well, owing to the large spiritual claims of the former; but they were not so prolonged and persistent as the dissensions of the Popes with Germany. Towards the German Emperors, any occupant of the Papal throne might, if he pleased, adopt the galling tone of a patron. The elections were repeatedly controlled or set aside, and sovereigns of spirit felt themselves compelled to oppose and defy the Popes; sometimes, indeed, they carried their resistance to an immoderate and violent extent. Thus the alliance was bad for both sides, and politics and religion suffered equally from the ill-assorted union. Italy also was frequently torn by the rivalries of Pope and Emperor. Henry VII., of Luxemburg, who

reigned from the death of Albert of Austria, in 1308, to his own decease in 1313, and whose association with the Ghibellines will be related in another page, had reason sufficient for deploring a connection which brought him little but disaster. The fields of Italy were the battle-grounds of a murderous rivalry, productive of great and lasting evils; and neither Church nor State was the better for the struggle.

After the assassination of Henry of Luxemburg, Germany was divided, as it had been before, by a double election, which placed Louis of Bavaria in opposition to Frederick of Austria. The former was the representative of the Ghibelline or Imperial party; the latter of the Guelphic, or Papal. A civil war ensued, which lasted until 1322, when a great battle at Mühldorf, near Salzburg, gave the final superiority to Louis. Next year, the Empire was placed under an interdict by Pope John XXI., or XXII. (for he is variously described), in consequence of Louis having refused to appear at Avignon, where he had been commanded to present himself. The interdict produced very little effect in Germany, for the Emperor had the support of the Franciscan Friars, or Minorites, who performed the offices of religion throughout the country, and thus saved the monarch and his supporters from the most embarrassing results of the Papal inhibition. The Imperial power was afterwards divided between Louis and Frederick, at the suggestion of the former, and the Bavarian then entered Italy, and assumed the Iron Crown of the Lombards at Milan. During the recent contests between the Emperors and the Popes, the latter had found devoted supporters in the Kings of Naples belonging to the house of Anjou, who accordingly came into collision with the German sovereigns. In 1327, Louis placed the Neapolitan ruler under the ban of the Empire, pronounced the deposition of the Pope, and caused the election in his stead of an Italian Minorite monk, who succeeded as Nicholas V. This person, however, is usually regarded as one of the Anti-Popes. The Popes recognised as such by the Catholic world generally were then ruling at Avignon, and were simply the creatures of the Kings of France, who used them as the instruments of their unscrupulous ambition.

While staying at Rome, Louis was crowned Emperor at St. Peter's by the Bishops of Venice and Alesia, and proclaimed a law (afterwards sanctioned by the Roman people) which declared that the sovereign Pontiff must reside at Rome, and that, if absent more than three months, he should be considered deposed. The provision was reasonable, and really in the interest of the Papacy, whose claim to an universal spiritual dominion could be permanently maintained only in connection with the ancient Imperial city. But the question had become a mere struggle for power between Germany and France. By establishing the Popes at Avignon, and procuring the election of Frenchmen to the office, the monarchs of the latter country had in effect transformed the Popedom into a department of the French State; while the German sovereigns, as the so-called Emperors of the West, felt that they had been deprived of the most impressive and striking accessory of their position, the association of the Papacy with the Empire. The Kings of Naples, as French princes, not unnaturally supported the French Popes of Avignon; but the Romans, though frequently at issue with their Pontiffs, objected to the loss of a power which revived in a different form the far-reaching glories of their ancient dominion. With Louis of Bavaria, the feeling was personal as well as political. He regarded John as his enemy, and, before pronouncing his deposition, accused him of high treason to himself, and of being a heretic for having condemned as heresy the doctrine concerning the poverty of Christ. But it is doubtful whether, in pursuing this course, he improved his own position.

Frederick of Austria—a weak and pliable man—died in 1330, and Louis then became sole Emperor. His great antagonist, Pope John, expired in 1334; but, as another Frenchman succeeded to the Pontifical chair, and the seat of government remained at Avignon, his prospects were not much improved. Under the rule of John, the clergy and people of the towns were deprived of the right of electing their Bishops—a privilege which the Pontiff took to himself, at the same time requiring certain fees of the person so promoted. This grasping ecclesiastic also levied the tax of Annates, or First Fruits, on all benefices, and thus drew a large sum of money into the Papal chests. Most writers give John a very bad character, and the Franciscan Minorites did not scruple to call him Antichrist. The Bull of excommunication which he pronounced against Louis of Bavaria is one of the most perfect specimens of that species of vicious scolding which we possess—an overflow of personal malevolence, directly inciting to treachery and murder. It was the last sentence of the kind pronounced against any of the Emperors, and its ill-success probably deterred other Pontiffs from similar outbreaks of spleen. In 1338, after his return to Germany, Louis summoned a Diet at Rhense, on the Rhine, at which the Electors

pledged themselves to a resolution declaring that the German Emperor was the highest power on earth, and dependent for his election on none but the princes of Germany. It is interesting to observe, in these and similar proceedings, so many approaches towards the Reformation. Matters had altered very much since the eleventh, or even the thirteenth, century. There was no more going to Canossa; there was less of hesitation than in the case of Frederick II. himself, arch-heretic though he was. Education was slowly undermining the ancient fortresses of blind obedience.

The reign of Louis of Bavaria was fairly successful, and by matrimonial connections the German sovereign added both Holland and the Tyrol to his possessions. But in 1347 the Electors set him aside, and chose for his successor a son of the Bohemian King. The deposed Emperor died suddenly soon afterwards, and Charles IV. was delivered from a formidable rival. His candidature had been promoted by Pope Clement VI., and by the reigning French monarch, Philip of Valois, so that he entered on his office in a position of dependency which hampered his actions. He had already joined the French in the war with England, and on the field of Cressy had distinguished himself rather by his flight than his heroism. Later on, however, he accepted English in place of French support, for his only idea of policy was to consolidate his power, and to aggrandise his hereditary dominions at the expense of the Empire. Hallam has remarked that he almost seemed to render Germany a province of Bohemia, although the latter country had long been considered a fief of the Imperial realm, and voted with the other Electors by that title only. On acquiring Brandenburg in 1373, partly by conquest and partly by succession, he tried to annex it permanently to the kingdom of Bohemia. Prague was his place of habitual residence, and he founded there an University which afterwards became famous, besides erecting a number of buildings which added to the attractions of a most picturesque capital. During this reign, Bohemia was augmented, not merely by Brandenburg, but by Silesia, which the Emperor bequeathed to his son Wenceslaus. Charles, however, was extremely unpopular in Germany, and, in the early years of his rule, a rival sovereign was chosen in Count Günther of Schwarzburg, a distinguished warrior whom a large proportion of the Germans regarded with favour. But Günther died soon after, and it is said that Charles bribed his physician to administer poison.

Passing over for the present the action of the Emperor with respect to Italy—which, however, was of a very important character, since it resulted in the restoration of the Popes to their ancient seat—we may here refer to the alteration introduced by Charles into the German electoral body, and recorded in the celebrated Golden Bull, so called from the knob of gold (*bulla aurea*) in which the seal is enclosed. This document was drawn up in a Diet held at Nuremberg in 1356, and issued on Christmas Day of the same year. By the earlier practice of the Empire, power frequently descended from father to son; but, at the extinction of the Franconian line by the death of Henry V. in 1125, it was determined that the dignity should be simply elective. The electoral body was gradually diminished, and in the course of the twelfth century was nominally confined to seven princes—the Archbishops of Mainz, Treves, and Cologne, and certain secular rulers, who differed at various periods, and were sometimes more numerous than the law allowed. It was not until 1290 that the claim of Bohemia was fully and finally recognised, while, with respect to some others, the matter still remained doubtful in the time of Charles IV. By the Golden Bull of 1356, Bavaria was excluded from voting, and the number of Electors, which had fluctuated, was absolutely restricted to seven. The Imperial elections were thenceforth to take place at Frankfort, and the coronations at Aix-la-Chapelle. The Electors were declared to be the equals of kings, and conspiracy against their persons was to carry with it the penalty of high treason. By the same instrument, the cities were restrained from making any further encroachments on the privileges of the nobles, and rules were formulated for the levying and collecting of taxes. The Golden Bull became the groundwork of the Germanic constitution, and so continued until the dissolution of the Empire.

The contradictory nature of Charles IV. is shown by the fact that, although in some respects he was an unscrupulous tyrant, his hereditary kingdom of Bohemia received from him a liberal constitution. Germany, however, was much neglected, and the administration of justice was so feeble that the country swarmed with thieves and ruffians. In default of any effective measures by the Emperor, the cities formed alliances for self-defence against the depredations of the banditti. The nobility and prelates, whose exactions and tolls were often hardly distinguishable from the violent appropriations of robbers, were opposed to the free cities, and the west of Germany, in particular, was often the scene of actual warfare between the feudal lords and the substantial burghers. The oppressed peasantry fled for safety to the walled

towns, where they were permitted to dwell between the fortifications and the palisades which bounded the adjacent territory. These suburban residents were called "burgesses of the palisades," and at length became so numerous as to provoke the jealousy of the nobles, whose power was materially diminished by such frequent depletions. The encroachment was prohibited in the Golden Bull, as it had been in earlier Imperial edicts; but the practice was not restrained. By the time of Charles IV., the burghers had formed a middle class of no slight importance, and had even extended their power over persons residing in the country, who were admitted to the privileges of citizenship. An unpopular prelate was often very roughly handled, and at one time a price was fixed for every head of a clergyman which might be brought from the country districts into the towns. This was in consequence of the Bishop of Hildesheim having attempted to enforce his arbitrary decrees by personal violence. Germany in the fourteenth century was passing through a period of change, in which no class seemed to understand the limits of its own rights, or the proper methods of enforcing what was really just.

The reign of Charles IV., which terminated with his death in 1378, was distinguished, amongst other things, by the discovery of gunpowder; we ought rather to say the re-discovery, for there can be no question that Roger Bacon knew the secret of this explosive. The German inventor was Berthold Schwartz, a monk of Freiburg, who, in the course of some experiments in 1320, fell by chance upon a composition which injured him by its sudden and fierce ignition. Before long, cannon came to be generally used in battles, and the importance of this invention, in revolutionising the whole practice of warfare, and placing the mailed nobles on much the same footing as the unarmoured common soldiers, cannot be exaggerated. That artillery had been known in the East for many ages, is now generally admitted; and it would even seem that it had been used by the Moors in Spain in the early part of the twelfth century. "The Moors, according to Condé," says a high authority on this subject, "used artillery against Saragossa in 1118; and in 1132 a culverin of four pounds' calibre, named Salamonica, was made. In 1157, when the Spaniards took Niebla, the Moors defended themselves by machines which threw darts and stones by means of fire, and Abd'-almumen, the Moorish king, captured Mohadia, a fortified city near Bona, from the Sicilians, by the same means. In 1280, artillery was used against Cordova, and in 1306, or 1308, Ferdinand IV. took Gibraltar from the Moors by means of artillery. Ibn Nasan ben Bia, of Granada, mentions that guns were adopted from the Moors, and used in Spain, in the twelfth century, and that balls of iron were thrown by means of fire in 1331."*

A pestilence of unparalleled range and intensity, arising in the east of Asia, and first affecting Europe about the middle of the fourteenth century, was far more terrible in its immediate effects than the use of cannon. The Black Death, which desolated a large portion of the world, was preceded by earthquakes in Cyprus, Greece, Italy, and the valleys of the Alps. From the fissures thus opened in the earth, poisonous vapours ascended into the air; the heavens were disturbed by meteors, and superstition exaggerated what it could not explain. The chief source of the malady, however, seems to have been much farther off than any part of Europe. The pestilence is thought to have originated in China; and it is affirmed that thirteen millions of persons were swept away in that country alone, while in the remainder of the East the numbers amounted to nearly twenty-four millions. It is of course impossible to place reliance on these figures, for statistics, in the modern sense of the word, did not exist at that period, and Europe knew very little of what was passing in the remoter lands of Asia. We are therefore justified in allowing somewhat for the natural effect of fear; but it is impossible to doubt that the mortality was terrible. With respect to Europe, our information is probably more exact, though even in that case not free from overstatement. London is said to have lost more than one hundred thousand of her population. In Italy, half the people were reported to be destroyed, and Germany is believed to have been deprived of 1,244,434 souls. A modern writer assumes that there cannot have perished, in Europe alone, fewer than 25,000,000 human beings.† The disease appears to have been a kind of putrid fever, and its name was derived from the large black spots which generally appeared upon the skin. The beginning of this terrible plague in China is assigned to the year 1333—a date which precedes by fifteen years the first serious appearance of the malady in Europe. The outbreak in the East was heralded by a series of droughts, famines, floods, and earthquakes. The earthquakes were of such frightful violence that mountains were swallowed up in the abysms which opened in

* Colonel Chesney's "Observations on Firearms," 1852.

† Art. on the Black Death in "Chambers's Encyclopædia."

the soil; and the corruption of the air, resulting from these physical changes, was shown soon afterwards by devastating swarms of locusts. It was not long ere Europe suffered from convulsions of a similar nature—from tremors of the earth, from volcanic eruptions of unusual violence, and from storms of thunder and lightning, occurring even in the midst of winter. The whole of the terrestrial globe—at any rate, in the Eastern hemisphere—seems to have been sick and agonised; and it is highly probable, as many have supposed, that the exhalations cast into the air gave rise to the pestilence, which was afterwards increased by the decomposition of innumerable bodies, both of men and beasts. The plague, or at any rate its source, is said to have been physically visible in the shape of a dense and awful fog, travelling from the east towards the west. A mild form of the disease appeared in Europe in 1342; but it was not until 1348 that it assumed alarming proportions. It seems then to have reached the west by the various caravan-routes from China. From the northern coast of the Euxine it struck Constantinople; from the sea-ports of Italy it spread to other nations of Europe; and within a short time the affliction and the terror knew no limits.

The disease had the same character as that which visited Athens in the time of Pericles, and of which Thucydides has left so minute and interesting an account. Its effects also were remarkably similar; for again we read of physicians, friends, and even relatives, deserting the sick in their agony, and, for very fear of the death-dealing contagion, leaving the stricken house in sole possession of the sufferer. Again we read of the desperation of terror, and the desperation of debauchery; indeed, so far as Florence was concerned, Boccaccio has supplied us, in the Introduction to the "Decameron," with a picture rivalling that of the Greek historian. Villages, and even towns, were in several instances left without inhabitants, and there was none to bury the dead who perished in their dwellings, or dropped about the open ways. Domestic animals suffered equally with man; and, as the sea was affected as well as the land, ships with only a dead crew on board would drift ashore by the mere action of the tide, and create fresh centres of



PALACE OF THE BOHEMIAN KINGS, AND CATHEDRAL OF HRADSCHIN, PRAGUE.

infection where they came. Thousands of corpses were cast into huge pits; in some places rivers were consecrated for the reception of dead bodies. The insanity of such a practice is obvious, as it must have tended to spread the infection with still greater virulence. After a time, the better instincts of human nature prevailed over the more selfish, and the sick were attended by bands of women, called Beguines, either from an old Saxon word, meaning "to serve," or from the name of some person. But fanaticism also was excited to abnormal activity by the appalling circumstances of the time. It was at this date that the sect of the Flagellants—a brotherhood of the previous century—revived in Hungary, and spread into most other European countries. The professed object of these enthusiasts (who included both men and women) was to avert the wrath of Heaven by expiatory sufferings, endured by themselves vicariously for the sins of the whole people. In long and dismal procession, they marched through the streets of the cities, and from town to town, lacerating their naked backs and shoulders with scourges tagged with points of steel. By



PORCH OF ST. SEBALD'S CHURCH, NUREMBERG.

their large and miscellaneous gatherings, the plague was carried from place to place, and this particular form of bigotry was at length developed to such an extent, and brought with it so many evils, that Pope Clement VI. suppressed the practice by the threat of excommunication. It was a less easy matter to restrain the persecution of the Jews, who were immolated in vast numbers, on a wild charge of having poisoned the wells, and who in many instances destroyed themselves, as the only

escape from the slow death of torture. The world must have seemed as if it were stricken with madness previous to extinction. Fortunately, however, the Black Death disappeared from Europe in 1351, after three years of unparalleled misery and almost unrelieved despair.

Terrible as were the effects of the pestilence, they did not suspend the development of political affairs, even in countries where the mortality was most extreme. During the years of the Black Death, Rome was passing through a very curious phase of her history, which seemed at one time as if it would have important consequences for the world. A tavern-keeper, named Lorenzo Gabrini, who had married a washerwoman, was the father of a son, afterwards known by the nickname of Rienzi, or Little Lorenzo. From an early age, this child was distinguished by a quick and vivid intellect, and, as he grew towards manhood, his mind brooded over the ancient glories of Rome, until he conceived that it remained for him to restore her greatness. It must be recollected that the time was one of unusual depression; for the Popes had emigrated to Avignon, and Rome was no longer the chief centre of the world, either in a secular or a religious sense. The absence of the Popes had deprived the city of anything like a settled government, and had given it up to the lawless feuds and rapacity of the Roman nobles. For many generations—indeed, from the early part of the eleventh century—Rome had been distracted by the quarrels of her great barons, who, possessing strong castles in the adjacent country, and being able to command the services of numerous retainers, acted like petty chieftains, whose highest pleasure was in bloodshed and pillage. Among the greatest of the rival houses were those of Colonna and Orsini, and their mutual animosity was prolonged for more than two centuries and a half. The former were Ghibellines, the latter Guelphs; but, as Gibbon observes, desire of pre-eminence was the chief cause of their differences, which, indeed, originated long before the rise of the Imperial and Papal factions. The anarchy thus occasioned became at once chronic and acute during the long suspension of regular government consequent on the withdrawal of the Pontiffs to Avignon. In those disturbed and feverish years, the Roman Republic, frequently in abeyance, yet ever and anon reviving, once more rose into a feeble and precarious life. But the magistrates had no power to curb the insolent nobles, who slaughtered one another with impunity, and oppressed the citizens without remorse.

the political and social state which kindled the noble discontent of Rienzi, and prompted the ideal dreams of Petrarch. The poet whose name is eternally associated with Laura of Avignon was patronised by the Colonna family, and therefore inclined to the Imperial rather than to the Papal party. But he shared the hope of Dante, and of many other great Italians, that Rome might again become the seat of superb dominion; and when the Senate, in August, 1340, proposed to confer on him the laurel-crown of poetry, he accepted the honour, not merely as a compliment to himself, but as an assertion of the supreme position of Rome among the cities and nations of the earth. The ceremony took place in the Capitol on Easter Day, 1341; and it cannot be questioned that the event contributed to that re-awakening of the ancient or classical spirit which distinguished the fourteenth century in Italy.

The magnificent buildings of the Imperial epoch were then in ruins; but they were ruins calculated to fire the imagination, and to act as perpetual mementoes of what had been, and might yet be again. Rienzi wandered amongst the proud but melancholy wrecks of the Campagna, indulging in reveries over shattered column and broken bust, and often repeating to himself the names most associated with Roman magnificence and Roman power. An education above his grade in life had familiarised him with the writings of Cicero, Livy, Cæsar, and other leaders of the ancient world; and he speedily drew round him a number of adherents, who regarded the young enthusiast as a person divinely inspired for the attainment of great ends. Even some of the aristocracy condescended to a kind of patronage; but his chief dependence was on men of his own class, for his opinions were warmly democratic, and a painful circumstance had confirmed those inclinations. His brother was assassinated by a Roman noble, and Rienzi found it impossible to bring the offender to justice. Thenceforward he considered himself a modern Gracchus, and ostentatiously assumed the title of "Consul of orphans, widows, and the poor." His great object was to restore the Roman Republic; but this was to be done in conjunction with the Pope. The return of the sovereign Pontiff to Rome formed a portion of his schemes; and in 1343 he was appointed by the Guelph party the spokesman of a deputation to the Papal court at Avignon, the object of which was to implore Clement VI. to fix his residence in the old capital of Western Christendom. Before his Holiness he delivered an address, passionately denouncing the oppression of the nobles; and the Pope was so much impressed that he made him an Apostolic

notary, while taking care not to commit himself to any definite reply. During his stay at Avignon, Rienzi formed an acquaintance with Petrarch, whose aspirations with respect to Italy were similar to his own.

Returning to Rome in 1344, Rienzi attempted to enlist the magistracy on the side of his reforms, but found less support than his enthusiastic nature had anticipated. Inflamed by the sense of injury, no less than by his preconceptions of what was imperatively required by the Commonweath, Rienzi delivered frequent harangues on the misgovernment of the nobility, and the fallen state of Rome. It seems remarkable that the privileged classes did not procure his assassination, or cast him into prison; but they appear to have regarded the orator as a madman, whose ravings would produce no serious effect. The active incitements of an enthusiast, however, are always more powerful than the inertia of a privileged body; and Rienzi, finding that in three years after his return from Avignon he had collected a large number of partizans, resolved to take active measures for the realisation of his ideas. He summoned the citizens to meet him on Mount Aventine during the night of May 20th, 1347; and here, surrounded by one hundred horsemen, and accompanied by the Papal Legate, he proposed a series of laws for the better government of the community. It was then proclaimed throughout the city, by sound of trumpet, that on the next evening all persons should assemble without arms before the church of St. Angelo, to take the necessary measures for carrying out the new body of laws; and the rest of the night was consumed in the celebration of thirty masses. We thus see that Rienzi was a reformer who hoped to combine democracy with religion, as religion was understood by the Western Pontiffs. In making this double appeal, he threw himself upon two very powerful sentiments in the popular mind—the sentiment of republican equality, transmitted from ancient days, and the sentiment of pride in the spiritual supremacy of Rome, which had succeeded to the Imperial supremacy once wielded by the Cæsars. The Romans often quarrelled with their Popes, often treated them with scant respect; but when the Pontifical office was removed to a Provençal city, the sense of loss was bitter, the desire of recovery profound.

On the morning of the 21st of May, Rienzi, clad in complete armour, but with his head uncovered, issued from the church of St. Angelo, accompanied by his guard of one hundred supporters, and marched to the Capitol, where the new laws were submitted to the popular vote, and received a general confirmation. The nobles were struck with astonishment, and knew not what to do; for Rienzi had made his attempt at a time when Stephen Colonna, the chief of the aristocracy, was absent from the city. The people conferred upon their advocate the title of "Tribune of Liberty, Peace, and Justice," and gave him power of life and death, together with those other exceptional attributes which in ancient times were associated with the appointment of a Dictator. He chose the Papal Legate for his colleague, and the Pope (hoping, perhaps, to deliver himself, by a revolutionary movement, from his dependence on the French King) confirmed him in his office. Colonna, who on his return to Rome threatened him with punishment, was driven out of the city by the fiery populace. The principal of the Roman nobles were banished; some even were punished with death: and for a little while it might have seemed that a new political State, largely based on ancient ideas, but in alliance with the Papacy, would be established in the Eternal City. The titled families probably deserved their fate, and in many respects Rienzi showed himself a capable and virtuous ruler. Rome had not been so wisely, so firmly, or so fairly governed for centuries; order and security were restored as if by magic; and the reputation of the Tribune soon spread over the whole of Italy, and even into foreign countries.

The ambition of Rienzi grew with success. His poetical and visionary nature was raised almost to the height of ecstasy, and he conceived the idea of uniting the whole peninsula under the leadership of Rome, perhaps even of restoring the Western Empire in all its plenitude. He despatched messengers to the several Italian States, requesting them to send deputies to Rome, who should consult upon the general good. Though distinguished only by a silver wand, the ambassadors of Rienzi were everywhere treated with the highest respect; and, on the 1st of August, 1347, two hundred deputies assembled in the Lateran Church, where, in a moment of supreme folly, considering the means at his disposal, Rienzi summoned Pope Clement VI. before his tribunal, and commanded him to reside in his diocese of Rome. He also cited the rival Emperors, Louis of Bavaria and Charles of Bohemia, to appear before the same court; and he required of the Electors of Germany to inform him upon what pretence they had usurped the inalienable right of the Roman people—the ancient and lawful sovereigns of the Empire—to confer the supreme dignity. This was a double blow at the Pope; for it placed him in a position of subordination to the Tribune, and

annihilated his assumed right of controlling the German elections to the Imperial office. At the same time, Rienzi disgusted the mass of the citizens by causing himself to be made a knight, and assuming a number of titles which seemed to place him above the popular sympathies on which he had previously relied. He appeared in public with the external signs of royalty, and his levity on the occasion of his knighthood showed how much of personal weakness was mingled with the stronger elements of his character. After a while, something of cruelty tainted the rigour of his justice; the simplicity of his former life gave way to self-indulgent and ostentatious habits; and the nobles began a conspiracy, which was checked for a time, but speedily renewed. Escaping from the city, the Colonna and the Orsini took the field at the head of a considerable army, and, advancing on Rome, endeavoured to force their way to the Capitol. They were defeated and massacred in large numbers; but the Dictator soon afterwards offended his own supporters, and, in the early part of 1348, a Neapolitan Count and a few soldiers entered Rome, which Rienzi had abandoned two days before in a transport of unavailing tears.

After a dictatorship which had lasted not more than seven months, Rienzi sought refuge in the kingdom of Naples. He had lost the support of the Pope; he had lost the confidence of the Roman people; he had offended Charles IV. by his arrogance; the nobles of the capital hated him as an upstart and an adventurer. But his singular career was not yet at an end. For a brief space he was received with honour by the Neapolitan King; then, recoiling before the efforts of his enemies, he withdrew to a hermitage in the recesses of the southern Apennines. Here he lived concealed until the commencement of 1350, when he secretly returned to Rome. The risk of appearing there was great; but he was encouraged by some old prophecies, which a monk interpreted in the sense that he was to introduce a new era of happiness into the world, in conjunction with the Emperor Charles IV. After a brief stay in the Papal city, Rienzi hastily departed for Prague, where he announced to Charles that, in a year and a half from that time he would reign in the West, and himself in the East, and that, at the same date, a new hierarchy would be established in the Church. The Emperor probably regarded him as a madman, and at this period he was in truth little else. Charles committed him to gaol, and, in July, 1351, sent him to Avignon, to answer for his treason in assuming Tribunitial powers. In the [illegible] was chained by the leg like a common malefactor. He had already been made the subject of a Bull of excommunication, in which he was charged with rebellion, sacrilege, and heresy; and four Cardinals were now appointed to inquire into the offences of the fallen Dictator. The result was his condemnation to death; but his life was spared, on the intercession of Petrarch and other persons of influence.

The Pope, indeed, seems to have been embarrassed by a sense of his prisoner's former importance. He moderated the severity of his confinement, sent him books to read, and in various ways revealed an interest in his fate. Clement VI. died in the course of 1352, and his successor, Innocent VI., was equally impressed with Rienzi's character and career. The former Tribune professed his fidelity to the Church, and, being released from durance, was sent into Italy with the title of Senator. At Rome he was received with every sign of joy and affection. Since his expulsion, nearly five years before, the citizens had had abundant cause to regret the early days of his power. Rome was once more devastated by those sanguinary feuds which the just and wholesome rigour of the dictator had suppressed. The nobles had again slaughtered one another, and trampled in common on the people. A democratic insurrection had put them to flight, and the office of Tribune was occupied in succession by two plebeians, of whom the latter ruled with all the suspicion and fury of a petty despot, until his own death was effected by those he had outraged. The Roman people were therefore prepared to receive Rienzi with open arms, and to forgive his later tyranny in the memory of his earlier acts. But the finer elements of his character had been dissipated by use, or embittered by misfortune, or debased, by the dull effect of years, into lower and grosser qualities. The dictator abandoned himself to luxurious living, and developed that leaning to cruelty which is seldom absent from the Roman nature. The nobles and the commonalty were for once united in their hatred of an incompetent despot who had lost the charm of success. An insurrection broke out against his power. The barons fortified themselves in their castles, and the war against these feudal princes exhausted the treasury, and added to the burdens of the people. On the 8th of October, 1354, the Capitol was attacked by the multitude, and Rienzi, in a vain endeavour to escape, fell into the hands of his enemies. He seems to have been absolutely paralysed with fear. Speechless and motionless, he stood for an hour amongst the raging populace, but was at length struck down by the dagger of an assassin.

ody was then hacked by the furious citizens
ad recently welcomed his return, and was at
committed to the flames with every sign of
mely.

events of the last few years enabled Charles
insist with greater urgency on the return
Popes to Rome; but it still took several
to accomplish his cherished design. In 1367,
er, Urban V., who had succeeded to the
ical throne five years before, entered the
al City, to the surprise and delight of the
. Charles himself, clad in his Imperial
led the Pontiff's mule by the bridle, and the
on episode seemed for ever at an end. Never-
s, after a residence of three years on the
of the Tiber, Urban returned to France,
he died in the same year. Still, the power
e French King in this respect had been
sly weakened, and in 1377 Gregory XI., the
sor of Urban V., removed to Rome, and
re-established the seat of the Western
h in that historic city. He died the following
and the Church was then distracted by a
l which lasted for more than a generation,
hich is known as the Great Schism of the

The Sacred College, consisting of twenty-
ardinals, comprised a very large majority of
men. Six of these stayed at Avignon, and,
remaining sixteen, as many as eleven were
h, while the Italians counted but four, and
mber was completed by a single Spaniard.
election of a successor to Gregory XI., the
Cardinals residing at Rome were met by
f "Death, or an Italian Pope!" It was not
t time necessary to choose the Pontiff from
st the Cardinals, and the supreme dignity
cordingly conferred on the Archbishop of
Neapolitan, who succeeded to the vacant
under the title of Urban VI. But the
of this prelate had been an unwilling con-
to the fear of physical violence, and the
als determined to annul it on the first
able opportunity. When the heat of the
r gave them a decent pretext for quitting
they withdrew to Anagni, and openly de-
that the recent election was illegal and
Urban had given offence by despotic
rs, and a harsh and unconciliatory manner;
ere can be little doubt that the most agree-
ersonal qualities on his part would have
to reconcile the French Cardinals to a
who did not belong to their own nation.
was excommunicated as an apostate, and
denounced as Antichrist. One of their
r was elected to the Popedom as Clement VII., and the Western Church was divided between two rulers, who not only condemned one another in written polemics, but appealed to the sword in vindication of their disputed claims.

The French Pope ruled from Avignon; Urban VI. remained at Rome; but the champions of the potentates encountered one another in the intermediate territory. The quarrel assumed a character of extreme bitterness, and some disappointed Cardinals and prelates, whom Urban had arrested before the retirement of the others to Anagni, were tortured and executed by his orders. The chief nations of Europe were divided in their allegiance. Italy, Germany, England, and the countries of the North, adhered to Urban. France, Spain, Scotland, and Sicily, took up the cause of Clement. As a means of composing the feud, it was suggested that both Pontiffs should resign, and that the Cardinals should proceed to a new election; but neither claimant would give way. During the period of the schism, three Pontiffs were successively elected at Rome after the decease of Urban VI.—viz., Boniface IX., Innocent VI., and Gregory XII. On the death of Clement, in 1394, the Cardinals at Avignon elected Benedict XIII. as his successor; but after his time no fresh representative of the Gallic party was appointed. The French themselves were beginning to sicken of the controversy, and to desire a restoration of that united authority which had been the great strength of the Church. The University of Paris particularly distinguished itself by advocating a moderate course, such as might remove the heartburnings of recent years; and at length, in 1409, a General Council assembled at Pisa. The result was that both Gregory and Benedict were deposed, and power was conferred on Alexander V. The authority of the new Pope, however, was very far from being universally accepted. Spain still gave her allegiance to Benedict, who was himself a Spaniard; on the other hand, Gregory was supported by Germany, Hungary, and Naples; and the Church was now torn into three factions, each with its nominal Pope as the presiding authority. Alexander V. was afterwards succeeded by a ruler called John XXIII., whose power in the Church was but slight, and whose vices are described as transcending the ordinary measure. Another Council was held at Constance in 1414, when John was deposed, together with Benedict. At the same time, Gregory submitted, and Otto Colonna, one of the great Roman family of that name, was elected with the appellation of Martin V.

The Council of Constance was composed not merely of Bishops, according to the former prac-

tice, but of Abbots, members of Universities, ambassadors from princes, theologians, and doctors of the law. The assembly had something of a Parliamentary character, and might fairly be considered as representing the whole north-west of Europe. The spirit exhibited was such as could not have been agreeable to the uncompromising advocates of Pontifical claims. It was determined to reduce the power of the Popes individually, and to increase the power of the Western Church in its general and corporate capacity. The conclave therefore declared that Councils had received, by divine right, a power in matters of religion to which even the Papal authority must submit; and that a Pope who refused to obey a Council should be liable to punishment. These bodies were thenceforward to be divided into four nations —Italian, German, French, and English; each



CONSTANCE

was to be invested with equal rights, and a majority of the four were to decide on every question. A committee of reformation was also appointed; but very little of this nature was accomplished, and Martin V. dissolved the Council shortly after his succession to the Apostolic chair. The necessity for reform had, however, been made abundantly evident, and it is indeed surprising how the nations of Europe could so long have endured the abuses that had grown up both at Rome and Avignon. The English historian of the Middle Ages has remarked that "tenths repeatedly levied upon the clergy, annates rigorously exacted, and enhanced by new valuations, fees annexed to the complicated formalities of the Papal Chancery, were the means by which each half of the Church was compelled to reimburse its chief for the subtraction of the other's obedience. Benedict IX., one of the Roman line, whose fame is a little worse than that of his antagonists, made a gross traffic of his patronage; selling the privileges of exemption from ordinary jurisdiction, of holding benefices *in commendam*, and other dispensations invented for the benefit of the Holy See."* Such were the crying evils of the Church; and although, in 1414, scarcely anything was done for their amendment, the mere discussion was a gain. It was distinctly affirmed by the Council of Constance that the Church was superior to the Pope; and the decrees then sanctioned have ever since formed the groundwork of those national liberties in the matter of religion which have been so consistently, and often so successfully, asserted by the Gallican communion.

CHAPTER XLII.

THE COMMONWEALTH OF FLORENCE.

Local Position of Florence—Causes of her Mercantile Supremacy—Habits and Employments of her People—Primitive Republican Government—Conflicts with Feudal Lords of Tuscany—Admission of Noble Families to her Citizenship—Private Wars within the City—Nominal Division of Guelphs and Ghibellines—Unavailing Attempts to Secure Lasting Peace—Victory of the Ghibelline Party in 1260—Intervention of Charles of Anjou in 1267—Guelph Ascendency Established in Florence—Constitution of 1282—The Trades' Guilds, or City Companies—The Signoria, Priori, and Gonfaloniere—Dante Alighieri as a Citizen—Giano della Bella, and his Attempted Reforms—Importation of a New Family Quarrel from Pistoja The Bianchi and the Neri—Corso Donati—Treachery of Pope Boniface VIII.—Dante's Mission to Rome—Intervention of Charles of Valois—Exile of Dante—His Ghibelline Partisanship—The Emperor Henry of Luxemburg—Neapolitan Protectorate—Wars with Pisa and Lucca—Complications in Lombardy—Deterioration of the Political Constitution—Rulers Chosen by Lottery—Misrule of the "Duke of Athens" in 1342—Famine and Plague—Mercenary Bands of Soldiers—Insurrection of the "Ciompi"—Michel Lando, the Woolcomber—Recovery of Power by the Upper Class in 1382—Authority of the Albizzi—Florence Prepared for the Medicean Era.

Among the different Mediæval States, Principalities, and Civic Commonwealths, into which Italy was divided when the tide of barbarian invasion subsided in the ages following the destruction of the Western Empire, none attained a more vigorous growth, though not the earliest, than that of Florence. Its local situation, being inland, where the Apennine ranges close in the upper part of the plain of Tuscany, and where the Arno is not a navigable river, forbade that access to maritime traffic by which Pisa and Genoa, as well as Venice, sooner attained considerable wealth and power. Compared with Pisa, which was then a seaport, Florence was somewhat in the position of Manchester with regard to Liverpool: it became a manufacturing town, acquiring large capital for those times by means of productive industry, and thence gradually obtaining a commercial supremacy by its command of the money-market. Hence its transactions, as they were extended, until the end of the fifteenth century, by the enterprise and intelligence of Florentine merchants and bankers, widely influenced, at length, the internal development of foreign nations in every part of Western Europe. Its citizens were so generally associated with the distribution of material wealth, the increase of riches and luxury, and the operations of finance, that their particular type of Italian civilisation, of the Italian language and literature, and of the fine arts as brought to perfection in Italy, impressed itself on the less instructed minds of the French, the English, and the Germans. This precedence and primacy of Florence in many ways of social and intellectual improvement did not appear manifest to the world before the middle of the fourteenth century; but it had been pre-

* Hallam.

pared by a wonderfully precocious domestic exhibition of activity, with constant struggles for ascendency over the neighbouring towns, during more than two hundred years. The history of the "Commune," or Commonwealth, a title more appropriate than that of Republic, is authentically recorded from near the beginning of the twelfth century—a period when other nations, destined to be the most powerful in Europe, lay prostrate beneath the oppressive system of military feudalism, and had no conception of real public life.

A Roman municipality, bearing the name of Florentia, had existed since the time of the first Cæsars, and perhaps earlier, on the right bank of the Arno, at the foot of the hill crowned by the ancient Etruscan city of Fæsulæ, the site of which is still known as Fiesole, about three miles distant. Tacitus relates that, in the sixteenth year of the Christian era, certain deputies from Florentia came before the Senate at Rome, to remonstrate against an engineering scheme by which the waters of the Chiana were to have been diverted from the Tiber, in order to prevent disastrous inundations of the Campagna, and were to have been turned into the valley of the Arno. But the annals of Roman Florentia are otherwise quite obscure; and Firenze, as the modern Italians call Florence, hardly comes again to our notice before the latter part of the eleventh century, in the time of Pope Gregory VII. and his female ally, the Countess Matilda. That lady, as we have seen, reigned over the feudal principality of Tuscany, but she exercised no actual rule in the town of Florence. Its people, then rude and ignorant, but factious from their infancy, were stirred up to fight in the streets for a quarrel between the Bishop and a neighbouring abbot, the partisans of hostile ecclesiastical views. In the next generation they began to think more of providing securities for their civil freedom, and not only of political independence, but of territorial dominion. The population of Florence at that period is supposed to have been from sixty to nearly eighty thousand. The circuit of the city walls had been enlarged in the year 1078, and then extended from the position of the Ponte alla Carraja to that of the Ponte alle Grazie, taking in the church of San Lorenzo to the north, and, on the south bank of the river, to the ground of the Piazza dei Pitti. The mother-church of the town, that of San Giovanni, or St. John the Baptist, who had superseded the heathen god Mars as the patron of Florentia, was the christening-place of every man, woman, and

were a homely, frugal, and laborious
ne days," writes a native historian,

whose testimony is confirmed by Dante, speaking of his ancestors, "the citizens of Florence lived soberly, on simple food, and at small cost. They clothed themselves and their wives with coarse cloth; and many were dressed in leather jerkins. The women had sandals on their feet, with plain stockings; they wore a narrow petticoat, scarlet or green, a gown of camlet bound with a girdle round the waist in the ancient fashion, and a hood over their heads. They were busy with the distaff and the spindle. A hundred lire" (equal to £50 of our money in the nineteenth century) "was the ordinary dower when they married. Thus rude in their manners of life were the Florentines of those days. But they were loyal, and kept good faith, both with each other, and towards the commonwealth. And, with their poverty and gross living, they did greater things, and acted more virtuously, than we do with our modern effeminacy and our immense riches."*

The woollen industry was the staple trade, and carding, spinning, and weaving the chief work of the common people; but at a later period the Florentine manufacturers engaged in the more profitable business of dyeing cloth, especially that of superior fineness, and in other processes which afforded larger gains. The government was carried on by a Town Council, or Senate (apparently self-elected, consisting of a hundred of the wealthiest and most respectable citizens, who were styled the Buoni Uomini, or "Good Men"), and by Consuls annually chosen, one for each ward of the city, who may, despite their Roman title, be rather compared to the aldermen of the City of London. The number of Consuls was increased from four to six, afterwards to ten or twelve or more, as the city was enlarged to comprise additional wards. These civic magistrates conducted the affairs of Florence as an independent State, negotiating diplomatic treaties, declaring war or peace, and commanding an armed militia of nearly twenty thousand men, young and old, always ready to march out and fight. They owned no allegiance to the German Emperor, whose feudal vassals held the castles of the Apennine hills, and whose Vicar resided at San Miniato al Tedesco, halfway between Florence and Pisa. About the year 1113, we behold these sturdy Florentines actually making war on the Imperial deputy, and killing him in a battle at Monte Orlando, seven miles below their city, where they had previously destroyed the castle of the Counts Cadolingi. The reduction, one by one, of all the strongholds of feudal lords

* Giovanni Villani: History, Book VI., chap. 71.

dominating the pain of Tuscany, and exacting toll of the traffic that passed between its commercial towns, was undertaken by Florence with a remarkable degree of martial spirit and valour.

Other towns (the smaller of these being sometimes in dependence on the territorial nobles, as had been the case of Prato, twelve miles above Florence, with regard to the Counts Guidi) became likewise obnoxious to Florentine ambition. Battles and sieges occupied much of the leisure time of this industrial community, and their Consuls, like those of the early ages of the Roman Republic, which they strove to imitate, were commanders in frequent warfare. It was the same, in general, with the cities of Pisa and Lucca, which were engaged in mutual hostilities in 1114, when the Pisans, having to leave home with their fleet on an expedition against the Saracens in the Balearic Isles, asked the Florentines to come and guard the city in their absence. They performed this friendly service, and were rewarded with the gift of a couple of superb porphyry columns, brought no doubt from some Roman palace or temple in the East, which were sent to Florence draped in scarlet cloth. It was not long before this complimentary intercourse of the two cities that some Pisan merchants at Tunis, being asked who and what the Florentines were, replied, "Oh, they are the Arabs of the interior;" so rude and barbarous were they compared with the Pisans. But Florence was quickly growing in riches and in strength. In 1135, its citizens attacked and overthrew the powerful family of the Buondelmonti, who were seated at Monte Boni, on the road to Sienna and Rome. A branch of this family, by the way, after descending from the mountain, changed its name to Buonaparte, subsequently removed to the sea-coast, and thence to Corsica, where it gave birth, in the eighteenth century, to the great Napoleon. The chief members of the ancient feudal house of Buondelmonte came, however, to dwell in the town of Florence, and accepted the obligations of citizenship. This example was followed, in succeeding generations, by the admission and civic settlement of many of the landed aristocracy of Tuscany, who were permitted to keep their estates comprised within the Florentine dominion, but were deprived of feudal privileges. It was a policy convenient at the time, as it rapidly enlarged the collective resources of the State; but it ultimately proved fatal to the domestic harmony of the city commonwealth. The new-comers, belonging to a different class, having large independent property, and being averse from the pursuits of industry, never heartily sympathised with the popular cause. They formed matrimonial connections with rich and ambitious citizen families, and frequently conspired to usurp power, or to defy the salutary restraints of the common law. Finally they divided the city into factions animated by hereditary hatred, which broke out in furious acts of bloodshed, or in treasonable conspiracies against the freedom of the State. Popular self-government was thus beset with many difficulties and dangers from the introduction of a discordant element into Florentine society, which could neither be cured nor cast out during more than two hundred years of almost incessant struggle.

It is scarcely worth while to relate all the conflicts of young Florence with the petty lords of castles on the hills around, who seem never to have leagued themselves together for self-defence, or to have procured any help from the Imperial and feudal party in other Italian provinces. Monte Croce, a fortress of the Counts Guidi on the way to Arezzo, was captured and demolished in 1154; but this powerful family, having wide-spread possessions, was never reduced to sue for the citizenship of Florence. In 1177, the adventurous commonwealth took part with Montepulciano in a war against Sienna, and gained a signal victory. The same year, however, witnessed the beginning of one of the disastrous internal contests above referred to, arising from the turbulence of the nobles who had been received into the city. The authors of this great mischief were the Uberti, descendants of a German knightly race, who had joined the community, it seems, a hundred years before, yet were unwilling to put up with the free exercise of popular suffrage in the election of Consuls. They wanted to assert for themselves, as the chief of the aristocracy, the privilege of nominating the candidates; and its refusal, at each yearly election in four successive years, led to fierce fighting in the city streets. The mode of fighting was novel and peculiar, and could hardly be attended with any very decisive result. Each of the great and rich families inhabited a strongly-built mansion, the lower part of which, with stone walls of great thickness, had its doors and few small windows, or rather loopholes, secured by iron bars, so as not easily to be taken by assault. Many old houses of similar construction are still to be seen in Florence. The house, if not itself of great height, often had a lofty tower at one corner, rising to a hundred and fifty feet, from the top of which, by catapults, or large cross-bows, called "manganels," the garrison could hurl stones and other missiles upon the enemy beneath, or could aim at the windows and roofs of opposite mans

Several houses of this kind, either standing isolated, or separated by a narrow passage or alley, might have connecting galleries from the upper storeys, such as even yet remain, by which friends and neighbours could pass from one house to another. In the singular kind of civil warfare which prevailed from time to time in old Florence, the siege of these vast and gloomy buildings might go on for weeks and months; the doors being watched day and night by armed bands of the enemy, in turn relieving each other, while the besieged, whenever they sallied forth, had to wield swords and halberds as bravely as they could. There was no direct encounter of the main forces in open ground, so that the conflict was ended by the weariness of the combatants, only a few having been killed or wounded in the course of many days, but all having suffered much discomfort and privation. This style of fighting, imported by the former owners of castles and fortresses who came to live in the city, was much detested by the commonalty; and the demolition of a great family mansion, as finally that of the Uberti, was considered an appropriate punishment for rebellion or treason.

A treaty of active alliance with Lucca, in 1184, but which did not involve hostility to Pisa; a series of successful expeditions against castles in the Val d'Elsa, and among the Chianti hills; contentions with the Counts Alberti di Vernio, who were great local potentates, and the destruction of their fortified town, Semifonte, after a three years' siege—these were the military and political achievements of Florence during the remainder of the twelfth century. The Emperor Frederick Barbarossa, coming from Germany, in 1183, to visit the city and hear the complaints of his dispossessed and disarmed vassals, ordered the Florentines to restore their territorial conquests, and to retire within their city walls. But the decree always remained a dead letter, and the aggrandisement of Florence continued without any external check.

It was mainly owing to external disorders and dissensions that this energetic and enterprising community of freemen, seldom molested by foreign foes, experienced many calamities, and failed, on the whole, to attain a condition of security and tranquillity more desirable than riches and power. Soon after the commencement of the thirteenth century—that is to say, the second century of the Florentine Commonwealth—it was found necessary, for the trustworthy administration of ordinary justice and law, to take the judicial office from the hands of native magistrates, and to confer it upon *foreigner, bearing* the title of Podestà, who was to be selected annually from among the people of any place distant not less than fifty miles from Florence. He was appointed for one year, and was to try and determine all causes both civil and criminal, receiving an adequate stipend. The first who held this office at Florence was a Milanese lawyer named Gualfreddotto. The other government offices underwent no alteration; but it cannot be deemed a favourable symptom of the political, social, and moral condition of Florence, that the services of a foreign judge should be required. The rise of family feuds and factions, even more virulent than the rebellion of the Uberti, and more insidiously destructive of the public peace, is dated from this period.

A private quarrel between some young men of several noble families at a festive banquet had occasioned much scandal; and one of them, Buondelmonte, who had stabbed another to revenge an insult, agreed to make amends by marrying the niece of the wounded man, a lady of the house of the Amidei. On the eve of their betrothal, in 1212, he was tempted to break this engagement, which was derided as one extorted from him by fear, and to accept instead the offered hand of a beautiful daughter of the Donati, who belonged to a rival faction. The Amidei and their friends the Lamberti vowed vengeance, and perpetrated a very shocking murder. On his wedding day, returning from church with his Donati bride in a gay and joyful procession of their kinsfolk, Buondelmonte was foully waylaid and slain. Tumults and street conflicts, from day to day, followed this unpunished crime, till the whole upper class of citizens, having pretensions of birth and rank, came to be divided into two hostile camps. It seems almost incredible to readers of another nation, and in a milder age, but is characteristic of the Italian temper in those times, that the hereditary animosity fomented by this personal division lasted nearly a hundred years. The successive changes of party names, or rather the adoption of new names, such as those of the Bianchi and Neri, imported from Pistoja in the year 1300, which brought the protracted strife to a final crisis, merely disguised the unforgiving mutual hatred of many wealthy and influential families, closely leagued with others dependent on their friendship. They claimed the privilege of carrying on private war at their pleasure, whenever they chose, in spite of the authority of the State, and of the disapprobation felt by peaceable folk of the middle and working classes. No regular police existed, sufficient to enforce the administration of the law against such powerful offenders; but there were occasions when a popular movement,

stirred up by the indignation naturally resulting from some particularly gross outrage, caused the expulsion of numbers of persons from the city, with forfeiture of their goods and a decree of outlawry, which, however, might be reversed a few years afterwards, if their party regained influence in the commonwealth.

This abiding habit of clanship and inveterate party contention, more resembling the ancient inherited connections and common enmities among the Scottish Highlanders than anything in the social life of other European cities, is the key to Florentine history. When we read that Florence in the thirteenth century was distracted by the dispute between the Guelphs and the Ghibellines, it must be understood with great reservation. It was the local factions, the standing leagues of certain clans and families, arrayed in permanent combination on two contending sides, that sometimes procured foreign assistance by attaching themselves, with very little political sincerity, respectively to the Guelph and to the Ghibelline interest. Florentines of no party, with a few individual exceptions, were really inclined to allow either the high pretensions of Imperial prerogative, or the temporal supremacy of the Pope, in their own part of Italy. Some of them, deplorably unpatriotic as their conduct must appear, were ready to call in the armed intervention of Emperors, Kings, and Princes, with Lombard, Neapolitan, German, Norman, or French soldiery, to put down the opposite faction. But their adherence to one or other of those great political associations which arose from the perplexed relations between the Holy See of Rome and the Holy Roman Empire, was partial and superficial, and had but temporary effects. It was very different from the intensity of the Guelph and Ghibelline contest on the other side of the Apennines, in Lombardy and Romagna. Dante Alighieri, though he became an extreme Ghibelline by political conviction, while he abounds in references to the long preceding struggle of those professing to be Guelphs and Ghibellines in Florence, seldom uses these party names. If we occasionally do so, it will be observed that at Florence they did not mean all they meant at Milan or Bologna. Florence nevertheless suffered, by the fault of her own citizens, repeated foreign interventions and prolonged occupations, nominally on behalf of those external claims to a general supremacy which she never sincerely obeyed.

It was probably from hostility to Pisa, which was an important seat of the Ghibelline party at the accession of the Emperor Frederick II., that Florence began to favour the Guelphs. The first war with Pisa, occasioned by a slight supposed insult, took place in 1222, when the Pisan army was defeated in a pitched battle, losing hundreds slain, and larger numbers wounded and taken prisoners. In 1228, the Florentines were at war with Pistoja, and during the next seven years with Sienna and her allies, which were also in the Ghibelline interest. Frederick II., in his continued struggle with successive Popes, having been excommunicated by Innocent IV., who had fled to Lyons, sought in Italy to prove his power of effectually protecting all the Ghibellines. He availed himself, in 1248, of the intestine divisions in Florence, and of the ancient connections of the Uberti and others with the feudal aristocracy of Tuscany, to create a Ghibelline party within the city. The first exhibition of such a purpose sufficed to call into existence a powerful Guelph faction, composed of all those who hated the Uberti and their associates. But, as an historian of the time remarks, "it was more from party spirit preconceived, than from caring about either the Emperor or the Pope and the Church, that the minds of the Florentines were inflamed." Upon a message from the Emperor, the Uberti and their faction, crying "Viva parte Ghibellina!" flew to arms. Barricades were thrown up, the towers of the great houses were manned, and the fighting we have described went on for several days, till sixteen hundred German horsemen, sent by the Emperor under his natural son Frederick, rode into the city. The Guelphs were crushed after a desperate resistance. All the families of that party were banished; men, women, and children, deprived of their property, and their houses razed to the ground. This was the first of a series of violent revolutions, alternate victories, defeats, recoveries, and relapses, of the two implacable factions which, at intervals during half a century, convulsed the whole of Florentine society. Many of its incidents are familiar to the students of the "Divina Commedia," being there told by Dante with matchless force of expression, often in a single triplet of his verse; and they are sufficiently explained in the notes to the best English translations. The death of the Emperor Frederick II., in 1250, the position of his sons Conrad and Manfred, and of his grandson Conradin, in the kingdom of Naples, and the arrival, in 1266, of the French prince, Charles of Anjou, who appeared as the Guelph champion and Vicar-general of the Pope, are matters as to which the reader has already been informed. They are of great secondary effect in the fortunes of the Florentine Commonwealth at that time; but the political independence

and development of the city survived them by its native strength.

The Ghibellines remained alone in Florence with the old nobility and gentry, revolted against the oppressive rule of the Uberti, in October, 1250, and speedily effected a democratic change of



DANTE ALIGHIERI.

only three years, while the exiled Guelphs found refuge in other Tuscan towns, but the Imperialist cause everywhere was at a low ebb even before Frederick's death. The common people of Florence, including the trading classes and all not connected the constitution. A chief magistrate was elected, who was styled "Captain of the People," and who was entrusted with the command of the militia, and with the judicial functions previously vested in the Podestà. In each of the "Sestieri," or six

wards of the city, two men were chosen, called "Anziani," or Elders, who formed a Council of Twelve. The whole city militia was distributed into twenty companies, each with its captain, bound to muster around their respective standards at the sound of the tocsin from the tower of the Town Hall. The Ghibelline lords and gentlemen were compelled to acquiesce in these popular reforms, and the Guelphs soon afterwards peacefully returned, but did not obtain immediate control of public affairs. This was too good to last; but it would have been wise policy if the people had been always powerful enough to drive out both factions at once, and to keep them out. Peace and independence again suffered a temporary eclipse from the intrigues of the Uberti and the Ghibellines in 1258. They privily invited Manfred, King of Naples, to the conquest of the city. The plot was discovered, the Ghibellines in their turn were expelled, and the Uberti mansion, with others, was ignominiously demolished. Its site was on the ground long since known as the Piazza della Signoria, but now the Piazza dell' Indipendenza, where the citizens then erected that massive edifice, with its remarkable tower, which has during six centuries stood intact as the residence of municipal government, and which became the home of the Italian Parliament in 1865. This Palazzo Vecchio is, to an instructed visitor, one of the most interesting public buildings in Europe; a perpetual silent witness, through ages of vicissitude, of declining and reviving patriotism and civic virtue, on behalf of those immortal principles of liberty and public duty which Italians were among the first to teach, and have again learned to practise in our happier times.

But a terrible blow then fell upon the youthful Republic; and, splendidly as it shone in its later career, by an artistic and social refinement which bestowed intellectual light on the whole world, its promise of freedom was thus early blighted. Its Ghibelline traitors were at Sienna, headed by Farinata degli Uberti, whom readers of Dante will remember as an inmate of the "Inferno." He was an able politician and military commander, who, having by manifold exertions got together a large force, and obtained from Manfred some troops of German cavalry, encountered the Florentines on September 4th, 1260, at Montaperti, on the river Arbia. The battle proved most disastrous to Florence, whose citizen troops were utterly routed, and 2,500 of them killed. Twelve days later, the victors entered the city without opposition, all the Guelphs and thousands of the common people having left it, mostly for Lucca, whence they were driven away to Bologna. It



CHURCH OF SANTA CROCE, FLORENCE.

was proposed to demolish the city entirely; but Farinata would not consent to so enormous an outrage and crime against civilisation. This was less than five years before the birth of Dante. But in 1266, the year following that in which the great poet and scholar was born, another historical event of much importance happened. Manfred was defeated and slain near Benevento, and Charles of Anjou won the kingdom of Naples. He was appointed by the Pope to restore the Guelph party in Tuscany, and in 1267 took possession of Florence. The Ghibellines were then finally expelled; nor did they ever, at any time, reappear as a powerful party in that city. But the spirit of faction was to be still manifested under other names and pretexts.

Florence, it is true, enjoyed comparative internal tranquillity for about twenty years under the Guelph ascendency, and for some time under the protectorate and control of the King of Naples. The city was personally visited in 1273 by Pope Gregory X., in company with Charles of Anjou and Count Baldwin of Flanders, when sentence of excommunication was passed on members of the Ghibelline party who refused to submit. Five years later, Pope Nicholas III. sent Cardinal Frangipane, who laid the first stone of the noble church of Santa Maria Novella. All men of either faction, still in open enmity with each other, were summoned to a grand public ceremonial of formal reconciliation; their leaders were obliged to take hands and kiss, and were sworn to keep the peace. The decree of banishment against the old Ghibellines was then repeated. In 1282, a further change was made in the political constitution, which, being still framed on the basis of a civic municipality, now embraced the representation of the different trade guilds. Manufactures and commerce were becoming a power in the State. The largest fortunes were made, consequently the first position in society was claimed, by the trade of the "Calamala," which included purchasing woollen cloth and other textile fabrics imported from different places, dressing and dyeing, perhaps embroidering the same, and exporting the finished product all over Europe and the East. This became the highest in rank of the seven "Arti Maggiori;" the next was that of the money-changers, bill-discounters, or bankers, naturally persons who had gained money by the most lucrative industrial and mercantile pursuits; and the mere woollen cloth-weavers stood third in the list. As may often be perceived in similar instances, the ori [illegible] of plain producers, who had support of local prosperity, were now cast into the shade by the skilful men of business, merchants, financiers, and inventors of processes for adapting goods to the fashion and market of the day. The other Arti Maggiori were at first those of the silk-weavers and mercers, the lawyers or notaries, the physicians and apothecaries, and the furriers; but five guilds were added some time later. Among the "Arti Minori" were goldsmiths, jewellers, tailors, and the ordinary tradesmen dealing in articles of food or of household need. It was then arranged that the more important guilds, which much resembled the old Livery Companies of the City of London, should have a share in the Corporation; this being, indeed, not a City Corporation only, but the Government of a republican State. The ward elections of the twelve elders, the Anziani, were, under the popular constitution of 1260, superseded by these guilds of the richer classes choosing head men called "Priori," who composed henceforth the supreme Council. They served for two months at a time, a select number by turns, residing for that term in the Badia, and afterwards in the Palazzo del Comune, where they lived at the public cost. The office of Captain-General was continued, but changed its title, half a century later, to that of Gonfaloniere or Standard-bearer. Such was the definite constitution of the Florentine governing body, called the Signoria, which became, in fact, a sort of oligarchy composed of the "grossi popolani," or wealthy bourgeoisie, to the exclusion of the "popolo minuto," the labouring classes. Democracy, as we understand it, was quietly put aside, though attempts were made at later periods to revive it, but without abiding success.

The most celebrated and most illustrious son of Florence, the greatest of Italian poets, and greatest figure in the literary history of the Middle Ages, was brought up amidst this state of affairs. Our admiration of his genius should not blind us to the fact that Dante Alighieri, in the practical business of life, was led by temper and by contemporary associations into an utterly mistaken course. A gentleman by birth, and a poor one, esteemed for his literary accomplishments, and ambitious of political distinction, he took the needful step of enrolling himself as an honorary member of one of the guilds, that of the physicians, not, however, to practise it as a profession, though he was qualified by some degree of scientific learning. Even as a young man, his natural disposition, haughty, reserved, and pedantic, made him regard with scorn the idea of popular government. He was an intense Tory, ever looking back to the Ghibelline traditions, which were

ssembled in compliance with the ascen- of Guelphic interests; and his views did len, but contracted, with the political ex- of his mature life. At the age of four, in the year 1289, he is found as a soldier in the Florentine army at Campal- here the Aretines, led by Count Guido , who endeavoured to reinstate the Ghi- power, sustained a notable defeat. The horizon was widening: Florence was into the larger arena of Italian politics, r wars no longer aimed merely at the ow of neighbouring castles, and the ruin of mpeting towns. Dante scrutinised with anxiety the situation of every Italian nd the balance of power; but his heart was ith the partizans of monarchy, though he personally to share in the official honours epublic where he was born. We cannot n credit for enlightenment and far-sighted sm; still less for any such liberalism as was able in his time. The commonwealth had re- ntire independence after the death of Charles u, and had nothing to fear from external nce Pisa, its only formidable political rival, gaged in a conflict with Genoa for naval acy—a conflict ending in the total destruc- the Pisan fleet at Melloria—and remained to domestic broils. With the sense of l security, the Florentine people began to gain of perfecting their own institutions; aristocracy, both of wealth and birth, had d to retain invidious privileges, and to corrupting influence over the administra- pecially over the conduct of the judges.

earn the existence of these evils, not from who had little sympathy with the humbler but from the honest citizen and historian, ompagni, who took an active part in the movement. It was headed in 1293 by lella Bella, an upright and independent an, much respected in the city. Being one of the Priori, he induced his colleagues, pressure of popular opinion, to pass a new civil and criminal law, with a new system ial procedure, and with the establishment stworthy police force. It would be hard, were all, to withhold our approval of any signed attempt to place the execution of laws under the safeguard of special ions. A "Standardbearer of Justice," his white flag with a red cross on it, and ding a thousand gendarmes in support of sions of impartial magistrates, might seem lesirable official personage. But, unhappily, the legislation of Giano della Bella did not stop there. It went on to degrade and proscribe all the noblemen and persons of patrician lineage, and the cavalieri or knights, residing in Florence; excluding them from the public offices, and imposing penalties upon them for any private injury done to persons of lower rank, far more severe than the punishment of common men for similar offences. Exceptional rules of criminal prosecution against them, and even different rules of evidence, were also enacted; and we feel no surprise that Dino Compagni, as well as Dante, should disapprove of such unjust and violent measures. Some reforms were nevertheless imperatively demanded, and it is to be regretted that Dante lent no direct aid to a moderate and equitable scheme of improvement. This attempt of 1293 was doomed to failure. The seventy-two disfranchised aristocratic families were strong enough to withstand the deprivation of their class privileges by "the dogs of the people." Conspiracies, tumults, and street frays, the use of bribery to win adherents from the poorer classes, and personal intimidation of the magistrates, rendered the "Ordini della Giustizia" a dead letter; and the flight of Giano della Bella put an end to the movement for that time.

It must not, however, be imagined that the domestic condition of Florence at the end of the thirteenth century was anything like that barbarous anarchy which has been described as existing, at certain periods, above a hundred years before. There were not the same bands of ferocious men-at-arms, servants for private warfare, parading the streets; or prolonged sieges of the fortified palaces of law-defying nobles; or scenes of wild havoc and bloodshed any day of the week. Rich, intellectual, and polite, though cherishing evil passions in their hearts, the Florentine grandees affected every graceful accomplishment, and professed their love of the arts of peace. They walked in gay apparel, met at feasts, dances, and elaborate pageants, entertained a taste for sculpture, painting, and music, affected religious scepticism, and disdained the vulgar herd. Dante, a lonely, studious, ascetic spirit, disdained all but the learned, while he cultivated, with his preceptor Brunetto Latini, an enthusiastic love of poetry, brooded over Livy, Ovid, and Virgil, and imitated, in the Tuscan vernacular, the quaint conceits of Provençal Troubadours. He already cherished, as we have seen, the ambition of a statesman; but his abilities, not being seconded by influential connections, brought him a slow and uncertain rise in public office. Just before he found himself among

the elected magistrates of the commonwealth, a new outbreak of those social and civil disturbances, which had seemed for a time to slumber, involved the State in fresh dangers, and drove him into a course of action that set him in hostility to his fellow-citizens for the rest of his life.

It is curious to observe how, among the neighbouring communities of Central Italy in those ages, the merely personal and domestic quarrels of one city were often transplanted into another (despite their political separation) by the contagion of private sympathies, proving that they formed one nation after all. In the town of Pistoja, twenty miles distant, two branches of a wealthy family, "from over-fatness and inspiration of the Devil," had somehow come to hate each other. The one, descended from a lady whose Christian name was Bianca, were known as the Bianchi, and the other branch, to mark their opposition as that of Black to White, allowed themselves to be called the Neri. Offshoots of these rival clans, which were subdivided under several names, intermarried respectively with the Cerchi and the Frescobaldi of Florence. The position of the latter in Florence was such as to render their mutual antagonism a sufficient excuse for reviving the old division (which indeed had never been appeased) between two abiding combinations of the Florentine upper classes. The head of that faction to which the Frescobaldi were attached was Corso Donati, who also happened, as temporary Podestà of Pistoja, to have carried out severe judgments against the Bianchi there upon the occasion of their recent strife. He was a nobleman, so proud that people always called him "the Baron," arrogant, dictatorial, and vain, utterly unscrupulous, and apparently disposed to play the part of a Catiline, if he could not be a Julius Cæsar. He had won some military renown on the field of Campaldino, and was esteemed an efficient champion of the Guelph interest in Tuscany. This man, with a great party at his back, and with a great following of some of the lower classes, seduced by those arts which gain popular favour, bent his strongest efforts to destroy the position of the Cerchi, who, though not of noble race, held large possessions, had a connection, as stewards or agents, with the absent Ghibellines, and were respected for their prudent and quiet behaviour. Insulting speeches and gestures, whenever they met, presently led to fighting between the young men of the Donati and the Cerchi, even at a funeral, over the coffin laid before the altar in church. Another day, when, at a festival in the [illegible] and gentlemen assembled for a dance, [illegible] horseback, excited by wine and insolence, like true sons of Belial, rode in furiously to chase out their unoffending rivals. Finally, Niccolo dei Cerchi, going peaceably to his country villa, was waylaid and murdered by Corso Donati's son, but inflicted before he fell a mortal wound on his dastardly assassin. It is abundantly evident that the Donati, supported by the Neri party, were really the aggressors; and this was the view that prevailed with the majority of the Signoria, the Council of Priori, in which Dante Alighieri had a seat in the year 1300. The Neri, however, did not acquiesce in the judgment of the ruling magistrates of Florence. They had private influence with Pope Boniface VIII., through his Florentine bankers, the Spini, who had let his Holiness overdraw his account; and they hit upon the device of asking the Pope to send an envoy who should arbitrate between the contending parties.

The Pope readily complied, and despatched Cardinal Acquasparta, who arrived in June; but on Midsummer Eve, amidst the pomp of an annual civic religious procession, the Priori of the City Guilds were suddenly assaulted by a band of the Neri, who drove them from the Piazza, threatening the utmost violence, reviling them as low-born upstarts, and declaring that the public honours and dignities should again belong to the men of noble and knightly rank. This outrageous attack upon the established government was planned by Corso Donati with the intent of causing an immediate revolution in the State; and it was suspected that the Cardinal, and very probably the Pope at Rome, were privy to the treasonable plot. It failed, however, for want of a sufficient rising of the people; and it became the duty of the Signoria, including Dante, to punish the rioters, and those who had instigated the riot. But, either from timidity, from divided councils, or from reluctance to expose the real extent of the criminal design, the Signoria forbore to denounce the authors of the seditious conspiracy, and affected to treat the matter only as a breach of the peace, which they pretended to amend by banishing an equal number of the two hostile factions. Some of the Neri, amongst whom was Corso Donati, were sent for a time to Città di Pieve, while some of the Bianchi were ordered to go to Sarzana. This proceeding had a show of impartiality; but it was both weak and unjust, though Dante seems to have assented to it for politic reasons. It soon became known that the Neri, with the connivance of the Cardinal, were preparing a forcible return, assisted by foreign troops. The Cardinal was mobbed; somebody shot an arrow into the window of the palace where he lodged; he complained as the Pope's envoy, and

oria paid him a sum of money in com-
; but he quitted the city, laying it under
astical interdict. Both the exiled factions
ı permitted to return, and the city was in
langer than before. The Neri concerted
ason; they sent an embassy to Pope
inviting him to procure the aid of a
rince, with a French army, for the sub-
of Florence. This correspondence being
the Signoria imposed fines upon the Neri
and resolved that three of their men in
uld go to Rome, with a formal commission
strate, and to avert the menaced foreign
ion. Dante was named as one of these
ors. There is an anecdote, rather charac-
f his arrogant self-esteem, to the effect
ıt first demurred because he fancied him-
only man capable of managing affairs
"If I go there," he said to his col-
"who is there to stay here? and if I stay
o is there to go there?" But he went
with two others, and was there con-
by Corso Donati. The Pope, a hard,
eacherous, grasping politician, had already
that Charles of Valois, brother to King
e Fair, should next year, on his way from
o conquer the kingdom of Sicily, under-
task of subduing Florence. Boniface
the Florentine ambassadors with delusive
heard their set orations, in which Dante's
e and learning conspicuously shone, de-
em several months in Rome, and let them
when his plans were settled. We see no
the poet's superior sagacity throughout
ıappy transactions.

elpless imbecility and indecision of Floren-
ıcils during the next twelvemonth, while
, with their powerful French protector,
paring to overthrow the liberties of the
ealth, may well be deplored. With a
tia of at least twenty thousand men, and
ple funds to hire the services of other
the independence of the State could
ve been defended. But none among the
of rightly-disposed citizens, who deemed
ıchi comparatively innocent, or who felt
etestation of the treason practised on the
side, took any measures to provide
y for the support of the lawful govern-
Dante, for one, had little or no official
ıis diplomatic errand had been a failure,
recognised literary talents could not make
hout other claims on popular confidence, a
ımpetent to play the part of dictator. He
ed, by his marriage with Gemma Donati,
and by his former intimacy with the chief of her family, probably bound in some degree to refrain from active hostility to that unscrupulous party leader, though his political sentiments inclined to the Bianchi. There was no efficient man among the Bianchi themselves. Vieri dei Cerchi, a timid elderly gentleman, declined to come forward; and Schiatta de' Cancellieri, summoned from Pistoja, proved incapable as a military commander. So month after month of the year 1301 was wasted, until Charles of Valois, having been some time in the Roman territory with Pope Boniface, marched into Tuscany, and entered the city without the slightest resistance. The Priori and the Capitano did nothing, but shifted off their responsibility by pretending to ask each of the Guilds, severally, to meet and vote resolutions about what should be done. Alarm, confusion, painful suspense, filled the hearts of the citizens for a day and a night; but, on the second day, the banished rebel Corso Donati, with a troop of his armed retainers, broke into the city, while Prince Charles, when implored to use his troops for the preservation of order, put off the request with deceitful professions. The Signoria resigned office in despair, and regular government was at an end. Corso Donati lost not an hour in gathering around him a rabble of the vilest ruffians, taking even the criminals out of the prisons, and riding at their head through the streets, flourishing a drawn sword. He arrested hundreds of the Bianchi, and gave up their houses and shops to plunder. Many houses were destroyed by fire, and these frightful orgies of robbery and cruelty, attended with not a few murders, continued six days. The French prince did not interfere, but, at the end of a week of horrors, allowed the election of a new set of magistrates, all of the Neri faction, who presented his Royal Highness with a large sum of money. To save appearances, the Pope soon afterwards again sent Cardinal Acquasparta in the guise of a pacificator and mediator, recommending that the Neri should tolerate the presence of the Bianchi, except those leading men and families who had already been ruined. Charles of Valois stayed in Florence from November till April, by which time the Neri had firmly established their mastery over every department of local affairs.

The personal situation of Dante Alighieri during this period of violent revolution must have been extremely distressing. He was about thirty-five years of age, "in the midway of this our mortal life," when he thus found himself entangled in a gloomy and pathless forest of worldly embarrassments, haunted by three ferocious beasts,



VIEW OF FLORENCE FROM THE BELVEDERE. (*From "Cities of the World."*)

the lion, the leopard, and the wolf, signifying the wicked spirits of anger, fraud, and envy,* to shun which he turned his mind, in the "Divine Comedy," to ecstatic visions of the future life, of Hell, Purgatory, and Heaven. The poetical and other literary qualities of his great work do not here require notice; but it remains for us to narrate how Dante became an exile from Florence, and subsequently a vehement partisan of Ghibelline political principles, which he had not before openly avowed. Such principles, indeed, had seemed quite in abeyance, in that community at least, since the time of his earliest infancy; and he was brought up amongst Guelphs, which then meant little more than citizens who denied all Imperial or other monarchical sovereignty over the free Italian commonwealths. Though, by his mental constitution, hardly capable of republican sympathies, he would, as a man of strict integrity, have faithfully served the Republic to the end of his days; but his career of honourable public activity was stopped by the strife of factions. It appears, from recent historical researches, that he remained quiescent for some months after the entry of Charles of



DANTE'S HOUSE, FLORENCE.

* Inferno, Canto I.

Valois, but that he incurred the resentment of the Neri by opposing an illegal vote of public money to satisfy the greed of the Frenchman. For this cause alone, it is now believed, a false accusation of pecuniary misappropriation was concocted against him, and in 1302 he was condemned to perpetual banishment. He became a wanderer among the castles of petty Italian potentates attached to the Imperialist party; visiting the University of Bologna, and travelling as far as Paris; sojourning in monasteries and colleges where his scholastic studies were esteemed; again working vainly as the zealous, acrimonious pamphleteer of a preposterous cause, which he imagined to be of divine right. It is painful to be compelled to chronicle of such a man that in 1313 he actually joined a foreign army led by Henry VII. against Florence. Yet a life of sore trial, of severe disappointment, bereaved of domestic happiness, of home and friends and merited honours, still left him leisure to bequeath to mankind a splendid monument of genius, enshrining the life and thought of the Middle Ages in a symmetrical fabric of melodious Italian verse.

Passing over, as tedious and disgusting, the Florentine experiences of some years from the beginning of the fourteenth century—attempts of the Bianchi to recover their position, conspiracies, tumults, revenges, Papal mediations (sometimes well-intentioned) through a Cardinal da Prato, alliance with the Duke of Calabria, who became King Robert of Naples, wars with Pistoja, and complications with Lucca and Pisa—it may be noted that in 1308 Corso Donati, having lost party support, and become obnoxious as an intending usurper of despotic power, was attacked, hunted down, and killed. About the same time, Henry of Luxemburg, the rival of Charles of Valois, was elected Emperor by the Germans, and two years later came to wear the Iron Crown in Lombardy. Dante then wrote his Latin treatise, "De Monarchiâ," proving by theological, philosophical, and historical arguments that there ought to be one Empire over all the world; and of course that the Italians, the Florentines included, ought to be subjects of this German prince. Having been crowned at Rome, in June, 1312, Henry next year marched his army to Florence, accompanied by many Ghibelline exiles of that city, and encamped a short distance from its walls. The city, this time, was prepared to make a stout defence, and the Emperor did not venture on a serious attack, but, after wasting many days, re- to Pisa, and in 1313 was poisoned in the -ine of the Lord's Supper. This was the end of Dante's passionate hopes of a triumphant return to his native city.

Florence thus remained the head-quarters of the Guelph cause in Tuscany, and was engaged from that date to 1328 in wars of considerable importance waged against her by Pisa and Lucca in the Ghibelline interest, whose forces were commanded successively by two very able soldiers, Uguccione della Faggiuola and Castruccio Castracane. The chief result of several laborious, costly, and sanguinary campaigns was that Florence lost the dominion of Pistoja; but her necessities had further compelled her once more to barter domestic independence for the aid of a foreign prince. A compact was made in 1325 with Charles, Duke of Calabria, son of King Robert of Naples, ceding to him the Lordship of Florence for ten years, and containing stipulations about money and troops: but he was not to alter the constitution of the commonwealth, and was still to maintain its Gonfaloniere, its Priori, its Guilds, its Companies of Militia, and its Protectors of the Laws. As Charles was unable to come in person, his cousin's husband, Walter of Brienne, styled Duke of Athens, was deputed to reside at Florence in his stead.

The Duke of Calabria lived only two years longer, drawing an immense sum of money from his Florentine clients, whom he treated almost as subjects, and doing little for their benefit. His lieutenant, a profligate adventurer, contrived meantime to gain personal adherents in the city, by whose influence he was recalled in 1342, and then contrived to usurp tyrannical power. The period of fourteen years which had intervened, though Florence was left to take care of herself, had been a time of great difficulties and disasters. War still prevailed both in Tuscany and Lombardy, but with a curious shifting of parts. The Emperor was now Louis of Bavaria, who did not command the support of the Italian Ghibellines, and who was opposed by John, King of Bohemia, son of the late Emperor, Henry VII. The possession of Lucca, which the Florentines would not allow to fall into the hands either of the Pisans or of a foreign prince, continued to be the subject of dispute. They had to deal with the most powerful of the Lombard magnates, the Visconti of Milan and the Scala of Verona, who were much too strong for them. Heavy commercial failures also caused much distress; but the worst internal disease of the commonwealth was the decay of patriotism, with the utter lack of confidence in its natural leaders.

This evil, which at length proved fatal to re-

an government, may be directly traced to veterate spirit of faction. Those who called elves the Guelphs in Florence were never at with upholding the principles of communal endence and self-rule, with an elective and aible administration. They persisted in ng up, not only at a crisis of necessity, but nerations and for ages, the odious proscrip- f individuals and families liable to be charged Ghibelline partialities, although Ghibellinism, olitical force, had long been defunct. With ernicious view, a set of Grand Inquisitors, the "Captains of the Guelph Party," vary- number from three to nine, were empowered osecute and condemn any of the citizens at discretion; proceeding by secret inquiry, instigated by private malice, to inflict as fines and perpetual exclusion from office. ommon people, having no knowledge of the with regard to the conduct and sentiments e upper class, soon learned to distrust their ors of both the rival parties. They sought btained, in the course of the fourteenth ry, a desperate remedy, which was manifestly ctive of political responsibility, though it d to flatter the love of equality, and to nt any man or set of men becoming too im- t. The election of the Priori was taken from the Guilds, and, after being for a short entrusted to popular suffrage in the wards, place to the strangest system recorded in the y of republican institutions. Lists were out, at triennial periods, of all the citizens were deemed by a popular vote eligible to office and capable of serving usefully; and, this large number, some hundreds, of differ- lasses, many of them being obscure persons, any dishonest intriguers, indebted to bribery, ng, or corrupt influence for their nomination ers of the State, were to be drawn by lot. It one by taking the written names from a full hen the Priori were appointed, to serve for onths, so that there was really no direct and liate election, and those who had to form hort-lived Signoria did not know who would eir colleagues. This absurd method of ap- ng the members of the Government — the t travesty of a representative constitution g with the incessant proscription and exclu- f distinguished and high-born citizens, ulti- y destroyed the Commonwealth of Florence, some fifty years more of domestic troubles, f disgraceful failures in its Italian policy. emainder of the history, down to the year when the aristocracy of wealth, including men of superior skill in affairs, and of extensive connections, gained power as a new oligarchy, which prepared the way for the Medicean era, is sadly deficient in eminent and illustrious examples of public virtue.

The miserable anarchy that existed in 1342 is measured by the reckless despair of peace and order which alone could have induced the Florentines, with their love of liberty, to confer the dictatorship on Walter of Brienne. That worthless Frenchman, called the "Duke of Athens," who had neither ability, courage, nor honesty, but was connected with the King of Naples, the chief patron of the Guelphs, and brought a few hundred Burgundian men-at-arms for his body-guard, was invested with the Lordship of Florence for life. He immediately turned out the Gonfaloniere and the Priori, appointed three or four creatures of his own to posts of authority, summoned others from among the inferior Guilds, and set up a rapacious and savage despotism. He plundered the revenues of the State and city, imposed a variety of new taxes, repudiated the public debts, confiscated much private property, and filled his own coffers; while he imprisoned, tortured, mutilated, and put to death with atrocious cruelty, many of the leading citizens, violated their households, and indulged in the grossest personal licentiousness. After ten months of this intolerable misrule, the people rose in sudden insurrection, attacked and dispersed his troops, drove him away, killed his Florentine ministers, and proceeded to expel the chief men of five obnoxious noble families, including the Bardi, the Donati, and the Frescobaldi, whose houses were sacked and burned. In 1347, Florence and the whole country around was, by the total failure of the harvest, visited with a grievous famine, which was followed next year by the still more terrible scourge of that famous plague described by Boccaccio in the Introduction to his "Decameron." The deaths in the city averaged six hundred daily, and it was said that there was a decrease of three-fifths of the population; but this calculation may include those who fled to other places. A few years after, fresh embroilments and disputes with neighbouring States arose, and Italy, more particularly Tuscany and the Romagna, became the field of a new series of military outrages and pecuniary extortions, consequent upon the adoption of unworthy means of warfare. Instead of going out themselves to fight, as their forefathers had done, the city folk had become accustomed to hire bands of mercenaries, called "soldiers of fortune," who would serve anywhere for pay. They were Germans, Swiss,

French, and English, as well as Italians, and partly consisted of the remnant of armies imported by the Emperor, or by the King of Naples, or sent by foreign princes to aid their Ghibelline or Guelph allies. Of this nature were the bands led by Werner, whom Italians call "Guarnieri," self-styled the "Enemy of God, of Pity, and of Mercy;" by the Knight Hospitaller Montreal, known as Fra Moriale; by Conrad of Lando, whose "Great Company" mustered five thousand horse, and seven thousand men on foot; and by Sir John Hawkwood, once a tailor's apprentice in London. Florence, being by this time very rich, and her rulers, if not base and cowardly, very incapable, was repeatedly obliged to buy off these military assassins and robbers, to save her own territory, and the smaller towns dependent on her, from being plundered. Upon one occasion, indeed, in the summer of 1359, when Lando, who had levied contributions on Perugia, Sienna, and Pisa, was marching towards Florence, a sufficient force was sent out to meet him on the frontier, and the bandit chief, with all his host, preferred to make a hasty retreat. At a later period, Sir John Hawkwood, whose character was not so bad, engaged with his Free Company in the service of the commonwealth, and figures as "Giovanni Aguto" in the pages of native history. A war with Pisa, from 1362 to 1364, had given the Florentines some experience of his prowess on their enemy's side. Ten years later, they were threatened with hostilities by Pope Gregory XI., after braving interdict and excommunication, launched against them as having retaliated upon the States of the Church for a certain act of Papal treachery. But these conflicts did not lead to any important result.

The last notable revolution in the domestic affairs of Florence, which need be related in this Chapter, began in 1378 with what is called the "Insurrection of the Ciompi," that is, of the woolcombers and common working classes. Thirty thousand of the city population earned their bread, as now at Leeds or Bradford, by the various industries subordinate to the "Arte della Lana," the great woollen manufacture, which was then the greatest, though not the only, source of Florentine riches, as that of silk, transferred thither from the cruel overthrow of Lucca's prosperity, was still of minor importance. The operatives in subordinate processes complained of some oppressive regulations maintained by the commercial chiefs of the Guild respecting the rate of wages for piece-work, and other matters of a kind familiar enough to Englishmen of this day. Their discontent was aggravated by political agitation, on the score of frequent notorious acts of injustice and severity committed by the captains of the Guelph party, and by the gross misconduct of public business. For these rough working men, proud of their republican ancestry, cherished a patriotic zeal, and the spirit of democracy yet lived in their hearts with as much fire as in modern Paris. The insurrection was fomented by Salvestro dei Medici, the first conspicuous member of a mercantile house which was destined to win princely power and rank at a later period. This man, with Tommaso Strozzi and one of the Alberti, planned a rising of the populace, and, being elected Gonfaloniere, opposed the lawless acts of the official persons serving in the same term, and denounced them to a tumultuous assembly outside. Riots were provoked, which took the usual barbarous form of attacking and destroying the houses of several of the ruling party. Such violence and mischief, committed by an unreflecting mob, can be palliated only by the former example of their social superiors, in wreaking similar vengeance upon the leaders of a defeated faction. Three men of the people, moreover, had been arrested and put to the torture by the Signoria, to force them to confess, and implicate others in the charge of seditious conspiracy. "The Priori are murdering our brothers!" was the cry that went up all over the city. The Piazza was filled with armed and furious insurgents, and there were no soldiers to put them down. From day to day, this menacing demonstration of popular anger was renewed, while the Priori, shut up in the Palazzo Pubblico, felt in danger of their lives. The majority of the trade guilds, when appealed to, would not support the discredited administration, and presently consented to join with the ward-delegates of the people in creating a provisional government. Michel Lando, a brave and honest woolcomber in his working dress, was chosen by acclamation to direct this momentous change, and performed his task, in a single day, with admirable decision and prudent self-control. The Priori having fled, he took the Gonfalon or Standard of Justice in his hand, entered the Palazzo, and there gave orders (which were enforced by the influence of the guilds) for the stoppage of violence, and the regular election of a new Signoria. It consisted of nine Priori—three chosen by the greater trades, three by the lesser (the "Arti Minori," to which others had been added), and three by the working classes, the "popolo minuto." Michel Lando showed no disposition to retain dictatorial power; and, though his political work, done in a moment of emergency, was very speedily undone, we must regard his

behaviour as a redeeming instance of public virtue in a depraved and dissolute age.

When the disturbance and panic had subsided, and the ordinary functions of government were restored, the old combination of persons of the richer class — the great merchants, bankers, and manufacturers, the men of capital, of large business, practised intellect, and social distinction— again set on foot a successful movement of counter-revolution. This was headed by the Albizzi, who had suffered great injury from the new democratic rule, when, after Michel Lando's retirement, it took to penal measures of extreme severity. The aged Piero degli Albizzi, being especially obnoxious as a former supporter of the proscriptions under the Guelph party ascendency, was condemned upon the discovery of a foreign plot, in which also the Peruzzi, the Strozzi, and other families of importance were implicated; and he, with several of the foremost citizens, died on the scaffold. But the community in general had grown weary of so many ages of civic strife, continual turmoil, and needless bloodshed. Florentine society had come to the opinion, as civilisation progressed, that to make plenty of money, and to enjoy it in refined luxury, was the true end of life for such a clever people. The oligarchical rule, established about 1382, was pretty well suited to the temper of the times, and was maintained by the faction of which the Albizzi kept the lead, until, in the middle of the fifteenth century, they were superseded by the Medici.

CHAPTER XLIII.

WARS OF FRANCE AND ENGLAND.

The Chivalry of the Fourteenth Century—Rise of the Romantic Spirit in Connection with Martial Adventure—Froissart—Free Lances and Condottieri—Reign of Edward II. of England—Succession of Edward III.—His Wars with Scotland—Claim to the French Throne—Alliance of England with the Flemings—Revolution at Ghent, headed by James van Artevelde—Advancing Prosperity and Strength of England—The War with France—Naval Engagement off Helvoetsluys—Death of James van Artevelde in a Popular Tumult—Early Years of Edward the Black Prince—French Campaign of Edward III.—The Battle of Cressy, and Surrender of Calais—Defeat of the Scots at Neville's Cross—Increase of the Naval Power of England—State of France during the Reign of John—Plundering Expeditions of Edward the Black Prince—The Battle of Poitiers—Demands of the French States-General—Revolutionary Movement—Excesses of the Jacquerie—Troubles with Charles of Navarre—Exhausted Condition of France—Renewed War with England—Conclusion of Peace by the Treaty of Bretigny—Pedro the Cruel, King of Castile—Assistance Granted him by the Black Prince in the War with his Half-Brother—Defeat and Death of Pedro—War between the Black Prince and Charles V.—Decline of the English Fortunes in France—Conclusion of a Truce for Three Years—Opposition of the English Parliament to the Misgovernment of the Country—Death of the Black Prince and of Edward III.—Reign of Richard II.—John Wyclif, Founder of the Lollard Movement—First English Translation of the Bible—Socialist Rising among the Lower Classes—Development of Parliamentary Institutions.

In a certain sense, the fourteenth century was the age of Chivalry. It is true that the feudal system, and the institution of knighthood which was its military accompaniment, were dying out; yet Chivalry as a sentiment and a pageant—as a sentiment tinging the whole mass of society, and a pageant furnishing its most picturesque and striking features—belongs peculiarly to the era of Edward the Black Prince and Froissart. This burst of vividness and splendour may have been nothing more than the hectic flush of approaching dissolution; but the fact is none the less interesting on that account. The mock battles of the tournament, where a lady adjudged the prize, and the combatants sometimes inflicted real injury on one another in the ardour of the struggle, may be traced back to the ninth or tenth century, and survived even to the middle of the sixteenth; but it was in the fourteenth that they attained their utmost pomp and ceremonial dignity. It was then that Chivalry became refined by the higher civilisation of the later mediæval world, and took a rich and fanciful hue from its association with literature. The Trouvères of Northern France, who were romance-writers as well as poets, and the Minnesingers of Germany—both belonging to an earlier time, but leaving a permanent influence—had lifted the minds of men, throughout a large part of Europe, above the mere brutality of the dark ages, and had formed an ideal of virtue which the fourteenth century made some endeavour to realise. The institution of the Order of the Garter, about 1349, gave a courtly spirit to the ways of Chivalry. King Arthur and his knights, Charle-

magne and his paladins, became the chosen models; and although, in all this, there was much of the extravagance afterwards ridiculed by Cervantes, the general effect was elevating. Chaucer, who was wholly a fourteenth century man, has painted, and England in the reign of Edward III., not to speak of other notable exploits. His life is comprised within the years 1337 and 1410, and much of what he relates was derived from the actors themselves. A poet as well as an historian, he had



THE TROUVÈRE ADÈNES AT THE COURT OF QUEEN MARIE OF BRABANT.

in his story of Palamon and Arcite, a perfect example of chivalry as it was then understood, although the action is supposed to take place in ancient Greece. The romance of "Amadis de Gaul"—the native country of which may have been France, or Spain, or Portugal—was a work of about the same period; and Froissart, the most chivalric of chroniclers, was a contemporary of Chaucer, the most knightly of poets.

It is partly to Froissart that we are indebted for our knowledge of the great war between France a quick and sympathetic eye for the picturesque and gorgeous features of the scenes he witnessed, or heard described by others; and, although a native of Hainault, he was capable of doing justice to the heroes of many nations. His page shines with armour, glows with banners and coats of arms, glitters with festivals and pageantry. Froissart was the most indefatigable of news-collectors. He spent a large part of his long life in travelling from country to country, from court to court; he never failed to set down in his note-

book, while the statements were fresh in his memory, all he had been told concerning famous battles, renowned heroes, or the subtle intrigues of courts; and in this way he brought together a vast amount of curious information, which sheds a brilliant yet searching light upon the history and manners of the times. When in Italy with Lionel, Duke of Clarence, son of Edward III., he was present at the marriage of that prince with the daughter of Galeazzo Visconti of Milan, and directed the festivals given in honour of the occasion. Petrarch and Chaucer are also said to have been witnesses of the ceremony; and those three men reflect for us the whole life of the epoch in the flashing mirrors of their art and genius.

One of the worst features of the age was the existence of those bodies of mercenary troops who called themselves Free Lances, and who placed their swords at the disposal of any prince or commonwealth with money enough to purchase them. Sometimes—and this was even worse—they gave their services on the understanding that they were to be at liberty to plunder without check. Such were the Catalans forming the Grand Company which desolated a large part of the Greek Empire. Such, also, were the Condottieri of Italy, who arose out of the distracted condition of that country in the Middle Ages, and to whom reference was made in the last Chapter. As early as 1225, the Count of Savoy furnished two hundred horsemen to the Republic of Genoa. At a somewhat later date, Florence had five hundred French lancers in pay.



THE ENGLISH PASSING THE SOMME (AUGUST 24, 1346).

During the following century, as we have seen, many of the Italian States employed soldiers of fortune of several nationalities; on the other hand, the Genoese archers fought under foreign monarchs. Sir John Hawkwood, who served in the French wars under Edward III., and afterwards in the quarrels of the Italian Republics, added strategy and tactics to personal heroism, and is regarded as the founder of the modern art of war. At the same time, associations of armed men sprang up among the French themselves, and acquired so considerable a power that they defied the King, and oppressed the humble classes by intolerable exactions. The leaders of the Free Lances were often knights, or even nobles—persons of ruined fortunes, who were glad of any opportunity to indulge their love of adventure, and to put money in their chests. The principal sufferers were the miserable peasantry: the enemy was but little affected. Fighting without any patriotic incentive, or even personal animosity, these irregular bands did but little in the field, and frequently contented themselves with ostentatious displays of valour, which were hardly more real than the feats of the tilting-yard. Even regular combatants indulged in a good deal of personal vaunting; but in those cases the shock of conflict was sufficiently real. It would sometimes happen that actual battles would be suspended while two knights, advancing from the hostile lines, encountered one another in a duel with lance and sword. Each would proclaim the superior beauty of his mistress; and the opposing squadrons would stand idle, but not inattentive, while the champions fought out to the death their ridiculous and discreditable quarrel.

A general survey of these facts is necessary to a complete understanding of the fourteenth century and its military doings. England was one of the most conspicuous actors in those events, and the reputation of her people for heroism had never before advanced so high. The brilliant achievements of Edward III., however, were but ill-heralded by the preceding reign. Not only was Edward II. defeated in Scotland; his conduct of affairs in England was signalised by nothing but disgrace. He gave himself up to two favourites in succession: first to Piers Gaveston, a young Gascon; and afterwards to Hugh le Despencer, the son of an English nobleman. Insurrectionary movements of the barons were directed against both these persons, of whom the former was ultimately beheaded, and the latter banished. At length, Isabella of France, the Queen of Edward II., formed a conspiracy with Roger de Mortimer, one of the most powerful of the English barons, deposed the King, confined him in one stronghold after another, and, in the end, caused him to be murdered in Berkeley Castle on the night of the 20th of September, 1327. Some eight months previously, his son, Edward III., had been proclaimed King at London, though he was only fourteen years of age. The government was nominally in the hands of a Regency consisting of twelve noblemen and prelates, but was actually directed by Queen Isabella and her favourite Mortimer, with whom, there can be little doubt, she had formed an illicit connection. At the latter end of 1330, however, the young King, then eighteen years of age, threw off the ascendency of Mortimer, whom he put to death, at the same time placing his mother in a kind of honourable durance, from which she was not released until her decease, twenty-seven years later.

The early part of the new reign was chiefly occupied by a series of attacks on Scotland, which Edward vainly endeavoured to subdue, although the treaty of Northampton, in 1328, had acknowledged the independence of that country. At the battle of Halidon Hill, near Berwick, fought on the 19th of July, 1333, the Scots were entirely defeated, and for some years Edward continued to devastate the northern kingdom, almost from one end to the other. Yet the Scottish army still kept the field, and the English King found himself as far as ever from the accomplishment of his purpose. Whether he would ultimately have prevailed may be disputable; but at any rate his attention was drawn off from Scotland to the more important field of France. From an early date in his reign, Edward had advanced a claim to the French throne; but he had previously taken no steps to assert his alleged right, and might perhaps have still left the matter in abeyance, had he not been provoked by the assistance rendered to the Scots by the countrymen of his mother. The question originated in the death of Charles IV. without male issue. According to the Salic Law, the throne of France could not be occupied by a woman, and Charles had left only a daughter. The crown therefore lapsed to the first cousin of the deceased King,—Philip, Count of Valois, grandson of Philip III. Edward of England maintained that, although his mother, Isabella, was excluded from the French throne by her sex, he, as her son, was not. The French, on the other hand, very reasonably argued that Queen Isabella could not transmit to another a right which she did not herself possess, and that, supposing such a transmission to be possible, the claim of Edward would be barred by the superior right which in that case would pass to the son of the

Princess Jeanne, daughter of King Louis X. (Isabella's brother), who was married to the Count of Evreux. The contention of Edward seems in truth to have had no justification in French law or practice, and it was made still worse by the English King having in the first instance acknowledged the title of the new French monarch, and done homage to him for the duchy of Guienne. Ambition and revenge, however, were more dominant passions in the mind of Edward III. than any abstract considerations of legality and justice; and he therefore entered into an alliance with the Earl of Brabant, declared war against France, and embarked for the Continent on the 16th of July, 1338.

The English monarch first directed his course to Antwerp, where he arrived six days after quitting England. He depended much on the free towns of Flanders, which had recently passed through an interesting and important revolution, and he was not disappointed in his expectations. Louis, the reigning Count of that small but opulent country, had made himself detestable by his tyranny; and, after several minor revolts, chiefly on the part of Bruges, an insurrection broke out among the people of Ghent, whose leader was a citizen named James, or Jacob, van Artevelde. Although violent and arbitrary in many of his actions, this remarkable man enjoyed the support of his fellow-burghers, amongst whom he divided the property of the nobles. Philip of Valois had suppressed, by an armed intervention, some previous movements of the Flemings, and Edward perceived that he could use the popular hatred of the French King as a weapon against his enemy. Artevelde declared for the English alliance; Count Louis attached himself to the cause of Philip, and beheaded one of the opposite faction whom he had seized at Bruges. Hereupon the people of Ghent marched against Bruges, and compelled the burghers to throw in their lot with Edward. After the arrival of the English forces, in 1338, Count Louis was successfully attacked, and for a time withdrew to France. Returning soon afterwards, he endeavoured to win over his subjects to the French alliance, but without success; and the support of the Flemish citizens was pledged to the martial Plantagenet in his war with Philip. It is said to have been James van Artevelde who first suggested to Edward that he should assume the title of King of France. He did this because the Flemings were vassals of the French sovereign, against whom they had nevertheless risen in rebellion. If, therefore, he could place an ally on the French throne, his fellow-countrymen would be relieved from their position of illegality, and delivered at once from the tyranny of Louis and the interference of Philip. Edward was glad of Flemish support, even apart from any consideration of war with France; for he saw that the commercial cities of the Netherlands were becoming a power in the world, which it would be good policy to foster. He established Flemish workmen in England, developed the manufacturing spirit which was innate in his own people, and added to the wealth of the country by encouraging several industries, and by a liberal admission of foreign goods, free of prohibitory duties at the ports of entry. The increased prosperity of his realm enabled Edward to prosecute the French war with the greater ease and success; and another circumstance which added to his strength was the complete fusion by that time effected between the English and the Norman elements in the population. The use of the English language was now general amongst all classes. Even the nobles spoke the native tongue, and regarded French simply as a foreign accomplishment.

The war between France and England began with a great naval action fought off Helvoetsluys, near the mouth of the Maas, on the 22nd of June, 1340. In this encounter the French were so desperately beaten that a long truce ensued, which, however, did not result in the restoration of peace. Edward would not abate his claims; Philip VI. could hardly be expected to grant them. The victory at Helvoetsluys had nearly annihilated the French navy, and had proved—what has so often been illustrated since—the immense superiority of English over French combatants at sea. The event was a most fortunate omen for the invader, who was of course all the less disposed to relinquish, or even reduce, his demands after so brilliant a commencement of the war. Nevertheless, events proceeded very slowly, and in a few years Edward lost his Flemish ally, James van Artevelde, whose devotion to English interests had excited against him the distrust of the population. The democratic leader had proposed that Edward's eldest son, afterwards distinguished as the Black Prince, should be elected Governor of Flanders, on the understanding that that country should be made a sovereign duchy. At the same time, the prosperity of Ghent was rapidly declining; the trades were jealous of one another; and the factions of the fullers and the weavers fought for a whole day in the market-place. The former lost fifteen hundred of their number, and the latter, being left masters of the field, abolished the corporation of the fullers, and thus deprived them of any share in the municipal government. A

certain Thomas Denys, belonging to one of the smaller crafts, assumed a position of hostility towards Artevelde, who therefore introduced five hundred English soldiers into Ghent; and Denys, regarding this as treason to the State, attacked the dictator in the summer of 1345, and slew him with many of his supporters.*

Edward, Prince of Wales, was at that time only fifteen years of age, having been born at Woodstock on the 15th of June, 1330. He was the son of Philippa of Hainault, to whom his father had been married when in his sixteenth year. The heir to the crown obtained his title of the Black Prince from the colour of his armour; and, though a man of violent passions, who often acted unjustly, he remains in the popular imagination as the most heroic and knightly figure of that age. In July, 1346, he accompanied his father on a renewed expedition into France. The war was now pushed with much greater vigour than before; and King Edward, having reduced Caen and Lower Normandy, followed the left bank of the Seine till he reached the outskirts of Paris. His object was to form a junction with a Flemish force which had assembled at Gravelines; but he speedily found himself threatened by large armies, both in front and rear, and it was only by hard fighting that he restored his communications, which had been temporarily broken. When, however, he once more found himself safe, he drew up his forces at the little village of Cressy, or Crécy, in Ponthieu, and, on the 26th of August, 1346, offered battle to the enemy. The result was one of the most brilliant victories ever achieved by an English army. It was due in a large degree to the deadly hail of the English bowmen, whose arrows fell so thick that, according to Froissart, it seemed as if it snowed. On this memorable occasion, cannon also were used—not, however, for the first time, as they had been employed by Edward himself during his earliest campaign against the Scots, in 1327. At Cressy, four pieces were set in position; and although, from their small size, it is probable that they did but little execution, they are said to have caused great dismay among the French troops, who had never before seen or heard of such extraordinary engines. Philip and his troops fought with desperate valour; but the two greatest heroes of the conflict were the blind old King of Bohemia, who caused his horse to be led into the thickest of the fight, and the young Prince of Wales, who acquitted himself with such valour, devotion, and ability, that his father left to him the chief honours of the day, and would not even send him a reinforcement in a hard passage of arms. The Bohemian sovereign was slain in the midst of a little company of dauntless knights; the Black Prince survived to become one of the most conspicuous soldiers of his time. At the close of the action, the rout of the French was complete and irremediable, and it is affirmed that their dead equalled in number the whole English army.

Edward advanced to Calais three days after the great victory which had shattered the French hosts, but was there detained for nearly eleven months. The capture of the city, in 1347, was followed by a truce which lasted until 1355; and in the meanwhile the English had been completely victorious over the Scots, who, taking advantage of Edward's absence in France, had not only re-asserted their national independence under King David II., but had invaded the northern counties of England. Their career of devastation, however, was brought to a close on the 17th of October, 1346, less than two months after the battle of Cressy, when they were defeated in an encounter at Neville's Cross, near Durham. Froissart asserts that the English army was commanded by Queen Philippa in person; but this is questionable. At any rate, the victory was complete. King David himself was wounded and captured, and many of the Scottish nobility were taken prisoners or slain. Edward was now in a position of undisputed predominance; but it does not appear that he had even yet formed a design of actually conquering France. His great object was to obtain the mastery of the Channel, where English commerce had suffered terribly from the privateers sent out by Calais. This was one of the reasons why he pressed the siege of that coast-town with so much determination, and why he afterwards exhibited towards the unfortunate citizens so vindictive and revengeful a spirit—a spirit modified only by the earnest prayers of Queen Philippa. The possession of the place was important to him, also, as a base of operations against France, and as affording a means of communication with Flanders. But nothing was more dear to the heart of Edward than the encouragement of the naval power of England; and in this respect he accomplished much. In the latter part of 1347, he won a great naval victory over a Spanish pirate-fleet in the Channel, on which occasion he sat on deck, previous to the action, surrounded by

* It is sometimes stated that the assassin was Gerrard Denys, the chief of the weavers; but this seems doubtful. See an interesting study of James and Philip van Artevelde, by W. J. Ashley, B.A., Oxford, forming the Lothian Prize Essay for 1882.

his minstrels, who played for his delectation until the enemy's ships came up.

Before the expiration of the last truce, Philip of France had passed away. He expired on the 22nd of August, 1350, and was succeeded by his son John, who found his realm in a state of ruin and distraction which he had not the skill to amend. The prosperity of northern and central France had been entirely destroyed by the late wars. A bankrupt treasury, an army thinned and disheartened, fortresses unmanned, and a country devastated by wandering hordes of ruffians, who extorted plunder at the sword's point, formed the miserable inheritance of the second Valois. The south had been unaffected by the war and its consequent troubles; but in 1355 that part of France suffered terribly from a marauding expedition led by the Black Prince, who was accompanied by a number of Gascons, the most greedy and unscrupulous of robbers. The towns along the Garonne were remarkable for their riches, and for the elegant and sumptuous life of their citizens. Prince Edward left them but little when he and his piratical bands went into winter quarters at Bordeaux. In the following year he started for the Loire, in the hope of obtaining an equal booty, but, as he approached Poitiers, found his way barred by a French army under King John. As his own force numbered only eight thousand men, and the French army is said to have consisted of sixty thousand, the situation was manifestly very serious. The English commander even sent proposals for an arrangement. He offered to surrender his prisoners, and to bind himself by an oath not to make war against France for the next seven years, if he were allowed a free passage. The terms were refused, and, on the 19th of September, 1356, the celebrated battle of Poitiers added another to the list of French disasters. Fortunately for the small English army, the ground was covered with thick hedges and vineyards, so that the immense numbers of the French were unable to act simultaneously. The result was a crushing defeat, caused mainly by the storm of arrows poured forth by the English archers from the coverture where they stood concealed. The French King was captured, and many thousands of French dead strewed the neighbouring fields and lanes. King John was afterwards taken to London, where the young Prince waited on him at table, and endeavoured by every refinement of courtesy to soften the sting of defeat. Chivalry was never seen in a more amiable or noble light; but these exhibitions of high knightly manners towards a fallen enemy must not blind us to the fact that Prince Edward often made war with the licence of a brigand, and seemed to regard the commonalty as having no rights at all.

After the victory at Poitiers, a truce was concluded for two years; but the time was far too short to admit of any recovery on the part of France. The French soldiers, finding no longer any legitimate employment for their arms, split up into bands of desperadoes, who robbed their own countrymen, and committed every enormity. The captive nobles obtained money for their ransom by a system of cruel extortion, and the Dauphin, Charles, vainly struggled with the misery of the time. Under these circumstances, the States-General made an effort to acquire a greater influence in the conduct of affairs than had been previously allowed them. A committee of eighty members was named, to deliberate upon the measures which the absence of the King had rendered necessary. This body made several demands tending to the enlargement of the national liberties; but the Dauphin, without giving any positive reply (which, indeed, his subordinate position might hardly have justified), prorogued the States, and raised money by depreciating the value of the coin. The representatives of the people, on re-assembling in February, 1357, again insisted on their demands, which they augmented by others of a similar nature; and Charles was compelled to give way. His concession, however, was simply nominal, for he secretly procured from his father a refusal to ratify the compact. Nothing could have been more ill-judged. The revolutionary members of the States-General at once proceeded to enforce their will by measures of an extreme and doubtful character. They released Charles the Bad, King of Navarre, whom John of France had arrested in 1356, for having assassinated Charles de la Cerda, Constable of France; brought him to Paris, and urged him to assert a right to the French throne, on the ground of his descent, on the mother's side, from Louis X. The alleged right was clearly no right at all, if the Salic Law was to be regarded as having any existence; but, in a state of such universal disruption, any one having the least connection with the royal family of France became a formidable competitor when supported by the popular suffrage. Charles of Navarre (a grandson of Louis X. through the Countess of Evreux) was not unwilling to occupy the post which others were so desirous of bestowing. He was an ambitious and self-seeking prince, with a grievance against the King of France, to whom he had ceded the county of Angoulême, on condition

of certain French territories being made over to him in exchange—a condition which had never been fulfilled. But his position was one of extreme difficulty, for the revolutionary spirit, now thoroughly aroused, soon overspread the anticipated bounds. The chief of the popular leaders, Etienne Marcel, head of the municipality of Paris, stirred up a violent insurrection against the court. In February, 1358, the demagogue and his supporters forced their way into the palace, and, in the presence of the Dauphin, assassinated the Marshals of Champagne and Normandy. The prince fled to Compiègne, assembled the States-General at that town, and, collecting a strong party of the nobles, asserted his cause by an appeal to arms. The civil war which ensued was distinguished by a rising of the peasantry, who, maddened by the abject wretchedness of their condition, revenged their miseries upon the nobles. From the nickname of "Jacques Bonhomme," often applied to the French peasantry, the insurgents obtained the name of the Jacquerie. Their movement was attended by all the horrors which invariably accompany such outbreaks. Large numbers of the nobility were massacred without distinction of age or sex; the feudal chateaux were sacked and burned; and all the northern and western districts of France were scathed by the fires of revolutionary passion. The French aristocracy had used their power with the cruel selfishness common to privileged orders; and their victims, on gaining the upper hand, requited them in an ecstacy of insane hatred and demoniac fury. Marcel, so far from endeavouring to suppress this appalling outbreak, furnished the Jacquerie with a body of auxiliaries, and incited them to attack Meaux,



QUEEN PHILLIPPA INTERCEDING FOR THE CITIZENS OF CALAIS. (*After the Picture by David.*)

where the wife of the Dauphin, accompanied by many ladies of high rank, had sought refuge. The town would probably have been taken, but for the heroic efforts of Gaston Phœbus, Count of Foix, and the Captal de Buch, who relieved the threatened position by a movement which was seconded by the Duke of Orleans and the garrison. The peasants were defeated with immense loss; the agrarian revolt at once collapsed; the serfs were hunted down in every direction; and an unsparing massacre of their class avenged the excesses by which they had themselves retaliated the sufferings of many lamentable years.

After the suppression of the Jacquerie, the Dauphin encamped with his army under the walls of Paris, and effected a secret understanding with

Charles of Navarre, who, however, still carried on negotiations with the democratic party headed by Marcel. The plots of the latter were detected by one of the sheriffs of Paris, who, taking the traitor by surprise, killed him with a hatchet on the 31st of July, 1358; and the Dauphin, after entering Paris, and executing all who had taken part in the rebellion, annulled the measures of reform lately advised by the States-General, and restored the royal authority to the plenitude of despotic power. It might have seemed that France would at any rate enjoy a period of repose after the convulsions she had recently passed through; but Charles of Navarre renewed the war in the provinces, and, in August, 1359, the Dauphin was compelled to conclude a disadvantageous treaty. The spirit of the French, however, was not entirely broken even by these accumulated misfortunes; and when news arrived from England that King John had entered into a convention with Edward,



KING JOHN AT POITIERS.

by which he ceded to him Guienne, Normandy, Touraine, Poitou, Saintonge, and the Limousin—not as fiefs, but in absolute sovereignty—the Dauphin repudiated the arrangement, with the cordial assent of the States-General, and the acclamations of the people.

Another English invasion of France was the result of this spirited conduct. In command of an immense army, Edward III. entered Picardy, and proceeded to Rheims. He found the country little

better than a desert; the land uncultivated, the houses in ruins, and the streets and roads overgrown with grass. These terrible effects had been produced partly by his own armies in previous years, and partly by the civil war and social anarchy which had occurred since the last invasion. A prosperous realm had been reduced to the extreme of ruin; but this very fact now operated for its protection. After ineffectually endeavouring to besiege Rheims, the English King found it necessary to withdraw, owing to the exhausted condition of the country, which was incapable of supporting his men. He therefore visited Burgundy, from which he extorted an enormous sum, and then, marching to Paris, sought to bring on a general action with the French army. The Dauphin declined the encounter, and Edward fell back on Chartres, where he tarried for a while, in a position of great embarrassment, and even peril. His troops were suffering from privation; the country was destitute of necessary supplies; the people were hostile, and the Dauphin was apparently awaiting the opportunity for a favourable blow. Under these circumstances, Edward opened negotiations for peace, or lent a favourable ear to suggestions which reached him from other quarters. The treaty of Bretigny, signed by the commissioners of both monarchs on the 8th of May, 1360, granted to France more favourable terms than John had accepted in the depression of his captivity; but it handed over to the English sovereign a large amount of French territory, for which he was to do no homage to the crown of France. On the other hand, Edward renounced all pretensions to the French throne, as well as to Normandy and other ancient possessions of the Plantagenets. John returned to Paris in December of the same year; but, owing to his second son, Louis of Anjou, who was one of the hostages for the complete payment of the ransom, having escaped from Calais, where he had been confined, he voluntarily returned to London, where he died on the 8th of April, 1364.

While these events were proceeding in France, the neighbouring land of Spain was disturbed by a painful contention, arising from the misgovernment of the Castilian King. The country had long been in a state of turbulence; but Pedro the Cruel, who succeeded in 1350, distinguished himself above all his predecessors by the ferocity of his rule. The popular discontent at last grew to such a height that the illegitimate half-brother of the monarch, Henry Trastamara, placed himself at the head of an insurrection which was assisted by the Kings of Aragon and Portugal, and by a company of French adventurers, commanded by Bertrand du Guesclin. The French warriors entered Catalonia in December, 1365, when the popular rising became so universal that Pedro fled into Guienne, and implored the aid of Edward the Black Prince, whom he bribed with the offer of Biscay. Edward listened to the proposal; marched with his army into Spain in the early part of 1367; and two months later met with the forces of Henry and du Guesclin at a spot between the villages of Najara and Navarrete, on the borders of Castile and Navarre. Victory fell to the English; the gallant commander of the French irregulars was taken prisoner; and Henry, escaping from the field of battle, took refuge at Avignon. Pedro was restored to the throne which he had justly forfeited, but failed to discharge his obligations to the Black Prince. The English hero returned to Guienne, and the troops, finding themselves deprived of their pay, which Edward had no means of furnishing, began to commit depredations on the people. The only means of relieving the population of the South was to send these marauders into the neighbouring provinces of France. The peace of Bretigny was endangered by their acts, and still more so by the encouragement which the French King, Charles V., gave to the disaffected nobles of Guienne. The moment was favourable for an attempt to recover all that had been lost, and to deliver France from the tyranny of the English. Edward III. was passing into premature dotage, and the Black Prince was disabled by a malady which he had contracted from the Spanish climate. France was beginning to recover in some degree from the depression of the late wars, and the nation was evidently inclined to a renewed struggle with the invader. Charles therefore concluded a treaty of alliance with Henry of Trastamara, and again furnished him with a body of free lances under du Guesclin for a second attempt on the throne of Castile. Pedro, though assisted by the Moors of the South, was defeated at the battle of Montiel, and took refuge in the town itself, where he was closely besieged. His position being hopeless, he endeavoured to escape at night, but fell into the hands of a French officer. The latter promised to conceal him, but, by an act of treachery which even the crimes of the fugitive cannot excuse, betrayed him to Henry, who, in a violent altercation and struggle, stabbed him to the heart.*

* Froissart, Book I., chap. 245.—Ferreras, a Spanish historian of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, attributes the capture of Don Pedro to a mercenary breach of faith on the part of du Guesclin himself; but such an act is inconsistent with the general character of the man.

Encouraged by the more favourable aspect of affairs, Charles V. openly maintained that he had never renounced his suzerainty over the English fiefs. The final ratifications of the treaty of Bretigny had not yet been exchanged, and, in January, 1369, Charles addressed a summons to the Black Prince to appear before him, and answer the complaints of his vassals. "I will come," replied Edward, "but with helmet on head, and with sixty thousand men at my back." War was at once declared; the whole country south of the Garonne broke out into insurrection: the city of Ponthieu was seized by the malcontents; and the Black Prince, reduced by disease to the extreme of weakness, was carried from place to place on a litter. Nevertheless, he soon recaptured Limoges, which had been surrendered to the French: but his success was disgraced by one of those acts of ferocity to which he was prone. The town was given up to pillage, and more than three thousand of the citizens were massacred by the hero of Cressy and Poitiers. His sun declined in lurid and sanguinary clouds; for his complaint soon afterwards acquired so great a mastery that he returned to England in January, 1371, a broken and disappointed man. The government of Guienne was left in the hands of his brother, John of Gaunt, so called from the city of Ghent, where he was born. John, whose English title was Duke of Lancaster, married a daughter of Pedro the Cruel, in whose right he assumed the style of King of Castile. He made no attempt at that time to obtain the throne, nor did he even concern himself to redeem the English cause in southern France. Fortune had deserted the English arms, and du Guesclin, who had been appointed Constable of France, commenced a series of operations which terminated in the recovery of all the territories between the Loire and the Gironde. Edward III. was bewildered and dismayed by the progress of events, and made desperate efforts to recover his lost supremacy. Ill-success, however, continued to wait upon his flag. An army commanded by the Earl of Pembroke, which attempted to land at Rochelle in the summer of 1372, was destroyed by the fleet of Henry, King of Castile; and an expedition conducted by the English sovereign in person, and accompanied by Prince Edward, was compelled to put back by contrary winds. Brittany was recovered by du Guesclin in 1373, and a large force which landed at Calais in the same year, under the command of John of Gaunt, was reduced to a skeleton before the arrival of winter by fatigue, deprivation, and the harassing attacks of the French, who carefully avoided any general action, but continually burst upon the English when they were least capable of self-defence. By the close of the year, Bordeaux, Bayonne, and Calais, were the only French places of importance which remained in the hands of the English. At last, in 1374, a truce for three years was concluded between the belligerents by the interposition of the Pope. Both nations were nearly exhausted; but the balance of advantages was very greatly in favour of the French.

The reign of Edward III. had commenced with singular brilliance; its end was melancholy and overshadowed. The population of England was seriously reduced, not merely by the Black Death, but by the incessant wars in which the ambition of the monarch had involved his country. The national expenditure was increased by the costly expeditions into France: and, although these enterprises were popular as long as they succeeded, the Commons began to complain when victory passed from the English to the French standards. What is called "the Good Parliament" of 1376 offered a vigorous resistance to the misgovernment of the time. Sir Peter de la Mare, Speaker of the House of Commons, denounced the ill-conduct of the war, and the oppressive taxation which it had entailed. The representatives of the people demanded an account of the expenditure, but were received with insults by John of Gaunt, who was at the head of the Government. The popular leaders, however, were supported by the Black Prince, then very nearly at the close of his career. The Duke of Lancaster was forced to withdraw from the Council; an investigation into the mismanagement of affairs was commenced, and steadily prosecuted; and, in the end, two of the King's ministers, Lord Latimer and William Lyons, were impeached and condemned. Demands were also made for a series of reforms, including the annual assembling of Parliament, and complete freedom of election, with which the Crown had recently interfered. The death of the Black Prince, on the 8th of June, 1376, checked the progress of these salutary measures; and the King himself expired on the 21st of June, 1377, leaving to his people the possibility of a more satisfactory arrangement under the sceptre of a young and untried sovereign. The chief civil and legal achievements of the reign of Edward III. were the restriction and limitation of the royal prerogative; the prohibition of the payment of Peter's Pence; the statute giving a power to prosecute such as should presume to cite any of the King's subjects to the court of Rome; the extension of the system

of trial by jury; the custom of legal pleading before the judges; and the use of English in the law-courts, because French had become "much unknown," though it was still used, together with Latin, in the Acts of Parliament.

Richard II., the only surviving son of Edward the Black Prince, was little more than eleven years of age when he succeeded to the throne on the death of his grandfather. The affairs of the nation were at first conducted by a body of twelve councillors, most of whom were in the interest of John of Gaunt, although the Prince himself was excluded, because of his unpopularity. The reign of Richard, though important in many respects, was not one of those which reflect military glory on the monarch. During the two and twenty years over which it extended, the power of England declined largely from the height which it had attained under the third Edward. The wars of Richard with France, Flanders, and Scotland, were for the most part unfortunate in their results, and the French navy, united with that of Castile, ravaged the southern shores of England, while the Scots devastated and pillaged the North. The character of the King was fitful, wayward, and passionate; and when his cousin, Henry of Bolingbroke, whom he had banished, returned to England in 1399, and deposed the unpopular monarch, who soon afterwards mysteriously died in prison, the general feeling was one of relief.

The three most important features of the reign thus closed were the movement of John Wyclif, or Wickliffe, against the authority of Rome, the rebellion of the peasantry and artisan class, and the increase of Parliamentary control over the Government. Of these, perhaps, the most remarkable was the ecclesiastical revolt of Wyclif. That bold and independent thinker appears to have been born about the year 1324, near Richmond in Yorkshire. At Oxford he distinguished himself in theology and philosophy, by the daring nature of his speculations, and by his skill as a dialectician; but it was not until 1366 that proceedings were taken against him on the ground that his appointment to the secular wardenship of Canterbury Hall, Oxford, had been irregularly obtained. It is probable that the audacity of his views was the real cause of his ejection from office, and it may be that the refusal of the Pope to grant his petition for reinstatement gave additional force to his dissent from what was usually regarded as orthodox belief. He had abundant grounds, however, for the position of antagonism which he speedily assumed. The removal of the Papal Court from Rome to Avignon had immensely diminished the influence of the Western Church. The Popes were no longer regarded as representing a power raised above all distinctions of nationality, but as appendages of the French kingdom, of which England has at all times been jealous. The extortions of the French Popes were greater than had ever before been known, and the English people resented them as little better than tributes paid to France. This, of course, was an exaggeration; but it was a natural feeling, and one that could not have arisen had the Pontiffs remained at Rome, which the whole West of Europe still acknowledged as in some sort its natural and prescriptive head.

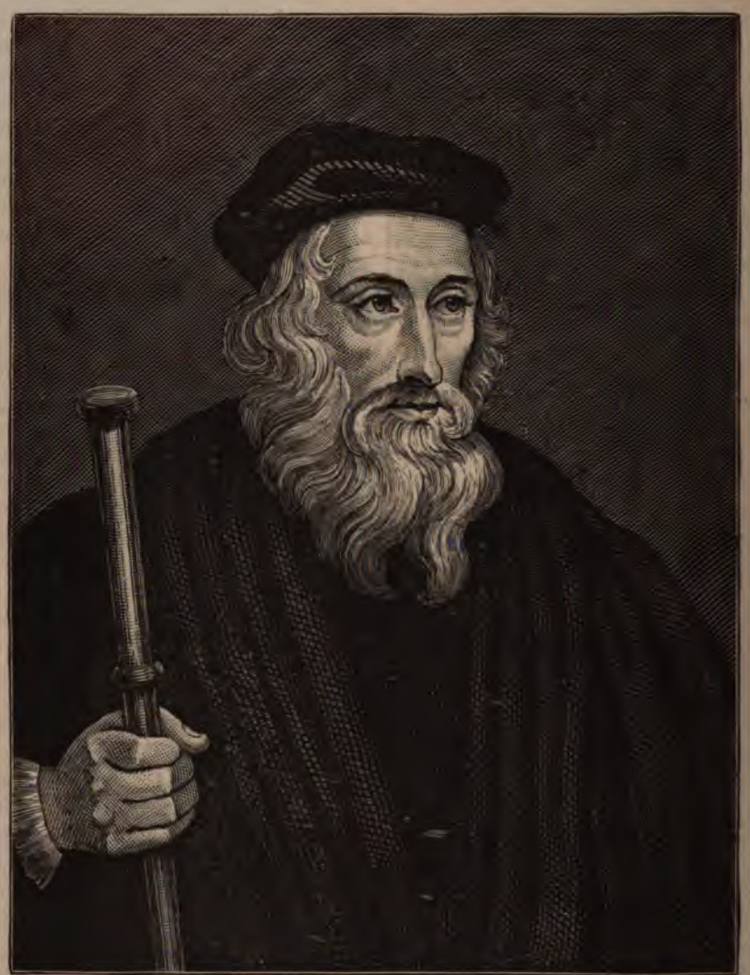
Another cause tending to dissatisfaction with the Church was the luxury, in some cases the absolute immorality, which disgraced the lives of monks and abbots. What people felt on this subject, and what they openly talked about, we may see in the pages of Chaucer, and of the writer of "Piers Plowman." The best and purest thought in the country was in opposition to the priests; but, strange to say, this lofty spirit was reinforced by a very questionable element—the desire of the nobles to dispossess the clergy of their power and wealth, simply that they might enrich and magnify themselves. At the head of the aristocratic malcontents was John of Gaunt, with whom, in the first instance, Wyclif formed an alliance for the removal of Church abuses. This was ten or eleven years before the death of Edward III.; but it was not until the reign of Richard II. that the principal work of the English reformer was accomplished. Advancing in the boldness of his views, Wyclif contended that the individual conscience was in direct relation with God, and needed not the intermediation of the priest. The temporalities of the Church should, in his view, be subordinate to the power of the King, and he maintained that ecclesiastical property might be seized and employed for national purposes, although he preferred that the Church should voluntarily renounce its possessions, and return to the poverty of Apostolic times. It was unfortunate for Wyclif's cause that his allies, the Duke of Lancaster and the adherents of that prince, had shown but too plainly that their reforming zeal had a selfish, and not a disinterested, motive. This enabled the prelates to attack with the greater confidence the honest clergyman who was endeavouring, without any personal reference, to diminish a vast heap of evils by which religion itself was obscured and stifled. In 1377, Wyclif (who had been appointed to the rectory of Lutterworth, in Leicestershire, a few years earlier) was summoned before the Bishop of London, to answer for his views concerning the wealth of the Church. He

appeared in the Consistory Court at St. Paul's, when violent language was interchanged between John of Gaunt and the Bishops, and the dispute ended in a riot which nearly cost Wyclif his life. A summons from the Archbishop of Canterbury, at a somewhat later period, led to a scene of equal disturbance in Lambeth Chapel; but it was now evident that popular feeling had gone over to the side of the innovator, and, in the insurrection under Wat Tyler and his fellows, the name of Wyclif was often mentioned in connection with the demand for political and social reform.

We have no reason to suppose that the rector of Lutterworth was concerned in the violent actions of the peasantry, or favoured their more extravagant demands; but it is probable enough that he sympathised with their misery, and resented their wrongs. As his opinions became more extreme—as he advanced from simply denouncing the wealth and pride of the clergy to questioning some of their most cherished doctrines—he lost the countenance of John of Gaunt, and threw himself on his humbler countrymen for support. In 1381 he repudiated the doctrine of Transubstantiation, and, abandoning the scholastic use of Latin, issued a number of tracts in English, which at once conveyed his ideas into the minds of common people, and helped to fix the language of our race. His translation of the Bible from the Latin Vulgate is thought to be the first complete English version of the Scriptures ever made, though the point is not quite certain. The date of its appearance was 1383, by which time Wyclif had maintained that it was the right of every man to examine the Bible for himself, and that an appeal to that authority was the sole ground of faith. The distinctive doctrines of Romanism vanished with the declaration of these principles; and Wyclif was thenceforth almost as much a Protestant as his German and English successors more than a hundred years later. The rapidity with which his opinions spread showed the disposition to ecclesiastical reform already existing in the public mind. The Lollards, as his followers were called by way of nickname—an epithet perhaps signifying "idle babblers," though apparently derived from a German word meaning "to chant"—became numerous all over the land. Several persons of position, even in the Church, inclined towards the views of Wyclif. The prelates endeavoured to suppress the new belief; but the commonalty were against them, and so was the University of Oxford. At length, the Lollards submitted in some degree to persecution; yet Wyclif, though often threatened with penal consequences, preserved his independence until his death, on the 31st of December, 1384. The value of his life consists not so much in his opinions, which seem to have been often vague, uncertain, and tentative, as in the fact that he was one of the first to challenge a personal and corporate despotism which was oppressing the intellectual life of Europe. His work had doubtless been facilitated by the Great Schism of the West, resulting from the election of two Popes in 1378—a circumstance which shattered still further the tottering fabric of the Roman Church. But the success of the great English reformer did not depend on temporary complications; it sprang from principles which had long remained in abeyance, but which were destined to exercise a vast and permanent influence on many countries of the world.

In a similar spirit, it may be said that the immediate occasion of the industrial movement in the reign of Richard II. was the high taxation necessitated by years of fruitless hostility; but that the deeper and more permanent cause lay in social conditions that had existed for ages. The peasant was a serf and a bondsman; even the artisan of the towns occupied a miserable and degraded position. Whatever was good in feudalism had died out, or become corrupt; its cruel injustice, in holding large bodies of men in a state of subjection which guaranteed them little beyond the bare means of life, became more monstrous every year, and at length kindled in the hearts of the poor a devouring flame of indignation, an eager passion for revenge. We have seen how the Jacquerie in France retaliated the sufferings which their lords had made them endure: it was now the turn of England to be similarly convulsed. The Black Death, while producing a rise in the rate of wages, had in truth added to the general misery, because prices rose at the same time, and the land was so depopulated that in many places the most ordinary works of necessity could not be carried out. Sheep and cattle wandered through the fields without any one to tend them; many of the fields themselves were left untilled, and the harvests rotted on the ground. A Kentish priest, named John Ball, advocated socialism in the plainest and most unequivocal terms; and when the Government of Richard II. imposed a poll-tax, in December, 1380, the people were ripe for revolt, and eager to make good their principles after a very ugly fashion. The rebellion of Wat Tyler began in the early summer of 1381, near Brentwood, in Essex. Wat was soon joined by John Ball, and by another priest called Jack Straw. Committing terrible devastations on their way, the

insurgents marched to London, destroyed several palaces and jails, released the prisoners in Newgate and the Fleet, and massacred great numbers of persons, including the Archbishop of Canterbury (who was also Chancellor), and Sir Robert Hales, immediately cast into the flames. The career o Wat Tyler himself was suddenly cut short, on th 15th of June, by the Lord Mayor, Sir Willia Walworth. The insurgents soon afterwards la down their arms, and in a few weeks the countr



JOHN WYCLIF.

the Treasurer. The revolt spread over many parts of the country, and for a time the authorities seemed paralysed; yet, although the insurgents in their requirements, and scrupled r and arson as their weapons, they were not thieves or ulgar sense, were they. One o was found carrying off a he sack of the Duke of the Savoy, at London, was was pacified. John Ball, Jack Straw, and hun dreds of others, were executed; and the youn King, who in the height of the panic had grante several reforms, found no difficulty in breaking hi word when the danger was at an end.

The authority of Parliament, whether wit respect to the making of laws, the imposition o taxes, or the control of the administration, was con siderably extended during the reign of Richard II The King was frequently in conflict with th

House of Commons, and the representatives of the people generally obtained the upper hand. Richard was much influenced by favourites, as his great-grandfather, Edward II., had been; and the tendency was met by a similar spirit of opposition, exhibited, however, in a more legal and constitutional manner. "The Wonderful Parliament," which met on the 3rd of February, 1388, punished several of these ill-selected favourites with death or banishment, and the King remained in a state of subjection for more than a year after. In May, 1389, however, he intimated to his Council that, being then in his twenty-fourth year, he intended to take the management of affairs into his own hands. A period of tranquillity ensued, and in some respects Richard governed with wisdom and equity. The peace of England was assured by a series of negotiations which established a truce with France, of such prolonged duration as to offer a reasonable probability of permanence. The advice of Parliament was solicited and followed; Ireland was pacified, while at the same time its grievances were redressed; and a policy of justice and moderation ensured the repose of the whole reign.

In 1397, however, a powerful opposition arose, in consequence of intrigues with France, having for their main object, it was supposed, the strengthening of personal rule in England. The Parliament which assembled in September was more subservient than its predecessor of nine years before, and for a while the power of Richard was almost absolute. But this short-lived triumph only prepared the way for those events which terminated in the deposition and death of the King; and the Parliament had already acquired a power and influence which after-times were unable to destroy. It was under the sway of Richard II. that the right of impeachment by the House of Commons, which had been first asserted during the latter years of Edward III., was established, in 1386, by the prosecution of the Earl of Suffolk, who, in his capacity as Chancellor, had given offence by his encouragement of the royal prerogatives. This right of impeachment was one of the means by which, in former days, the representatives of the English people kept a check over their ministers; and it was not suffered to lapse until the general freedom was secured in other ways.



THE CASTLE OF HENNEBON.

CHAPTER XLIV.

A PERIOD OF GENERAL DISTURBANCE.

Latter Years of the Reign of Charles V. of France—Affairs of Bretagne—Support of Edward III. by the Reigning Duke, Jean IV.—Ineffectual Attempt of Charles V. to Conquer the Duchy—Death of du Guesclin and of Charles—Regency of the Duke of Burgundy—Revolt of the Citizens of Ghent against the Count of Flanders—Career of Philip van Artevelde—Disturbed State of France—Succession of Philip of Burgundy to the Flemish Duchy—Feeble and Unfortunate Reign of Charles VI.—Declaration of War against Bretagne—Strange Adventure of the French King in the Forest of Le Mans—His Consequent Insanity—Terrible Event at a Masked Ball—Rival Factions in the French Court—Antagonism of Jean, Duke of Burgundy, and the Duke of Orleans—Assassination of the Latter by the Former—Outbreak of Civil War, and Subjection of the Armagnacs, or Orleanists—Naples under the Angevins—Succession of the Aragonese Dynasty—Venice in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries—Increase of Venetian Power and Influence in the East of Europe—Dangerous Rivalries—The Conspiracy of Marino Faliero—Detection of the Plot, and Execution of the Doge—War with Hungary—Decline in the Power of Genoa, which places itself under French Rule—Venetian Possessions on the Mainland of Italy—Rule of the Visconti at Milan—Reign of Wenceslaus in Germany—Succession of Sigismund—The Council of Constance, and its Dealings with Heresy—Persecution of John Huss and his Followers—Execution of Huss and Jerome of Prague, and Burning of the Remains of Wyclif—Progress of Sweden, Norway, and Denmark—Treaty of Calmar in 1397—Hungary and Poland in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries.

RELIEVED from any immediate fear of the English, Charles V. of France might fairly have expected to pass the remainder of his reign in tranquillity; but the intrigues of Charles of Navarre compelled him, in 1378, to take energetic measures against that enemy. His own ambition, moreover, led to complications and disturbance. Bretagne (more generally known to English readers as Brittany) had long maintained a species of independence under her native rulers, who paid homage to the French crown as vassals, but otherwise exercised sovereign rights within the western peninsula. Recent events, however, had drawn attention to that wild and primitive land, and Charles V. coveted a possession which might prove valuable. The death of Jean III., Duke of Bretagne, in 1341, occasioned a dispute as to the succession between Jean de Montfort and Charles de Blois. In the absence of any heirs to the duchy, Jean de Montfort, half-brother of the late prince, asserted a claim on behalf of himself, and at once took possession of the government. The right alleged by Charles of Blois was derived from his wife, daughter and heiress of Guy, Count of Penthièvre, brother of Jean III., during whose reign he died. The decision was referred to the French King, Philip VI., as suzerain; but, before his judgment could be delivered, Montfort, who had reason to fear that it would be against him, as it ultimately proved, solicited and obtained the support of Edward III. Thus, by a curious reversal, the French and English sovereigns supported, with respect to the duchy of Bretagne, the very opposite principle to that which they had maintained in regard to the kingdom of France. Philip was the champion of a female claim; Edward appeared as the champion of one who denied the validity of such a succession.

Emboldened by the decision of the French King, Charles de Blois invested Nantes before the close of 1341, and struck so great a panic into the citizens, by throwing over the walls the heads of thirty Breton prisoners of the Montfort party, that the gates were opened, and Jean being taken prisoner was conveyed to Paris, and immured in the tower of the Louvre. This untoward event very nearly decided the war at the outset; but Montfort's wife, a Fleming of heroic spirit, raised a body of troops, revived the sinking hearts of the Bretons, and, throwing herself into Hennebon (a town near the southern coast), awaited succours from England. Here she was attacked by the army of Charles de Blois, fresh from the capture of Rennes, but, although embarrassed by the intrigues of the Bishop of Léon, who desired to surrender the place, defied the enemy with extraordinary valour. The Countess even conducted a sortie in person, burned the assailants' tents, and then, finding herself unable to re-enter Hennebon, took possession of Auray, where she obtained additional troops. Once more getting into the principal centre of her power, she resumed the defence, but was almost reduced to the last extremity when an English fleet, under Sir Walter Manny, arrived with reinforcements, and raised the siege. The Kings of England and France engaged personally in the contest; but early in 1343 a suspension of arms was arranged between the crowned heads, and, although the Bretons themselves still kept the field with a few mercenaries, very little could be effected. The unhappy country was disturbed by the strife of factions, neither of which

seemed capable of striking a decisive blow. The conflict was remarkable for the amount of female heroism which it called forth. Besides the Countess of Montfort, two noble ladies distinguished themselves by their courage and resolution: the widow of Olivier de Clisson, a Breton lord whom Philip of France put to death, without trial, on a charge of traitorously conspiring with England; and the wife of Charles de Blois, who continued the struggle on behalf of her husband after he had been taken prisoner. The war did not terminate until 1364, when Charles de Blois, though aided by Bertrand du Guesclin, was entirely defeated by the Montfort party. Charles himself lost his life on this occasion, and, by a treaty concluded in the following year, Bretagne was secured to the house of Montfort.

Jean IV. was a partisan of the English alliance; and, considering how much he was indebted to England for the success of his cause, this was natural. On the other hand, he was a vassal of the French crown, whose interests he was not at liberty to oppose. Nevertheless, he supported Edward III. in his war with France, and thus alienated the goodwill of a large proportion of his subjects, with whom the English were not popular. Twice compelled to fly into England, he yet managed to retain possession of his duchy, and died in the exercise of power in 1399. But after his second expatriation, in 1373, Charles V. of France declared the duchy to be forfeited, and annexed it to his own dominions. He little anticipated the amount of resistance which such a step would provoke. The Bretons, who disliked the French as much as the English, rose in revolt, and, recalling Jean IV. in 1379, received him, when he landed at St. Malo, with enthusiastic acclamations. All the Breton generals abandoned the cause of Charles, and with their soldiers swelled the ranks of the ducal army. Even du Guesclin, who had formerly acted against Jean, remembered that he too was a native of the old Armoric province, resigned his office as Constable, and retired from the French court. Although, at the earnest entreaty of Charles, he afterwards consented to resume his post, he still refused to head the royal forces in Bretagne, and Jean re-established his former position in 1380. The death of du Guesclin while suppressing a movement of the English in Languedoc, and of Charles V. himself, occurred in the summer and autumn of the same year. Charles had ruled arbitrarily, but, on the whole, not unjustly. He succeeded to a kingdom reduced to a position of extreme weakness by war and internal disruption; and by prudent management he left it, after sixteen years, in a state of renovated strength.

The heir to the French throne was Charles VI., a boy of thirteen, who was left under the care of his uncles, the Dukes of Anjou, Berri, Bourbon, and Burgundy. After a good deal of contention it was decided that the first of those princes should act as Regent, while other positions of importance were assigned to the remainder. The tyranny of the Duke of Anjou involved him in frequent contentions with the people, who rose in armed revolt, and were punished with merciless severity. Illegal and excessive taxation was the principal cause of these risings; but the whole system of government was tyrannical and corrupt. It was a relief when Louis of Anjou, having been adopted by his cousin, Joanna, Queen of Naples, as successor to the throne of that kingdom, left for Southern Italy, where he died in 1384. The conduct of affairs in France devolved on the Duke of Burgundy after the departure of his brother in 1382. Burgundy, which in the early Christian ages had been a kingdom, founded by a Gothic or Vandalic tribe, was conquered by the Franks in 534, and under its new masters acquired large dimensions and considerable importance in connection with Arles and Provence. The second kingdom reached its close in 1032, and, passing into the hands of the German Emperor, Conrad II., became a duchy in subjection to that monarch and his followers. A portion of the Burgundian territory, however, had long been ruled as a French duchy, and in 1363 King John of France conferred this duchy on his fourth son, Philip, who in 1382 became the virtual ruler of the French kingdom.* Gifted with great ability and an enterprising character, Philip resolved to divert the discontent at home into channels of foreign adventure; and he found a favourable opportunity in the state of Flanders.

The contention between the Flemish burghers and their hereditary Count, which had led to important events some forty years before, sprang up with renewed activity in 1379, under the rule of Count Louis II., the son and successor of Louis I. A revolt broke out at Ghent, which the Count endeavoured to suppress by intercepting all supplies, and thus starving out the insurgents. Notwithstanding some attempts to re-establish peace, the

* Nothing in mediæval history is more obscure, perplexed, and confusing than the history of Burgundy. This proceeds from the fact that several distinct territories, differently governed, and sometimes changing their boundaries, are so named. Mr. Bryce ("Holy Roman Empire," pp. 437-9) mentions no fewer than ten of these.

struggle continued with great pertinacity; but in 1381 the leaders of the movement found that the citizens were becoming discontented with the new authority, and sought to restore their influence by the help of Philip van Artevelde, son of the popular chieftain who had won renown in the quarrel with Louis I. In January, 1382, the younger van Artevelde was proposed to the people as their future head, and met with an enthusiastic reception, apparently on the mere strength of his ancestry, for as yet he had done nothing to distinguish himself. The condition of Ghent was now desperate, and Artevelde, seeing that famine was not far distant, marched out of the city on the 1st of May, 1382, and, at the head of six thousand men, took up a position within three miles of Bruges. On the 3rd he was attacked by Count Louis II., whose desultory and ill-organised ranks were shattered in the encounter. Those who were not slain hurried back into Bruges after nightfall; but the men of Ghent followed close on their heels, and, entering the city, effected a great slaughter before the morning. Artevelde at length succeeded in stopping the massacre; but the magistrates and nobles were executed as traitors to their country.

With the exception of Oudenarde and Termonde, all the other towns of Flanders made their submission to Artevelde after this great success. Intoxicated by his triumph, the popular hero assumed the character of a sovereign prince, lived in a style of luxury and grandeur, and defrayed the expenses of the State by a tax on the country people. Nevertheless, the power of the dictator remained unshaken, and the populations of Hainault, Brabant, and Liège, rose in sympathy with the Flemings. Philip of Burgundy felt alarmed at the prospect of an ever-widening circle of revolt, and, having married the heiress of Flanders, was the more disposed to intervene in the affairs of that country. He feared that the English might join the Flemish insurgents, and therefore listened with favour to the request of Count Louis, who had escaped from Bruges, that he would send a force to his relief. The invading army, which entered Flanders in November, 1382, was nominally directed by the young King, Charles VI.; but the real commander was the Constable Olivier de Clisson, an able soldier, but a ferocious enemy of the English. At Roosebeke, between Courtrai and Ghent, the French were confronted, on the 29th of November, by the hosts of Artevelde, numbering, it is said, as many as fifty thousand. The courage of the Flemings was fully equal to the occasion; but their ranks were so crowded that the men were unable to use their weapons with effect, and, after an encounter which did not last more than an hour, they were defeated with the loss of half their army. Artevelde himself was among the slain, and his body, being afterwards found under a vast heap of his fellow-citizens, was suspended on a tree.

When Charles VI. returned to Paris, he found that city once more in a spasm of revolutionary turmoil. The people submitted on the approach of their sovereign; but punishment was not foregone, and the work of retribution was confided to Olivier de Clisson, who carried out his instructions in the merciless spirit for which he was notorious. The municipal liberties of the city were annulled; the oppressive taxes recently abolished were re-imposed; and a fine of 960,000 francs was levied on the suffering people. Many of the provincial towns were similarly treated, and the spirit of the commonalty was completely broken. In the following year, a campaign was conducted against the English in Flanders; and in January, 1384, while a treaty of peace was being arranged, Count Louis II. was assassinated—it is said, by the Duke de Berri. Philip of Burgundy, who had married his daughter Marguerite, succeeded to the lordship of Flanders, Artois, Rhetel, Nevers, and Champagne. The duchy of Brabant was afterwards added to these possessions, which, together with his province of Burgundy, gave the Duke a position equal to that of many kings. He soon came to terms with the people of Ghent, and was recognised by the Flemings as their lawful sovereign.

The French monarch was now about sixteen years of age, and his majority had been fixed by his father to commence at fourteen. He was therefore free to exercise the regal office in his own person; but his measures bore little testimony to the possession of either wisdom or prudence. The fame of a conqueror, for which he was wholly unfitted, was the great object of his ambition, and in 1386 he assembled an immense force for the invasion of England. Countless numbers of men-at-arms, bowmen, and common soldiers, were embarked on board a fleet numbering more than a thousand vessels, which had been collected from all parts of Europe, including the Baltic in one direction, and the coasts of Spain in another. These forces carried with them a wooden bulwark, large enough, it was said, to shelter the whole army from the archers of England—a machine which, being constructed in several distinct parts, was capable of being either separated or put together, according to the requirements of the moment. The expedition, after starting, was compelled to return, owing to contrary winds, and the scheme was renewed in the following year, with no better success. The second failure

was due to a peculiar circumstance. The Constable, Olivier de Clisson, had been treacherously seized by his enemy, Jean IV., Duke of Bretagne, who was incensed at de Clisson's proposed alliance with the rival house of Blois. No one else was considered fit to be entrusted with the command; and, by the time he was released, the enterprise had been abandoned.

In other respects also, the military enterprises of Charles VI. were attended by failure; nor was the King more fortunate after the dismissal from power of his uncles, the Dukes of Berri, Bourbon, and Burgundy. Intrigue and disorder prevailed in the affairs of France, and the attempted assassination of de Clisson, in 1392, exasperated the French monarch to such an extent that he declared war on the Duke of Bretagne, who had doubtless instigated the outrage. Though in a feeble state of health, Charles started from Paris at the head of his army, but, while passing through the forest of Le Mans, on the 5th of August, was terrified by the sudden apparition of a wild-looking man (probably a lunatic), who, seizing the King's bridle, kept frantically exclaiming that he was betrayed, and must immediately return. Charles, however, continued on his way towards Angers, followed by the stranger, who still uttered his alarming cry until he disappeared in the wood. Some time after, when the cavalcade had entered on a glaring and sandy plain, the fall of a page's lance on the steel helmet of his companion worked so powerfully on the excited nerves of Charles that he supposed an attack had actually commenced, and, drawing his sword, assailed the escort, until, exhausted by his efforts and his fears, he was secured by order of the Duke of Burgundy.* He had, in fact, been smitten with sudden madness; and although, a little later, he partially recovered his reason, a condition of mental imbecility had been created, which occasionally passed into frenzy. Philip of Burgundy returned to his former position of Regent; but the misfortunes of the country still continued. Olivier de Clisson was deprived of his office of Constable, and banished the realm, on a charge of malversation and embezzlement; and in January, 1393, the King had a serious relapse, owing to a terrible occurrence at court. During a masked ball, given in celebration of a marriage, Charles and five of his nobles disguised themselves as savages. Their tight-fitting dresses were covered with pitch and tow, to resemble hair, and one of these dresses was set on fire by the young Duke of Orleans, who approached too near with a torch. Four of the sufferers were burned to death; the King himself escaped with difficulty; but the shock was more than his weakened nerves could sustain, and the remainder of his life was relieved by but few intervals of sanity.

A treaty of peace between France and England was concluded in 1396; but it lasted little more than six years. In the meanwhile, the King's malady became more confirmed, and the court was distracted by the feuds of rival parties headed by the Queen, the Duke of Burgundy, and the Duke of Orleans. The second of these Dukes was the younger brother of Charles, and his animosity to his uncle continued until the death of the latter in 1404. The Duke of Orleans then formed a coalition with the Queen, and acquired a preponderance in the State, but soon found a powerful opponent in Jean, the younger Duke of Burgundy, who in 1405 entered Paris in strength, took up his residence at the Louvre, and obtained a ratification of his acts from the States-General. The Duke of Orleans, who had previously departed from Paris with the Queen, returned at the head of a military force; but a temporary adjustment was effected, by which the administration was divided between the rival Dukes. Two such antagonists could not, however, agree very long, and, after a period of mutual recrimination (exasperated by the fact that they supported rival Popes), the Duke of Burgundy formed a plot for the assassination of his cousin, which was carried out with revolting deliberation. On the 20th of November, 1407, the royal Dukes heard mass at the Church of the Augustines, and partook of the sacrament together. Three days later, the Duke of Orleans received a fraudulent message, requiring his attendance on the King. It was evening; and as he was proceeding along the streets, accompanied by two servants, the unsuspecting prince was attacked by a band of assassins, and left dead and mutilated on the spot. Suspicion fastened on the Duke of Burgundy, and, on being questioned, he confessed the crime. It would doubtless have been a difficult matter to punish him in any way proportionate to his offence; but, before the matter could be settled, the Duke had escaped from Paris, and taken shelter at Lille. He returned to Paris, however, in 1408, and submitted himself to a species of trial before an assembly of princes, nobles, clergy, and burgesses. The criminal was popular with the citizens of Paris, and the inquiry terminated in an acquittal which amounted to a laudation. Shortly afterwards, the Duke was engaged in military operations against the people of Liège, and

* Froissart says that the wild man was never seen again. The whole story is mysterious.

added so greatly to his reputation by the victory of Hasbain, on the 23rd of September, 1408, that all attempts to obtain a reversal of the recent decision proved futile, and in 1409 the murderer received a full pardon from the imbecile Charles.



CHARLES VI. IN THE FOREST OF LE MANS.

The government was now entirely in the hands of the Duke of Burgundy, who thus secured the guardianship of the Dauphin. The fortunes of the Orleanists appeared so desperate that nothing short of hostile operations could afford them even a chance of restoration. They accordingly formed a league in 1410, and civil war broke out soon after. The confederacy was headed by the Count d'Armagnac, a nobleman of Languedoc, whose daughter had married the Duke of Orleans. From that time, the partisans of Orleans were known as Armagnacs, and it is under this name that they appear in history. The Count was a man of courage and capacity, and he speedily collected an army strong enough to threaten Paris, and to ravage a large extent of country. The Parisians were terrified by the prospect of assault, and organised a civic guard composed of the most desperate elements. All who were suspected of sympathising with the Armagnacs were murdered, or subjected to some extreme penalty; but the Cabochiens, as they were called after one of their leaders, were able to do little in conflict with their armed opponents, and in 1411 the allied princes burst into the city, which was given up to general havoc. Their triumph was

only short-lived. The Duke of Burgundy obtained the assistance of an English force, attacked the Armagnacs at St. Cloud, and defeated them with terrible slaughter. The adherents of the Orleanist party were massacred by hundreds in the streets of Paris; and when Jean of Burgundy re-established his power, he found himself in possession of a city devastated by sanguinary feuds, and of a country ruined by the convulsions of civil strife.

moment before the storm, ultimately regained her throne. Her end was as violent as her life. Charles, Duke of Durazzo, a descendant of Charles I. of Naples, was married to the Queen's niece, and generally regarded as heir to the crown. Having a quarrel with Joanna, he invaded her kingdom, took possession of her person, and caused her to be smothered in prison in 1378. Previously to her death, however, Joanna had adopted as her



THE GRAND CANAL, VENICE.

While France was thus working out her destiny through scenes of blood and conflagration, the French dynasty of Naples maintained itself in that southern land. After the death of King Robert, the crown descended to his grand-daughter, Queen Joanna, who in 1345 was involved in hostilities with Hungary, owing to the assassination of a prince belonging to the royal house of that country, to whom she had been espoused, but in whose death she is believed to have been concerned. Louis of Hungary, who was himself related to the Neapolitan royal family, invaded the south of Italy in 1345; but Joanna, though flying for a

successor Louis of Anjou, uncle of Charles VI. of France. The prince collected an army of 30,000 men, but was unable to obtain the crown of Naples. Charles of Durazzo afterwards accepted the crown of Hungary, leaving Naples to his son Ladislaus, a child only ten years of age. A portion of the kingdom was temporarily snatched from his grasp by the son of Prince Louis; but in later years he recovered the whole territory, and on his death left it intact to his elder sister, Joanna II., who, devoting herself to a life of vicious pleasure, resigned the conduct of affairs to the principal nobles. The Grand Constable, Sforza Attendolo, called in

Louis III. of Anjou as a more fitting occupant of the throne; but Gianni Caraccioli, the Seneschal, persuaded the Queen to adopt Alfonso, King of Aragon and Sicily, who had succeeded to the throne in 1416. Alfonso accepted the offer, but speedily found himself set aside in favour of Louis the Angevin, and, after his death, of Regnier, his brother. When Joanna herself died in 1435, Regnier was a prisoner in Burgundy; but his wife maintained his cause until her forces were subdued by those of Alfonso in the course of the same year. Thus the French dynasty in Naples came to an end, after having existed since 1266; and the chief State of Southern Italy, now again united with Sicily, became an appendage of Aragon. But the house of Anjou did not readily acquiesce in this transfer of power, and the kingdom of Naples was for several years the scene of exhausting warfare between the military hosts of the two dynasties.

In strong contrast with the miserable and degraded condition of Southern Italy under an alien rule, was the grandeur of the native Republics in the North, especially of Venice. The great maritime commonwealth obtained, as we have seen, an immense accession to her foreign dominions, in recompense for the assistance she had rendered to the so-called Crusaders in their successful attack on Constantinople in 1204. By virtue of these acquisitions, Venice was now a power on the mainland of Greece, as well as in many of the neighbouring islands, and her trade was largely augmented by the privileges granted her in the capital of the Eastern Empire. Wealth poured into her merchant-princes with unparalleled profusion. The picturesque city of the Adriatic became one of the grandest assemblages of magnificent buildings that the world has ever seen. The style of living adopted by her great men was at once sumptuous and graceful, and the arts flourished in the homes of the Lagoons as they had hardly flourished for centuries in any other part of Europe. Yet the Republic of the Doges was not exempt from the common lot of States, and occasionally met with more than her match, even on her native element, the sea. Genoa was a powerful, and sometimes a predominant rival; and, in the several commonwealths of the Italian mainland, trading competitors, endued with an energy equal to her own, pursued similar ends with a measure of success not always welcome. Still, the Venetian State maintained a proud position among the nations of the earth, and its interests were served from age to age by an extraordinary succession of gifted rulers. The great families of aristocracy were often corrupt and tyrannical; but their intellectual power and knowledge of affairs have never been surpassed. It would seem as if the close heat and concentrated fire of their narrow coteries fostered and developed a peculiar genius for the arts of administrative management.

The counterpoise to Venetian despotism was a frequent resort to conspiracy, and one of the most remarkable of these plots was that of Marino Faliero. This distinguished person belonged to a family which had already furnished two Doges to the Republic, and, before his election to the same office, he had himself acted as commander of the forces, admiral of the fleet, and ambassador. During a war with Hungary, in 1346, he defeated an army of 80,000 Hungarians before the walls of Zara, in Dalmatia, and afterwards, while in command of the fleet, took Capo d'Istria. When elected to the chief office, Marino gave evidence of a fiery temper, which ultimately involved him in an atrocious design against the State. His wife, a young and handsome woman, was made the subject of a gross libel, the author of which was a young patrician named Michele Steno, who bore some malice against the Doge, and saw no better way of revenging himself. Steno underwent a measure of punishment for this dastardly action; but the Doge regarded the penalty as insufficient, and therefore, if we may believe the ordinary relations, determined to upset the commonwealth. Whether this was really the chief motive, or whether he was mainly prompted by ambition, it seems to be the fact that he designed to massacre the heads of the aristocracy, and to assume in his own person the prerogatives, if not the title, of king. The power of the Doges had been progressively reduced, until the occupants of that stately and exalted position were little better than slaves of the aristocracy, prisoners in their own palace, the objects of perpetual scrutiny and distrust. It is easy to understand how so haughty a spirit as that of Marino Faliero chafed under the numerous restrictions which made his power illusory. He had been accustomed to command, and had exercised his rights after a lordly fashion. Should he then, he seems to have asked himself, be now reduced to the position of a servant, for the very reason that he had attained the highest place of all? This, perhaps, more than anything else, was the consideration which impelled him to a criminal undertaking, for which there was no adequate excuse.

His confederates were a noble who had been dishonoured by a blow, which he despaired of otherwise avenging, and who, indeed, appears to have suggested the plot to Marino; Bertucci

Faliero, a nephew of the Doge; Filippo Calendaro, a naval officer; and six others of less repute. The details of the conspiracy were arranged by these persons, and it was determined that the blow should be struck on the 15th of April, 1355. As the Council of Ten was already in existence, it seems strange that its members were unable, by their vast system of espionage, to detect at the very outset what was being planned. Not until the evening before the contemplated rising did any knowledge of their peril reach the leading classes. The revelation of the plot was then due to one of the humbler conspirators, Beltramo of Bergamo, who had been brought up in the family of Nicolo Lioni, of San Stefano, a nobleman to whom he was much attached. Desiring to save his life, he implored him to remain at home on the following day, and, being questioned, at length revealed all the particulars of the impending treason. Lioni communicated with the chief officials; the ringleaders were arrested, and the plot was at an end. All but the Doge were immediately hanged between the Red Columns on the Piazzetta. With respect to Marino Faliero himself, there was a difficulty. The constitution provided, in the case of the chief magistrate, for no such offence as he had committed, because it had never occurred to the legislators of a previous epoch that any such crime was possible. Nevertheless, Faliero was examined before the Council of Ten, and, not denying his guilt, was condemned to death. At noon on the 17th of April, the imperious noble, who had sought to make himself absolute Lord of Venice, was beheaded on the landing-place of the Giants' Stairs, where the Doges took their oath on first entering the palace.

The war with Hungary continued under the rule of Faliero's successors, Giovanni Gradenigo and Giovanni Delpino. Zara was disaffected to her new masters, and desired a more congenial association with Hungary, to the inhabitants of which land her own people were allied. Louis, the Hungarian King, formed a league with the Duke of Austria, the Patriarch of Aquileia, and the Lord of Padua, Francesco da Carrara, for effecting this end; and the combination was so powerful that, after a sanguinary struggle, the Venetians were driven out of Dalmatia, and compelled to renounce all their former pretensions to sovereignty on the eastern coast of the Adriatic. So considerable a reduction of the power of Venice, coming after recent defeats by the Genoese navy, might have proved fatal to a power less resolute and buoyant than that of the insular Republic. The spirit of the aristocracy, however, always rose afresh after every disaster; and in 1378 Venice interfered in a quarrel between the Genoese and Cypriotes. Her fleet vanquished the forces of Genoa before Antium in July of that year; but, in May, 1379, the navy of Venice was almost annihilated by the Genoese off Pola, and Pietro Doria, approaching Venice itself, seized the island of Chioggia. The star of Venice, however had not set. The enemy was strictly blockaded in the position he had seized; supplies were effectually cut off; famine ensued; and, in June, 1380, the Genoese surrendered without conditions. Genoa declined from that day, and in 1396 placed herself under the dominion of the King of France. A similar arrangement had previously been made with the Visconti of Milan, but it did not last many years. Nevertheless, the old energy of the Genoese seems by this time to have been exhausted, and dependence on some foreign power had become a lamentable necessity. The result is to be attributed to those factious intrigues and class jealousies which were the bane of all the Italian Republics. The nobles and the plebeians were constantly at issue; the Guelphs and the Ghibellines fought out their quarrels in the streets; the surrounding country was so ravaged by the contentions of partizans as to become a mere desert; and in 1339 the citizens created a supreme Magistrate, who was to retain office for life with the title of Doge, and who was to be neither a Ghibelline nor a Guelph. Wise as this reform undoubtedly was, it did not hinder the decline of the Republic; and the French protectorate of 1396 was perhaps the inevitable consequence of the rancorous divisions by which the commonwealth had been ruined. The fall of Genoa (for such we may almost consider it) was undoubtedly a great advantage to Venice. Her trade was enormously increased by the weakness of her maritime rival, and her argosies were seen in every quarter of the world where merchandise was to be obtained or distributed. The loss of territory on the eastern side of the Adriatic was soon counterbalanced by important acquisitions on the mainland of Italy, resulting from a successful war with Francesco Novello, Lord of Padua, which terminated in 1407. Under the Doge Tomaso Mocenigo, who died in 1423, Venice attained the highest summit of her power. She could then boast a history of about a thousand years; and more than three centuries and a half of declining, but not altogether inglorious, dominion still lay before her.

The power of the Visconti in Milan dates from the year 1277, when Otho Visconti—a member of an exiled family, who, fifteen years before, had

been made Archbishop by Pope Urban IV.—marched against the chief city of Lombardy, and defeated the reigning Lord, Napoleone della Torre, who, together with his predecessors of the same house, had opposed his entrance. The Milanese had for some years placed themselves under the energetic guidance and control of these dictators, and the same form of government was perpetuated by the Visconti. The supremacy of the popular will was still acknowledged in terms; but, in time, power became hereditary in the family of the conqueror. The Council of the Elders continued for a while to discuss the laws, to apportion the taxes, and to superintend the expenditure; but, by slow gradations, the Visconti gathered into their own hands all the powers of the State, and in the fourteenth century Italy had no greater princes than these stately signors of Milan. Their dominions included the whole of Lombardy proper, and a large part of Northern Italy beyond those limits. In 1395, Gian Galeazzo Visconti received from the German Emperor Wenceslaus (in consideration of a money payment) the title of Duke of Milan and Count of Pavia; and he contrived, in various ways, to enlarge his territories so considerably that they extended as far as the Romagna. Florence opposed his ambitious projects, and he was about to attack the Tuscan Republic when he died of the plague, in September, 1402. The Visconti had originally been creatures of the Pontiffs, and had, indeed, obtained their power through the countenance of Pope Urban IV. In the early part of the fourteenth century, however, a quarrel arose between Matteo Visconti and Pope John XXII., and from that time the Visconti and the Pontiffs were often at issue. Barnabo Visconti, who lived in the same century, was excommunicated by Innocent VI. for having attempted to recover Bologna, which had passed under Papal rule. Duke Barnabo, who was as remarkable for cruelty as for intellectual power, swore that he would be both Pope and Emperor in his own dominions; and on Innocent sending Legates to him, to propose terms, the Milanese ruler compelled them to tear the Apostolic Bulls into fragments, and swallow them piece by piece. One of these Legates afterwards succeeded to the Papal chair as Urban V., and, recollecting the severity and disrespect with which he had been treated in his former position, proclaimed a crusade against Barnabo, which was joined by all the chief Italian princes. The Visconti were a singularly gifted family, disposed to encourage learning, and not unmindful of the popular welfare; but most of them were savage and unscrupulous in their acts, and loss of public liberty was the price which the Milanese had to pay for increased power and influence under their rule. After the death of Gian Galeazzo, the predominance of the Visconti declined. Their dominions were curtailed by the Venetians, the Pope, and the Marquis of Montferrat; and although, by the employment of Condottieri, their former possessions were recovered, it was evident that the race itself had lost the secret of its ancient mastery. Filippo Maria Visconti bequeathed the lordship of Milan to Francesco Sforza, who had married his daughter Bianca; and the family of Sforza succeeded to power on the death of Filippo in 1447.

After the decease of Charles IV. of Germany, the Empire passed into the hands of his son Wenceslaus, whose election he had previously secured by a large expenditure of money. Wenceslaus, who ascended the throne in 1378, soon gave proof of a fierce and despotic nature. Unlike his father, who, whatever his faults, was at any rate a liberal monarch so far as Bohemia was concerned, Wenceslaus treated that kingdom with unmitigated severity. Some of his actions were characterised by the fantastic barbarity of the worst Roman Emperors, and his ferocious temper was aggravated by intoxication. There can be little doubt that he was mad, and his younger brother, Sigismund, Elector of Brandenburg, at length placed him under restraint, from which, however, he managed to escape. Again assuming the sceptre, he pursued his course of brutal debauchery, until, in 1400, the Electors set him aside, and chose in his place the Count Palatine Rupert. Wenceslaus remained in Bohemia, where his cruelty became more extreme with increasing years; and Rupert, the new German sovereign, did his best to re-establish the Imperial power on a respectable footing. He found but little support among the nobles, and a military enterprise, undertaken towards the close of his life, ended in ignominious failure. In conjunction with Leopold of Austria, he conducted an expedition towards Rome, but was defeated and captured at Brescia, in Lombardy. Returning to Germany, he died there in 1411, and the Empire was once more vexed by a double election. Sigismund, the brother of Wenceslaus, and Jodocus of Moravia, were chosen by rival parties; but the latter died soon after, and Sigismund was generally accepted as the rightful occupant of the throne. Though a man of despotic leanings, self-willed and arrogant, Sigismund was not a madman like his brother, and his actions were frequently directed by considerations of policy. Something of personal character distinguished him from many of his

predecessors. Having made a mistake in a Latin speech, he said, in answer to one who pointed out the error, "I am a Roman King, and above the rules of grammar." This occurred at the Council of Constance, in Swabia, which, as the reader is aware, was summoned in November, 1414, for settling the distracted condition of the Papacy. It was Sigismund who brought that important gathering together, and in the council-chamber he had the good sense to waive the supremacy which the German Empire had previously asserted, as the nominal representative of the old Roman dominion.

After settling those matters which had mainly brought its members together, and which have been indicated in a previous Chapter, the Council of Constance took into consideration certain alleged heresies which had recently spread through various parts of Europe. Attention was directed, in particular, to the Bohemian reformer, John Huss, a professor of divinity in the University of Prague, which, since its establishment in 1348, had been celebrated for the learning and intellectual vigour of its members. The innovating zeal of Huss (himself a priest) had been kindled by the example of the English thinker, Wyclif, whose writings had been introduced into Bohemia, owing to the marriage of Richard II. with Anne, the sister of Wenceslaus. Huss began to promulgate his doctrines in the year 1401, and they appear to have gone to the extent of completely denying the supremacy of the Pope, and repudiating some of the most distinctive features of Roman theology. Like Wyclif, the Bohemian scholar denied (with some reservations) the doctrine of Transubstantiation; unlike his English predecessor, he opposed the belief in Purgatory, as not warranted by Scripture. These opinions were shared and supported by a friend and pupil, usually called Jerome of Prague; and both Jerome and Huss were summoned before the Council of Constance to explain their views. Huss was unable to obtain a hearing until the 7th of June, 1415, and in the meanwhile (though he had received a safe-conduct from the Emperor) was confined in a filthy dungeon, the air of which brought on a fever. His examination was a mockery. He was reduced to silence by the clamours of the assembly, and, after a month of agitation and excitement, was condemned to be burned at the stake.

This sentence was pronounced by the Emperor, not by the Council itself, which, refusing to hear anything further from the accused, unless it were an explicit recantation of his opinions, handed him over to the secular arm. As, however, there can be no doubt that the members of the Council not only knew what would be the result, but desired it, their moral guilt is equal to that of Sigismund. It is remarkable that a body which had shown so great a wish to restrict the dictation of the Papacy should have pursued to the death a man who was engaged in the same purpose, even though his independence led him to particular conclusions different from their own. But in truth it was the supremacy of the Popes individually, and not of the Church collectively, which the Council opposed. Previously to being taken to the place of execution, Huss was degraded from the priesthood, with many gratuitous insults; and his sentence was carried out on the 6th or 7th of July, 1415. Jerome of Prague, after a recantation which he soon withdrew, suffered death in the same manner on the 30th of May, 1416. Both reformers endured their fate with wonderful courage and constancy; and a cruel end combined with blameless lives to sow their opinions in the hearts of thousands. The ashes of Huss were thrown into the Rhine; it was also directed that the body of Wyclif should be exhumed and burned. This being done several years after (in 1428), the remains of the English reformer were cast into a neighbouring brook called the Swift. "Thus," says Fuller, "this brook has conveyed his ashes into Avon, Avon into Severn, Severn into the narrow seas, then into the main ocean; and thus the ashes of Wyclif are the emblem of his doctrine, which now is dispersed all the world over."* The Council of Constance did not separate until April, 1418; but in the few years of its existence it had made enduring matter for history.

In the frigid regions of the extreme North, little occurred for many ages which affected the general interests of the world. The Swedes and Goths were for the first time united in the second half of the eleventh century; but the combination was far from complete, and it was afterwards agreed that the country should be ruled alternately by representatives of the two analogous races. Frequent assassinations and civil wars were the consequence of this arrangement; but the short reign of Erik, the first of the alternate monarchs, who filled the throne from 1155 to 1161, and was canonised after his death, is distinguished by some memorable events in the history of the North, more particularly by the conquest and conversion of the Finns, and by the compilation of a code of laws which promoted the civilisation of the land. The crowns of Sweden and Norway were temporarily united in 1019 by King Magnus II., who succeeded to the former kingdom by right of his father, and to the

* Church History.



CORONATION AT CRACOW OF LOUIS I. OF HUNGARY AS KING OF POLAND.

latter by right of his mother. After a disastrous and discreditable reign, which was once interrupted by the Diet, Magnus was finally deposed, in 1363, by his sister's son, Albert of Mecklenburg, who was himself overthrown in 1389 by Margaret, Queen of Norway and Denmark. The latter formed the three Scandinavian kingdoms in one monarchy; and by the Treaty of Calmar, concluded in 1397, the several crowns were declared to be indissolubly united, though the internal administration of the countries themselves remained distinct. But the arrangement was not permanent, as we shall find at a later stage.

The house of Arpad, which ruled four hundred years in Hungary, ended with the life of Andrew III., who died in 1301. The people were then divided into various factions, one of which supported the candidature of Charles Robert, a prince belonging to the Neapolitan branch of the house of Anjou; and, after an interregnum of eight years, during which Wenceslaus of Bohemia, and Otho of Bavaria, aspired to the throne, the Angevin prince —who, in connection with Hungarian history, is called Charobert—succeeded to power in 1309. His rule was marked by vigour and intelligence, and his numerous successes raised Hungary to a position of great influence in the east of Europe. Having married a sister of Casimir, King of Poland, a connection between the two countries was established, which at a later date resulted in their union. Charobert died in 1342, and was followed by his son, Louis I., who is styled the Great. On the death of the Polish monarch Casimir, in 1370, the house of Piast came to an end, after five hundred years of regal dignity, and Casimir was succeeded by his sister's son, the Angevin King of Hungary. Louis made provision for the continued union of both crowns; but



JOHN HUSS.

he left only two daughters, and the kingdoms fell under the separate rule of their husbands. Mary, the elder, married Sigismund, the Elector of Brandenburg, who in 1382 succeeded to the Hungarian throne, and at a later date, as we have seen, became German Emperor. Hedwig, the younger daughter, was united to Jagellon, Prince of Lithuania, a heathen prince reigning over a heathen population, who now accepted Christianity and the predominance of Poland. Remarkable prosperity attended the reign of Jagellon, who is generally styled Ladislaus V. His son, Ladislaus VI., inherited the sceptre in 1434; and six years later the Hungarians voluntarily chose this prince as their own sovereign, so that the crowns were again united. The reign of Ladislaus, however, was prematurely terminated by his death at the battle of Varna, in 1444, when the Turkish Sultan, Amurath II., obtained a great success over the Christians. Casimir IV., brother of the deceased monarch, was the next King of Poland. His reign lasted nearly half a century, and his acquisitions from the Teutonic Knights were among the many brilliant achievements of a remarkably successful administration. After the death of Ladislaus VI., Poland and Hungary were again separated, and the fortunes of the latter kingdom were directed by the great soldier, John Huniades, whose brilliant but not always successful exploits we shall have to relate in connection with the growing power and threatening encroachments of the Ottoman Turks.

CHAPTER XLV.

REVOLUTIONS OF THE EAST.

Declining Fortunes of the Greek Empire—Latter Years of Andronicus II.—His Abdication, and Succession of his Grandson—Inglorious Reign of Andronicus III.—Rebellion of John Cantacuzene against the Infant Emperor, John Palæologus—Succession of Civil Wars, and Withdrawal of Cantacuzene into a Monastery—The Genoese at Galata—Rise of the Servian Empire under Stephen Dushan—The Turks Called in to Assist Rival Candidates to the Byzantine Throne—Establishment of the Ottomans in Europe—Reign of the Sultan Amurath I.—Defeat of Sclavonian Allies at Kossova—Establishment of the Janizaries—Conquests of Sultan Bayazid—Humiliating Weakness of the Greek Emperor Manuel—Early Career of Timour, the Tartar Chieftain—Conquest of Herat, Seistan, Persia, Georgia, and Other Asiatic Countries—Reduction of the Khan of Kiptchâk—Capture of Baghdad—Invasion of India, and Defeat of the King of Delhi—Retirement of Timour, and Fresh Expedition into Western Asia—Quarrel with the Turkish Sultan, Bayazid—Great Battle between the Two Sovereigns at Angora—Defeat and Capture of Bayazid—Submission of Asia Minor, and Sack of Smyrna—Withdrawal of Timour from the West of Asia—Expedition to China—Death and Character of Timour—Recovery of the Ottoman Turks—Reign of Mohammed I.—Death of the Emperor Manuel—Futile Endeavours to Establish a Union between the Greek and Latin Churches—The Council of Bâle—Submission of the Greek Emperor, John VII., to Rome—Results of the Council of Florence—The Agreement Repudiated by the People of Constantinople—Ruin of the Eastern Capital—Alarming Progress of the Ottomans.

RETURNING to the Eastern Empire, we find that ancient dominion pursuing a steady course of decadence after the withdrawal of the Catalan Grand Company in the early years of the fourteenth century. The Emperor Andronicus II., following a custom which could boast of little to recommend it, had associated his son Michael with himself in the supreme position; but Michael, as we have seen, achieved little renown as a general, nor were his abilities of an order to save the State by works of peace. His joint reign spread over rather more than twenty-five years—from the 21st of May, 1295, when he was crowned, to the 12th of October, 1320, when he died. When the health of Michael was seen to be failing, Andronicus fixed his hopes on his son, who ultimately succeeded to the throne as Andronicus III. The heir to Imperial power, as he became immediately after the decease of his parent, was a youth of lively wit and attractive looks; but he developed a licentious nature early in life, and his extravagance gave offence to the Emperor, with whom he had before been a favourite. Finding that he could not obtain all he wanted from the elder Andronicus, the young man borrowed money of the Genoese usurers of Pera, and his indebtedness was speedily such as to place him in a position of extreme embarrassment. This was of course increased by the loss of favour at court; but there was a still more serious cause of trouble. A few days before the death of Michael, the attendants on the younger Andronicus had transfixed with their arrows his brother Manuel, who was passing by night near the house

of a lady whom the elder prince admired, but whom he suspected of secretly favouring another suitor. Manuel died of his injuries, and the end of Michael, who was ill at the time, was hastened by this deplorable event. That the younger Andronicus did not know whom his guards were shooting at, may be accepted as some mitigation of his guilt; but the entire want of feeling which he displayed, not only offended the citizens of Constantinople, but increased the growing dissatisfaction of the old Emperor, who therefore nominated as his successor another grandchild—Michael Catharus, the illegitimate son of Constantine, second son of the reigning sovereign.

The disgraced favourite would not submit to be superseded by one so far out of the right line. He was put on his trial for the death of his brother; but, before the sentence could be pronounced, he had contrived to fill the courts of the palace with his armed retainers, and the result of the judicial inquiry was an apparent reconciliation between the Emperor and his grandson. Nevertheless, the old enmity survived, and in 1321 the younger Andronicus rose in rebellion against the elder. With occasional suspensions, the civil war continued full seven years, and did not terminate until the 24th of May, 1328, when Andronicus II. abdicated the throne. His grandson had already received the absolute sovereignty of Thrace, with the exception of some portions, and had been invested with a share in the general government of the Empire. When at length Constantinople was taken by surprise in 1328, the old Emperor retired from the scene of dominion, and the son of Michael reigned alone. For a while the former was allowed to retain, together with a sufficient pension, the title and dignity, though not the power, of a sovereign. But he was soon neglected and ill-used; his sight decayed, and the infirmities of age reduced the strength of his will. He was compelled to adopt the monastic life, and, under the saintly name of Antony, expired in his cell on the 13th of February, 1332, in the seventy-fourth year of his age.

The undivided reign of Andronicus III., which lasted until the year 1341, was as inglorious as the nature and disposition of the man foreshadowed. The great object of his life was self-indulgence; and he consoled his misfortunes, and excused his crimes, by the doctrine of predestination. A war with Bulgaria, which led to no important results, and another with the Ottoman Turks, which confirmed their rising power, were among the principal events of this period in the history of the Greek Empire. The premature decease of Andronicus, in the forty-fifth year of his age, was due to his debaucheries. By his second wife, Anne of Savoy, he left a son, John Palæologus, who was barely nine years of age at the death of his father, and who, though ultimately succeeding to the crown as John VI., was for some years set aside by the Regent, John Cantacuzene, the friend and able adviser of Andronicus III., whose successes were attributable to his vigour, courage, and capacity. For the treason with which he now stained his former services, Cantacuzene had some excuse in the ungenerous and distrustful spirit with which he was treated. The Empress joined with the Patriarch, and with the Great Duke or Admiral, in a conspiracy against the Regent. While absent in the service of the State, he was proscribed as a public enemy; but his claims were supported by some of the provinces, and from 1341 to 1347 the declining Empire was again wasted by civil dissensions. The struggle was terminated by the success of Cantacuzene, who, however, had been forced to call in the assistance of the Turks, and to give his daughter in marriage to Sultan Orchan. Returning to the capital, the Regent assumed the title of Emperor, and is usually described as John V.; but he acknowledged the son of Andronicus III. as his colleague. The latter, however, regarded the Empire as solely his, and twice endeavoured, but ineffectually, to destroy the power of his rival. The island of Tenedos afforded him a refuge, and in the security of this retreat he meditated fresh projects for the attainment of undivided power. Cantacuzene then associated his son Matthew in the purple, and thus established the succession in his own family. So extreme a measure excited John Palæologus to renewed exertions, and, obtaining the assistance of some Genoese ships and fighting men, he gained admission to the lesser port of Constantinople by an artifice, when a rising of the populace decided the matter in his favour. The reign of Cantacuzene came to an end in January, 1355. Like Andronicus II. and other predecessors, he withdrew into a monastery, and occupied the remainder of his life (which seems to have been unusually prolonged) in the composition of those historical and controversial works by which he is still remembered.

The Genoese, who were allowed to settle in the Eastern Empire during the reign of Michael VIII. (the first of the Palæologi), made themselves extremely formidable under the sceptre of Cantacuzene. On the recovery of Constantinople by the Greeks, they were established chiefly in the suburb of Galata, where they formed what may almost be regarded as an independent commonwealth. They

were not, however, permitted to fortify the position, and consequently lay open to attack by the Venetians, who, in the time of Andronicus II., utterly destroyed their quarter. After this calamity, the Greek Emperor could no longer refuse the Genoese the privilege of erecting fortifications round their settlement; but the inevitable result was that the strangers became more powerful and more independent than before, and the Byzantine sovereigns were often compelled to endure their insolence. New territory was continually being enclosed within the lines of battlements and towers. Splendid villas and lordly castles spoke of growing wealth and increasing predominance; the commerce of the Euxine was engrossed by the Latin intruders at Galata; and the ships of Venice and Pisa were violently driven from those inland waters. In 1349, during the usurpation of Cantacuzene, a Greek fleet was destroyed by the naval forces of the Genoese; and a second defeat was inflicted in 1352, although the Empire was then in alliance with the Venetians. Subsequently to this second conflict, the victors extorted from the Emperor the entire exclusion of Venice from Constantinople and the vicinity; and the power of the Genoese of Galata continued even after the decline of the parent Republic.

In many ways, the Constantinopolitan realm was falling to pieces, and numerous competitors were at hand to secure possession of the fragments. The Genoese, the Bulgarians, the Servians, the Albanians, and the Turks, were establishing their own power on the ruins of the Greek Empire, which still claimed for itself the title of Roman. Servia in particular sprang up into importance and prosperity during the civil war between John Palæologus and John Cantacuzene. Stephen Dushan, the reigning monarch of that country, was a man of great courage and remarkable stature. His ambition prompted him to depose his father, Stephen VII., who not long after was murdered in prison by the nobles, but, as it would seem, without the connivance of his son. Dushan considered the time ripe for establishing the power of his country on a wider basis than it had yet occupied. When a very young man, he had lived seven years in Constantinople, and was therefore well acquainted with the growing weakness of the Byzantine State. Taking advantage of the contention between Palæologus and Cantacuzene, he conquered the valley of the Strymon, acquired the
r of Serres, and garrisoned all the frontier
lds as far at the pass of Christopolis.
? the Adriatic bounded his dominions
and the Gulf of Ambracia formed
their limit to the south. After subduing the Wallachians of Thessaly, he assumed the title of Emperor, or Czar, and established his court at Serres. His Imperial dignity was in respect of Thrace, Sclavonia, and Albania, and to his son he transferred the title of King of Servia. However he may have obtained his power, he seems to have exercised it with liberality and discretion. Trade was promoted by an alliance with Venice, and the code of laws promulgated by Dushan secured the well-being of his people. The Bosnians and Hungarians, equally with the Greeks, acknowledged the superiority of his arms; so that when he died, in 1355, his Empire extended from the Danube to the frontiers of Ætolia. The Servian Czardom, as it was called, had its principal seat in what is now entitled Old Servia, which is included within the Albanian frontiers; and the people of this interesting district preserve to the present day a traditional poetic literature, embodying in wild and passionate songs the triumphs and sufferings of the race. No great continuance of power was granted to the Servians; but the valleys of Old Servia still abound in stately though ruined cities, in ancient churches of Byzantine architecture, and in frescoes of early Italian art.

During the civil war which followed the death of Andronicus III., both belligerents received assistance from the Turks, and both remunerated their rapacious allies by allowing them to pillage the countries which they entered, and to carry off the Greek population into slavery in Asia Minor. The Sultan Orchan, who had originally devoted himself to the service of the Empress-Regent, afterwards changed sides, and secured the temporary success of Cantacuzene. But it was a matter of slight importance which cause he espoused: the really grave and fatal circumstance was the fact of his being invited into the Greek Empire at all. The progress of the Ottoman Turks was largely facilitated by the frequent dissensions of the Greeks, and by their incapacity to maintain, for many years together, anything like a settled government. The quarrels of the elder and the younger Andronicus had enabled the hosts of Orchan to possess themselves of Bithynia as far as the Bosphorus and the Hellespont. The struggle between John Palæologus and Cantacuzene gave them a permanent position in Europe. Cantacuzene for a time obtained his ends; but he did so at a terrible price—the ruin of the Empire, and the loss of his own personal dignity. Orchan desired to establish a family connection between himself and the Emperors of Constantinople; and he demanded the hand of Cantacuzene's daughter, Theodora. The Greek demurred, being

influenced, probably, by religious scruples; but when the Sultan threatened that, if his wishes were not consulted, he would again place himself at the disposal of the Empress-Regent, Cantacuzene was compelled to give way. It was after the marriage of Theodora with Orchan, and when Cantacuzene was once more threatened by the advance of John Palæologus, that the Turks established themselves so strongly in the Thracian Chersonesus that it was impossible to obtain their withdrawal. The force despatched for the succour of Cantacuzene consisted of 10,000 cavalry, under the command of Soliman, the son of Orchan; and the discipline of these mounted troops prolonged for a little time the menaced power of their ally. Five years after the abdication of Cantacuzene, Soliman was killed by a fall from his horse, and Orchan, who was now old, expired from the effects of grief.

On the death of Orchan, in 1360, the sceptre of the Osmanlis passed to his second son, who is known as Amurath (or Murad) I. This martial sovereign subdued the greater part of Romania, or Thrace, and fixed his capital at Adrianople in 1361. His authority soon extended to the neighbourhood of Constantinople itself, and the citizens of the doomed capital (for such it may be called even at that date) beheld the same enemy encamped in arms both on their western and their eastern side—both in Europe and in Asia. The Sultan might perhaps have accomplished the great feat which distinguished the reign of his successor, Mohammed II., in 1453; but an attack on Constantinople was always a difficult performance, and Amurath was contented with the consciousness of having reduced the Greek Empire to the dimensions of a petty kingdom. The unhappy prince, John Palæologus, confessed himself the vassal of this powerful Mohammedan. Together with his four sons, he obsequiously followed the court and camp of the Turk whenever he was bidden; and Amurath affected a kind of generosity, which to a man of spirit would have been as galling as direct insult. If any additional bitterness were needed, it was found in the circumstance that the Bulgarians, Servians, Bosnians, and Albanians, who had so often defeated the Greek Emperors, and annexed portions of their territory, were worsted by the Moslems. The Sclavonian populations at length united their forces to oppose the growing danger, and in 1389 encountered the Turks under Amurath on the plains of Kossova, near the frontiers of Albania. The Christian army almost doubled that of the Mohammedans; but the aggressive fanaticism of the latter made up for their defect in numbers. The Servians and their allies were disastrously routed; but, after the close of the action, Amurath met his death in an unexpected way. A Servian noble, the son-in-law of the sovereign, was taken, together with other prisoners of importance, to the tent of the Turkish monarch, where, throwing himself at his feet, he gave every token of submission. Amurath was completely off his guard, and the Servian, suddenly leaping up, drew forth a dagger, with which he stabbed the Ottoman in a mortal part. The dying Sultan ordered the Servian King to be instantly beheaded in his presence, and soon afterwards expired as he sat upon the throne.

In the achievement of these conquests, the Turks were aided by the renowned body of Prætorian troops called Janizaries. The corps was first established by Ala-eddin, the brother and Grand Vizier of Orchan; but it was afterwards remodelled by Amurath. The Mohammedan law gives to the Sultan a fifth part of the spoil and captives taken in battle, and from the most vigorous of the Christian prisoners was formed a body-guard of picked troops, who accompanied the sovereign in all his expeditions, and were retained in close proximity to his person. They were of course obliged to adopt the Mohammedan faith, and doubtless became in time as fanatical as any of their fellow-believers. Their name was derived from a speech delivered by a famous Dervish, who, being asked to bless the troop shortly after its formation, laid his white sleeve on the head of one of the young men, and said, "Let them be called *Jeni-cheri* (the new soldiers). May their countenances be ever bright! May their hands be victorious, their swords keen, and their spears always hanging over the heads of their enemies! Wherever they go, may they return with a white (or shining) face!" By the establishment of this force, a standing army of professional warriors was created in the Turkish dominions, long before such an institution was known in the countries of North-western Europe. Although distinguished by all the insolence of a Prætorian soldiery, the Janizaries retained their power and their privileges for about five hundred years; and the Sultans of Turkey, like the Roman Emperors, the Caliphs of Baghdad, and the puppets of the Mamelukes in Egypt, were often the slaves of a military dictation which had been intended for the promotion of their grandeur and ambition.

The next Sultan of the Ottoman Turks was Bayazid, sometimes, though incorrectly, called Bajazet. He inherited all the military virtues of his race, and moved from point to point with such startling rapidity that he acquired the surname of *Ilderim*, or the Lightning. His character was deformed by an unrelenting ferocity, and the

noral nature of the Turks deteriorated during his reign. But, regarding Bayazid simply as a barbarian soldier, it must be acknowledged that his abilities were great. The northern part of Anatolia, or Asia Minor, was conquered by his arms, and several of the Seljukian principalities submitted to his superior power. In 1391 he took the city of Philadelphia, the last Greek town in Asia Minor which remained faithful to the Byzantine Empire; and this crowning misfortune was absolutely assisted by the reigning monarch. John Palæologus had died shortly before the capture of Philadelphia, and was succeeded in the throne by his younger son, Manuel, the elder brother, Andronicus, being excluded, and deprived of his sight, on account of a conspiracy in which he had engaged with Sauzes, the son of Amurath, against the lives of their fathers. Manuel found himself in a condition of such pitiable weakness, that, hoping to obtain the friendship of the formidable Mohammedan, he actually aided him in the reduction of Philadelphia, which was gallantly defended by the Greek commander in charge of the post. The Byzantine Empire was now confined to a small part of Thrace, the provinces of Macedonia and Greece, and a few islands of the Ægean. But it was not simply the Greek dominion that suffered from the encroachments of Turkish power. Even in the reign of Amurath I., the Ottomans had penetrated beyond the Danube, and annexed Wallachia to their realm. In 1396, under the rule of Bayazid, a confederated army of 100,000 Christians, commanded by Sigismund, King of Hungary, was defeated at Nicopolis, on the southern bank of the great river, by the forces of the Turkish Sultan. Intoxicated by his success, the victor boasted that in a little while he would besiege the Hungarian capital, subdue Germany and Italy, and feed his horse with a bushel of oats on the altar of St. Peter at Rome. But these were matters beyond his power. It is stated that in the battle of Nicopolis the Turks themselves lost 60,000 men, while the greater number of the Christians were slain, or driven into the Danube. However this may have been, it is certain that, although the defeat of the latter was of the most crushing description, their triumph was purchased at a heavy price by the Moslems. Nevertheless, Constantinople was threatened by the arms of Bayazid, and Manuel endeavoured, but ineffectually, to obtain support from the French monarch, Charles VI. Bayazid exacted a tribute from the Greek Emperor, and insisted that a Cadi should be established at Constantinople, and that the Mohammedan religion should be freely practised there. Manuel trembled for the independence of his capital, and Bayazid was preparing to seize the Imperial prize, when he was confronted by another Oriental sovereign, whose power proved superior to his own.

We have seen that the portentous Empire created by the Mongolian conqueror, Genghis Khan, broke up into numerous divisions not long after the death of that hero. The hordes of Central Asia to which Genghis himself belonged speedily returned to their original obscurity, and power was exercised, not by any one imperious will, but by a number of petty chieftains, each of whom reigned over some town and the surrounding country. One of these chiefs, named Hadji Berlas, ruled at Kesh (a place to the south-east of Samarcand), where he had a nephew, who afterwards flamed over Asia as the terrible Timour. The full title of the future prodigy, translated into English, means "the fortunate, the axis of the faith, the great wolf, the master of time, the conqueror of the world." Timour signifies "iron," and a more appropriate name could hardly have been found. This mighty warrior, who used, by western writers, to be called Tamerlane, or Tamburlaine, belonged on his father's side to a Turkish tribe, but through his mother was a Mongolian, and indeed descended from the race of Genghis. The year of his birth was 1335, and at the age of twelve he was already a soldier. Nevertheless, he had but few opportunities of distinguishing himself until the year 1360, when an inroad by the Kalmucks of Jettah resulted in the subjugation of Turkistan. Hadji Berlas took to flight, together with several other chieftains; but Timour made a stand against the invaders, and, advancing at the head of a small force, persuaded the commander of the Kalmucks to confirm him in the government of Kesh. Five years later, the intruders were expelled by a rising of Turkish tribes, assisted by a powerful force under Timour, who, after leading seven expeditions against the kingdom of Cashgar, and being equally successful in other directions, became the supreme lord of Turkistan, or Great Tartary. In a war against the Kalmucks, he received a wound in the thigh, which lamed him for the rest of his life; and he was also disabled in one of his hands.* Nothing, however, diminished his marvellous activity, and, having secured the independence of the Keshites and their allied tribes, he began a career of conquest which

* It was on this account that the conqueror was called Timour-lenk, or the lame Timour; whence the corrupted name of Tamerlane.

terminated only with his life, and which constituted him, for several years, the scourge and misery of the Eastern world.

The usual Asiatic vice of cruelty was often exhibited by this conqueror; and it is related that, after a rebellion, in 1383, of the people of Herat, whom he had previously subdued, he caused two thousand of the garrison to be built up, with an alternate layer of brick and mortar, into the form of a pyramid. After the reduction of Seistan, and some operations against the Afghans, Timour issued once more from his favourite residence near Samarcand, and invaded the province of Mazanderan. This brought him within the limits of the Persian Empire, which, since the death of Abou Said, the last descendant of the Mongolian ruler Holagou, had been in a state of anarchy. For a period of more than forty years, a number of petty tyrants had contended for mastery in that ancient seat of empire; and, refusing to combine against the invader, they were now beaten in detail by the resistless warrior from Turkistan. By the close of 1387, the whole course of the Tigris and Euphrates was in possession of Timour, who confirmed the more compliant chiefs in their governments, but punished with frightful severity the inhabitants of Ispahan, who had massacred a Tartar garrison after making an insincere submission. The Christians of Georgia struggled gallantly for their independence and their faith, but, after three expeditions, were reduced to such extremity that the Prince of Tiflis accepted the religion of Mohammed, and became the friend of Timour. The Prince of Shirwan was allowed to retain his dominions, in reward for having sent to the conqueror a magnificent tribute, including nine slaves, of whom one was himself. The King of Armenia, though a Christian presiding over a people who belonged mainly to the same faith, submitted without striking a blow; but the ruler of



THE ROCK OF VAN.

Diarbekir, who possessed the whole country round Lake Van, assumed an attitude of hostility. His temerity was fatal. The fortress of Van was captured after a siege of twenty days; the fortifications were levelled with the ground; and the garrison were thrown headlong from the rock on which the town was built.

Having subdued the more important countries of Asia, Timour penetrated into the northern territory of Kiptchâk, now forming a part of Russia. This khanate had been founded by the successors of Genghis, and Timour had recently placed upon the throne a chieftain named Toktamish, who afterwards had the presumption to oppose his patron. The war with Kiptchâk lasted altogether from 1387 to 1396. The remoteness of the position proved a great hindrance to the designs of Timour; but his vast energy overcame every obstacle, and, by a rapid and daring march, he appeared on the western side of the Ural Mountains before his enemy had any conception that he was at hand. A terrible battle was fought on the 18th of June, 1391, when the army of Toktamish was entirely crushed. The Khan himself, however, was not subdued by this misfortune, and Timour was obliged to lead another mighty array against him four years later. The Tartarian army, on this and the previous occasion, is said to have extended fifteen miles from the right to the left wing; but the genius of the commander was equal to handling so enormous a body. After the enemy had been put to flight, the victor entered the tributary province of Russia, and captured one of the reigning family; but his stay in these distant regions was not much prolonged. Between the first and second of his expeditions against Toktamish, Timour extended his power over certain parts of Persia which had as yet escaped his sword, and then marched against Ahmed Jelair, the sovereign of Baghdad. Ahmed and his family fled towards the Euphrates, but were followed by Timour and forty-five Emirs, mounted on swift Arabian horses. The fugitive was speedily overtaken, and defeated after a desperate engagement; and Timour transferred the scholars and artists of Baghdad to Samarcand, the higher civilisation of which he seems to have really desired to promote.

One of the greatest achievements of this all-prevailing soldier was the conquest of Hindoostan, which he entered in 1398. His attention had been called to that country by the divisions and civil wars consequent on the death of Firuz Shah, who owned the whole of India between the Indus the Ganges. The other pretenders to the were temporarily vanquished by Sultan Mahmoud; but Timour supported the rivals of that sovereign, and declared war against his kingdom. Conducting his army through the passes that lead over the western portion of the Hindoo-Koosh, he crossed the Indus at Attock, already celebrated by the passage of Alexander the Great, and by the check imposed on Genghis Khan through the determination of his troops to advance no farther to the south-east. Timour followed in the footprints of the Macedonian hero, swept over the country of the Punjâb, and appeared before Delhi, where a race of Mohammedan kings had reigned for the last three hundred years.* By a simulated appearance of weakness on the part of his foe, Sultan Mahmoud was tempted to leave the security of his walls, and, in the external plain, was overwhelmed by the Tartarian myriads. The magnificent city of Delhi became the prize of the victor, and a general pillage and massacre rewarded the exertions of his troops. Timour then passed the Ganges, that he might smite the idolaters whom other Mohammedans had spared, and, after defeating them in several engagements, returned along the rampart of the northern hills.

His retirement (which took place in the latter part of 1398) was hastened by information of disturbances which had arisen on the confines of Georgia and Anatolia, and by jealousy of the successes achieved by Bayazid in Europe and in Asia. The conqueror of Hindoostan was now nearly sixty-five, and from his youth had pursued a life of constant fatigue, excitement, and peril. Yet his energies were in no degree impaired, and, after a few months of rest in the palaces of Samarcand, he proclaimed an expedition of seven years into the western parts of Asia. The rebellious Christians of Georgia were forced to submit, and Timour, returning from his inroad into the mountains, met the ambassadors of Bayazid, with whom affairs were discussed in no spirit of conciliation. The dispute was prolonged for more than two years, and, in the meanwhile, Timour (provoked by some hasty action on the part of his rival) attacked the town of Siwas, or Sebaste, situated within the Turkish dominions of Asia Minor, and defended by Bayazid's son, Ertoghrul, who was captured and put to death. On hearing of this circumstance, the Ottoman Sultan quitted the vicinity of Constantinople, which, as we have seen, he was threatening with his armies, and crossed the Bosphorus. But before the two potentates could join issue on the field of battle, Timour had overrun

* The history of India, from the time of Mahmoud the Ghaznevide to that of Timour, will be related in another place.

Syria, then a dependency of Egypt, the Sultan of which country (where a Circassian dynasty had recently been elevated to power by the Mamelukes) had murdered one of his ambassadors. About the same time, Baghdad revolted, and Timour, having taken the city by storm on the 9th of July, 1401, piled up 90,000 human heads in the public streets and squares.

All this while, negotiations had still been proceeding between the Tartar and the Turkish rulers, and the former, having encamped on the banks of the Araxes, made preparations for the inevitable struggle by collecting an army of 800,000 men. Each belligerent seems to have hesitated as to attacking the other; but at length it came to the knowledge of Bayazid that Timour had endeavoured to bribe several regiments of Turkomans who served under his standards. The hope of conciliation was at once destroyed, and on the 20th of July, 1402, the forces of these great opponents met each other at Angora, in the northern part of Anatolia, which the invader had reached through the Armenian mountains. Timour had thus advanced into the heart of the Ottoman dominion, and Bayazid, who had previously taken up a position near the ruins of Siwas, returned with his accustomed swiftness, on finding that the enemy had got between him and the western portion of his realm. The battle was obstinately disputed; but the Tartars were much more numerous than the Osmanlis, and the latter were driven back in desperate rout. Bayazid, who had never before tasted of disaster in the field, could not believe that his power was broken, even when he saw his shattered legions pouring in dismay from the field of contest. Surrounded by his Janizaries, he long refused to fly, and, taking up his station on a neighbouring hill, obstinately held his ground until nearly all his companions had died of thirst, or of their wounds. After nightfall, he endeavoured to escape; but his horse stumbled and fell, and the Sultan of the Ottoman Turks became a prisoner to his invincible antagonist. The treatment of the fallen monarch by his successful foe has been made the subject of many contradictory statements. According to some accounts, Bayazid was treated with kindness and generosity; according to others, he suffered the worst indignities of an insolent and cruel enemy. But the well-known story, that he was carried about from place to place in a cage, until at length he died in 1403, appears to be an exaggeration, and to some extent a perversion, of what really occurred. The cage was probably a covered litter, or palanquin, suspended between two horses—a conveyance which, as such vehicles were usually assigned to the ladies of the harem, may have been surrounded with lattice-work.

The defeat of Bayazid had important consequences. It was followed by the reduction of Asia Minor, by the reinstatement of several Seljukian princes, and by an attack on Smyrna, which, after a magnificent defence by the Knights of Rhodes, was taken by storm. All the Christians in that famous city were put to the sword, and their severed heads were projected from engines on to the decks of two European ships which rode at anchor in the harbour. The Byzantine Emperor Manuel made humble submission to the victor; the Turkish ruler of Thrace was equally subservient; and Europe trembled before the prospect of a fresh inroad of merciless barbarians from the East. From this affliction and disgrace it was saved by the fortunate circumstance that Timour did not possess a single vessel wherein to transport his soldiers across the narrow seas which barred his way. For once, the Christians and the Turks acted in concert, and guarded the Bosphorus and the Hellespont with ships and fortresses. Encouraged by mutual support, they had even the spirit to refuse Timour the transports he demanded; and the baffled conqueror, turning with fierce impatience from the West, directed his thoughts towards the extreme East, where he meditated a conquest even greater than any he had yet achieved. When, in 1404, he returned to Samarcand for a brief period of repose, after a campaign which had lasted nearly five years, it was with the design of shortly setting out upon no less an enterprise than the subjugation of China.

At the head of his numerous armies, Timour passed the Sihoon on the ice, and, having marched three hundred miles, pitched his camp in the neighbourhood of Otrar. He was in his seventieth year, and fatigue brought on a fever which was aggravated by the use of iced water. On the 19th of February, 1405, this embodied curse of the human race quitted a world which he had desolated for more than a generation. Although not incapable of generous and noble actions, Timour was at the mercy of his passions, like most other Oriental despots; and, if only a tenth part of what is related be true, his ferocity was monstrous in its fell proportions. His genius as a warrior was undoubtedly most remarkable; for not only did he subdue a large portion of the world, but he encountered, and always victoriously, the greatest military races of his time. Yet his desire of conquest was a diseased appetite, which grew more voracious with each successive gratification. The best thing related of him is the

wish to promote art and science in his native country, and to advance his own intellectual culture by intercourse with men of genius. Still, he established nothing permanent, and the vast Empire which he had violently created, and which was ruled by a policy of terror, fell to ruin almost immediately after his decease. Asia Minor was recovered by Mohammed I., the son and successor of Bayazid. Many other of Timour's conquests in the west and north were lost in a few years; but in Persia his descendants reigned for a century, and, for three times that period, others of his race prevailed in India under the title of the Great Moguls.

Though ultimately recovering itself to the full, the Empire of the Ottoman Turks had been temporarily shattered by the successes of Timour. After the death of Bayazid, and the withdrawal of the Tartarian conqueror, the succession to the throne was disputed by four sons of the late Sultan, and for several years a state of civil war prevailed, in which sometimes one prince, and sometimes another, acquired a precarious superiority. At length, in 1413, Mohammed became sole monarch of the Ottoman possessions, and ruled without dispute until his death eight years later. Asia Minor, as we have said, was recovered by his arms, and the Seljukian princes were expelled from the thrones in which they had been reinstated by Timour. Mohammed I., though usually successful, had to lament, among other reverses, the destruction of his fleet off Gallipoli, where it was attacked by the Venetians in 1416. One of the internal troubles of his reign proceeded from a revolt of Dervishes, who, assembling near Ephesus, propounded some of the most extreme doctrines of communistical democracy. But, on the whole, Mohammed enjoyed good fortune and success. He died of apoplexy in 1421, after a visit to the Emperor Manuel at Constantinople, where he had been entertained with great splendour. His host, the sovereign of Byzantium, survived him four years, and, when he expired, left to his successor a dominion which extended but few miles beyond the walls of Constantinople. Manuel had earned the gratitude of Mohammed by supporting him against his brothers; but he adopted a different policy towards Amurath II., in opposition to whose claims he advanced the pretensions of a person named Mustapha, a reputed son of Bayazid, whom he aided with a military force, which for a time obtained some important

...Amurath laid siege to Constantinople
...rength of the walls baffled him;
...ately have prevailed, had he
Asia by a domestic revolt.

Manuel II. died in 1425, and was succeeded by John VII., who reigned over his miserably-contracted dominions by favour of the Sultan, rather than by right of independent strength.

The prostration of the Eastern Empire was seen not merely in its inability to cope with the Ottomans, but in a growing disposition to make terms with Rome. The predominance of a Mohammedan power in the western parts of Asia might reasonably have suggested the prudence of promoting union between the two divisions of the Christian world. On the other hand, it is not to be forgotten that Rome required absolute submission, and that the success of the Greek Empire, in its better days, had depended not a little on the determination with which it rejected all subserviency to the Pontiffs. Nevertheless, the Emperor John VI. made a complete submission to the Western Church, and in 1369 actually went in person to Italy, that he might cast himself at the feet of the Pope. His predecessors, Andronicus III. and John Cantacuzene, had opened negotiations with the Pontiffs of their day, but had made nothing like the abject renunciation of independence which disgraced the reign of John VI. The mother of this prince was Anne of Savoy, a member of the Western Church herself, who doubtless did her utmost to move her son in the same direction. A flattering reception by Pope Urban V. increased the enthusiasm of the Greek monarch; but the hope of military succour was quickly disappointed. Neither the French King nor any other potentate showed the least disposition to save the Eastern Empire from its impending ruin; and John returned to Constantinople with the consciousness of a futile humiliation, and of a doom which nothing could avert. In 1400, Manuel II. performed another journey to the West, and, after landing on Venetian territory, proceeded first to Paris, and afterwards to London, but without obtaining any help in his direful need. A fifth attempt followed in 1438, under the last but one of the Byzantine Emperors. An invitation to the Council of Bâle —which had assembled in December, 1431, in the hope of composing the Hussite difficulties, and of removing other causes of dissension—was sent to John VII. by Pope Eugenius IV. The actions of this Council, like those sanctioned at Constance, were directed against the despotism of the Papal chair; the grand object of both assemblies being to increase the power of the Church as a commonwealth, rather than as a monarchy. Eugenius resented any diminution of his prerogative, and thought that an alliance with the Greek Emperor

might strengthen him in a policy of resistance. John VII. probably anticipated some advantage to himself as a sovereign threatened with extinction by a Mohammedan power; and he therefore willingly journeyed to the banks of the Rhine, that he might be prepared to take advantage of any fortunate conjuncture.

The Council of Bâle led to no agreement between the Church and the Pope, nor was the reception of Palæologus such as he expected or desired. Eugenius at length summoned another Council, which, in 1438–42, met first at Ferrara, and afterwards at Florence; in the latter of which cities an act of union was subscribed by the Pope, the Emperor, and the principal members of both Churches. The great doctrinal difference between the East and the West—that having reference to what is understood by the Procession of the Holy Ghost—was evaded rather than removed by a formula which was supposed to harmonise the views of both parties. The final statement of this vexed question was to the effect that the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Father *and* the Son, as from one principle and one substance; that he proceeds *by* the Son, being of the same nature and substance; and that he proceeds from the Father *and* the Son by one spiration and production.* By the same instrument, the Greeks accepted the Roman dogmas with respect to Purgatory, the use of unleavened bread in the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, the supremacy of the Pope, and some other matters. The 6th of July, 1439, was rendered memorable by the solemn ratification of this agreement. The representatives of the Greeks and Latins assembled in the Cathedral of Florence, when Cardinal Bessarion, a Greek who had recently been promoted to that dignity, and Cardinal Julian, a member of the Western Church, read the act of union in their respective tongues, and fraternally embraced before the people. The Council of Bâle, finding itself out-manœuvred, insensibly melted away during the next few years; Felix V., the rival Pope whom it had set up in antagonism to Eugenius, renounced his equivocal position in 1449, after the accession of Nicholas V.; and John VII. returned at once to Constantinople, with the Patriarch and other dignitaries who had accompanied him to the West. The result of the negotiations had been highly advantageous to the reigning Pope; but they were productive of no good to the unfortunate Emperor. He carried back with him to the East neither tangible assistance, nor any definite promise of succour; and he had outraged his own people by what was held to be the grossest heresy and the most abject subservience. The discontent was so great as to threaten a rebellion; and Demetrius, the brother of the Emperor, who had shared the apostasy of his sovereign, and who, when at Florence, had not scrupled to accept Pontifical favours, actually appeared in arms in the neighbourhood of Constantinople, and would probably have seized the throne, had he found adequate support among the people.

Constantinople itself shared the impending ruin of the Empire. Even in the time of John VI., the principal streets of the Eastern capital were bordered by ranges of dilapidated mansions, from which their owners had stripped the costly marbles, architectural columns, tesselated pavements, and brilliant mosaics of more prosperous days, that they might dispose of them to the merchant-princes of Genoa and Venice. Even the State itself joined in this ignominious traffic, and dismantled the churches, and other public buildings, for the sake of what their ornaments would fetch. In the meanwhile, the fortifications of the city were neglected; and when John VI. ventured to strengthen the defences of the Golden Gate—for which purpose he employed large blocks of marble, derived from several of the Constantinopolitan churches—he was imperiously commanded by Sultan Bayazid to level his work with the ground. John had no choice but to obey, and it was shortly after this miserable confession of weakness that he breathed his last. Sunk in frivolity, licentiousness, and sloth, the Byzantine population either disbelieved in their approaching fate, or regarded it with indifference. Some of them even imitated the dress and manners of the Turks; none exhibited the firmness and resolution which could alone have averted their doom.

The Greek race was, in fact, worn out. It still retained some of its versatile mobility, but its creative power and military force were gone. The constructive genius of the Romans, which had survived in the institutions of the Byzantine Empire, had equally disappeared; and an effete people, governed by a rigid system of administration, from which the spirit of vitality had departed, were now brought face to face with an energetic nation of warriors, possessed of many manly virtues, and capable of ruling in a mood of stern but equable justice. The political system of Orchan secured the prosperity of his subjects, and erected a new and vigorous Empire on the ruins of the old. Order was established amongst the conquerors by the creation of a feudal system, consisting of what

* Gibbon, chap. 66.

were called Timars, Ziamets, and Beyliks, which were grants of land carrying with them the obligation of providing a military force for the service of the State in case of need. These fiefs were hereditary in the male line; and when a certain number of grants had been grouped together, the district was placed under an officer who bore the title of Sandjak Bey. Sandjak means a standard or flag, to which was generally attached the command of five thousand horse; and to each Bey (a rank equivalent to that of lieutenant-colonel in European armies) was given a horse's tail as a distinctive mark of command, the horse being a symbol of power among the Ottomans, as with other tribes originally Tartarian and nomadic. The chief political functionary was the Vizier—a word signifying "the bearer of burdens." The Cadias- charged with legal duties, and under ere placed the Muftis, or expounders w. The General Council, formed by the great officials when they assembled for business, was called the Divan, of which, in the absence of the Sultan, the Grand Vizier was the president. One of the most remarkable of the laws of Orchan was the tribute of children imposed on every Christian land subjected by his sword. This tribute, which was not legally abolished until 1685, furnished the somewhat attenuated ranks of the Ottomans with vigorous recruits, who ultimately modified the character of the conquering race itself. They were generally taken about the age of eight, and educated in the religion of Mohammed and the service of the Empire; and the depression of the Greek Christians was so excessive that the tax met with little opposition. On the whole, the Ottomans, in their earlier days, were not unjust; their dealings with the Christians were even-handed, and often generous; and it was a maxim of the Turkish law that "the bended head should not be stricken off."



SMYRNA.



THE BATTLE OF AGINCOURT.

CHAPTER XLVI.

FRANCE, ENGLAND, AND GERMANY.

Social Changes at the Beginning of the Fifteenth Century—Reign of Henry IV. of England—Insurrection of the Welsh under Owen Glendower—Troubles with the Scots and the Northumbrians—Captivity of James I. of Scotland—Reign of Henry V. —War with France, and Battle of Agincourt—Results of the English Victory—Destructive Factions in France—Further Operations of Henry V., who is declared Heir to the French Crown—Death of Henry and of Charles VI.—Struggles of the Patriotic Party South of the Loire—Desperate Condition of France at the Accession of Charles VII.—Renewal of the War—Embarrassments of the Regent Bedford—Siege of Orleans by the English—Rupture with Philip of Burgundy—Early Life of Joan of Arc—Her Supposed Visions and Supernatural Commission—Arrival at Orleans, and Relief of the City—Subsequent Operations of Joan—Her Capture by the Burgundians, and Delivery to the English—Trial, Sentence, and Execution, of the Maid of Orleans—Historic Doubts as to the Execution—Decline of the English Cause in France—Alliance of the Duke of Burgundy with Charles VII.—Repeated Disasters to the English—Conclusion of the War—Dissensions of the Western Church, and Loss of Influence with the People—Spread of Dissent—Persecution of the Lollards in England—Execution of Sir John Oldcastle—Agitation in Bohemia in Support of the Hussites—Insurrection of the Populace under John Ziska—Extraordinary Career of that Commander—War with the Empire—Conclusion of Peace on Terms Favourable to the Reformers—Death of the Emperor Sigismund, and Brief Reign of Albert of Austria—Succession of Frederick of Styria.

BRILLIANTLY as the traditions of chivalry had been illustrated during the reign of Edward III., the institution itself showed unmistakable signs of decadence by the beginning of the fifteenth century. Feudalism was gradually giving place to the power of kings and ministers; politics were becoming scientific; the lives of the barons were acquiring a more peaceful and refined character; and even the castles in which they dwelt, and where they still surrounded themselves with men-at-arms and steel-clad retainers, were entering on that transition period which, in another hundred years, converted the fortress into the mansion. Tournaments became less frequent, and the alteration in the methods of warfare resulting from the use of firearms brought the common soldier into a position of greater importance than he had occupied before. It is true that the feudal system was not yet extinct, and that, so far as England was concerned, it did not succumb until the Wars of the Roses,

in the second half of the century. But change had set in many years before, and the increasing power of the monarch was the measure of the declining strength of the nobles. Together with the sovereign, the people themselves, in some countries, were asserting and obtaining an additional influence in the conduct of affairs. The dumb and hopeless subjection of earlier times had passed; the burgesses were rising into importance; wealth was checking the insolence of birth; the towns were forming a balance to the country; and society was no longer divided between a truculent aristocracy and an abject herd of serfs.

It would seem that the English nobility, on the accession of Henry IV. in 1399, dreaded what might be the policy of a revolutionary sovereign; for several of their body entered into a conspiracy against him in the following year, and the plot was not suppressed without the execution of several distinguished persons. This was soon followed by a rising of the Welsh under Owen Glendower, which, however, must be regarded as a national, and not as a class, movement. The Welsh had undoubtedly, since the era of the conquest, been treated with great hardship. The fact was partly due to their own disorderly, idle, and predatory habits, which rendered government by gentler methods an exceedingly difficult task; but it cannot be denied that the English rule was that of naked force, and that it deeply wounded the feelings of a proud and sensitive race, smarting with the memory of nearly a thousand years' misfortune. Glendower himself had some personal grievances to resent, for which he could obtain no remedy; and the bards fed his vanity, and excited his ambition, by ascribing to him supernatural powers. He laid claim to the throne of Wales in 1400; and a war ensued, which continued throughout the reign of Henry IV., and almost until the death of the fiery warrior himself, in 1415, more than two years after the accession of Henry V. The insurrection, which was at first of the most serious character, and involved some defeats of the English, at length dwindled into a number of petty incursions into the territories occupied by the King's troops; but it showed how deeply seated was the sentiment of nationality in the breasts of these half-savage mountaineers. Henry IV. personally conducted some of the operations in the field, but was repeatedly baffled by the obstinacy of the Welsh, and the difficult nature of the country in which his armies had to operate.

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aneous action of the Scots. The latter pretended that King Richard was alive, and resident at their court; and they invaded the northern counties of England, in order, as they said, to restore him to the throne. Two of their armies, however, were defeated in 1402, and, on the second of these occasions, the English forces were commanded by Harry Percy, eldest son of the Earl of Northumberland—a youthful hero, known both to history and to the readers of Shakspeare as Hotspur. The Northumberland family had been among the most powerful supporters of the reigning monarch, and were border chieftains renowned for their antagonism to the Scots. Soon afterwards, however, they turned against the King, and leagued with Owen Glendower, and with the Scottish Earl Douglas, in a formidable insurrection, which Henry had the utmost trouble in suppressing, and which was twice renewed at later periods. The history of this short reign is indeed little else than a detail of revolts and conspiracies; yet Henry retained his power to the last. He took some part in French affairs, but gained little credit in a field where his son and successor was to gather so many laurels. The wars with Scotland were more important, and attended by more fortunate results, but were of a nature which it is distressing to recall. During a truce with the northern kingdom in 1405, the youthful heir to the Scottish throne was taken prisoner while on a voyage to France, and, though he succeeded to the crown, as James I., in the following year, was detained in a sort of honourable captivity until 1424. James was a scholar and a poet, and his compositions still charm by their sweetness, grace, and gentle fervour. Robert II., the grandfather of this prince, was the first of the celebrated House of Stuart, afterwards so intimately, and for the most part so disastrously, connected with the annals of England.

Henry IV. died on the 20th of March, 1413, worn out in his forty-seventh year by the anxieties of a throne not regularly obtained, nor very illustriously filled. The reign of Henry V. is mainly associated with the second of the two great French wars by which the mediæval history of our country is distinguished. Reviving the claim which had been put forward by Edward III., but which we have seen had no good foundation, young Henry (now about twenty-five years of age) opened negotiations with the French court, in the hope that he should obtain some recognition of his alleged right. The time seemed favourable for the advancement of such a demand. Although the great houses of Burgundy and Orleans had come to a species of grudging agreement, the angry feeling of their partisans had by no means subsided, and

France was suffering from the exhaustion of civil broils. While, however, making formal assertion of his claim to the French crown, Henry took care to open the door to a compromise. He would be content if he received the hand of the Princess Katharine in marriage, together with the restitution of Normandy, and of all the provinces ceded by the treaty of Bretigny. The alternative was to be war; and, after a vain attempt to secure more favourable conditions, the French Government and people prepared for the worst. The English King landed at the mouth of the Seine on the 14th of August, 1415; took the city of Harfleur after a month's siege; and was about to follow up his success when dysentery broke out among his troops, and so seriously reduced their numbers as to compel a retreat. It was in the course of this retreat—which was conducted through Ponthieu and Picardy towards Calais, where Henry proposed to go into winter quarters—that the celebrated battle of Agincourt was fought.

The French army, consisting mainly of Orleanists, was posted on the line of the Somme, and orders were given to prevent the English crossing that river. At two points in succession, the invaders were foiled in their endeavours to effect the passage; but Henry ascended the stream, and, finding an unguarded ford higher up, got safely to the other side on the 19th of October. He was now on the north-eastern bank of the Somme, and no great natural obstacle lay between him and Calais. The French had been so completely out-manœuvred that the Constable d'Albret, who commanded the royal forces, knew nothing of the English movement until it had been accomplished. He then drew up his forces on a narrow plain between the villages of Agincourt (or Azincourt) and Framecourt; and here, on the 25th of October—St. Crispin's Day—he encountered the English, and sustained a terrible reverse. The invaders were few in number, and weakened by disease; they had consumed the eight days' stock of provisions with which they had set out, and were nearly starving; the French were a formidable multitude; and Henry proposed terms of accommodation, even offering to resign his claim to the French throne if he were allowed to pass. But his advances were repelled, and he prepared for battle. A thick wood bordered the plain on both sides, and, as at Poitiers, the numerical superiority of the French was obliterated by the insufficiency of open space in which to deploy their forces, and to give free scope to their mounted knights. This was a most fortunate circumstance for the English, whose numbers did not exceed 12,000 at the most. That the Constable had with him as many as 150,000 men, as some accounts allege, seems improbable; but his forces were unquestionably much larger than those of his adversary. A brilliant array of nobles and commoners stood across the narrow valley or plain, and blocked the way. Here was a desperate obstacle to be overcome, or Calais would never be reached, and the small army of invaders, oppressed by the consciousness of their situation, would be crushed and annihilated. When he broke up from Harfleur, Henry had issued a proclamation, announcing, in rather boastful fashion, that he and his English would march across the open country to Calais, in despite of the French. He might have removed his forces by sea, for he had the ships in which he had brought them; but it was considered necessary to his honour that he should encounter the enemy in the field, and it could not be doubted that he would meet with the French somewhere in the broad tract of land between Harfleur and Calais. In the neighbourhood of Agincourt they were drawn up to answer the challenge.

The weather had been rainy for some time past, and the ground occupied by the French cavaliers was converted into a slough of mud, into which the horses, oppressed by the weight of their riders, who had remained in the saddle for several hours, sank nearly up to their bodies. The chill October night passed anxiously for both armies; but the French seem to have calculated on success, while the English, fully understanding the gravity of the situation, occupied their time in silently preparing their weapons for the morrow's combat, and especially in putting new cords to those terrible bows which were still the main strength of our armies. As the dawn broke, they confessed to their priests, and were then led to a green field fronting the morass in which the French were half engulphed. Each man had been directed beforehand to prepare a sharp-pointed stake; and these, being now planted in close order like a palisade, gave protection against the charges of cavalry. But the French knights were scarcely able to stir, owing to the heaviness of the soil; the English were in continual movement; and the flights of yard-long arrows, thronging forth from their rapidly advancing and receding lines, smote hundreds with sudden death, or grievous wounds. Driven back upon their own ranks, which were thirty-two deep, those who had galloped forward to the charge carried confusion and dismay among their comrades. The air was filled with wild and terrible noises—the clash of armour as the dismounted knights rolled over in huge and ruinous

heaps, the heavy fall of horses, the cries of the wounded, the shouts and execrations of the others. In the midst of this turmoil, the English threw aside their palisade of stakes, and, grasping the hatchets which they carried for close combat, rushed on the first line of the enemy, which was annihilated with scarcely an attempt at resistance. The second line displayed a worthier spirit. Repeated charges drove the English archers into the neighbouring woods, whence the storm of their arrows still broke forth, carrying death with every flight. It was now that Henry himself mingled in the fray. Resplendent in complete armour, with a golden crown surmounting his helmet, and preceded by the royal standard of England, the King fought for two desperate hours against the chivalry of France, and helped materially to decide the fortune of the day. Henry was twice in peril of his life. Once he was felled by the blow of a mace; shortly afterwards, the crown upon his helmet was cleft by the Duke of Alençon. But nothing could withstand the valour and persistence of the English. The French army was vanquished and put to the rout; the great lords who still survived delivered up their swords to the conqueror; more than a hundred princes and noblemen lay slain, together with eleven thousand of the commoner sort; and the English remained masters of the field. It was a combat worthy of the pen of Froissart; but Froissart had been dead five years.

The success of Henry's starveling forces was sullied by the massacre of the prisoners, who, shortly after the conclusion of the engagement, were slaughtered at the command of the victor, on a false report that a fresh division of the enemy had attacked the rear, and that the fugitives were forming afresh. Altogether, the blow was of the most crushing character; but the English monarch was in no condition to take advantage of his triumph. He had lost sixteen hundred men out of his small army; the others were too much exhausted for pursuit; and nothing remained but to journey on to Calais, and thence embark for England. France was once more thrown into a state of disruption, rendered additionally disgraceful by the open profligacy of Queen Isabella, consort of the unfortunate Charles VI. A coalition was at length formed between the Queen and the Duke of Burgundy; civil war again broke out; the Armagnacs, or Orleanists, were massacred in the streets of Paris in 1418; and the nation itself seemed in the very throes of dissolution. Henry of England had again landed in Normandy during [illegible]ous year, and had taken Caen, Bayeux, and other towns. Rouen was besieged later on, and capitulated in January, 1419. The whole of Normandy submitted to the invader, and Henry, refusing to negotiate, set his forces towards Paris. In the presence of this danger, the Burgundians and the Orleanists came to a temporary agreement; but, in September of the same year, Jean, Duke of Burgundy, the treacherous assassin of Louis, Duke of Orleans, was himself assassinated at an interview with the Dauphin on the bridge of Montereau. The son of the murdered man, who succeeded him in the dukedom, is known as Philip the Good. He immediately formed an alliance with the English, in the hope of avenging his father's death; and perhaps, under all the circumstances of the time, no better step could have been taken for restoring tranquillity to France. Negotiations were opened at Arras, and on the 2nd of December an understanding was effected, by which it was arranged that Henry should marry the Princess Katharine, should act as Regent during the life of Charles VI., and should be declared heir to the French throne. It was also settled that the crowns of England and France should thenceforth be permanently united; and the Dauphin was expressly excluded from all recognition. The marriage of Henry took place at Troyes on the 2nd of June, 1420; but on the 31st of August, 1422, the conqueror of France expired at Vincennes, shortly after entering his thirty-fifth year. Less than two months later, the imbecile Charles passed away from the weary life which he had borne in mental darkness, seldom relieved by any gleams of light, for thirty years. The death of these two men closed an epoch in French history, and opened another of still greater importance both to France and England.

Even before the decease of Henry V., military operations had been resumed against that portion of the French people which adhered to the Dauphin, and it was during an expedition against the young prince that the English monarch was stricken with the hand of death. Assisted by a Scottish force under the Earl of Buchan, the heir to the French crown had maintained a gallant struggle, and even achieved an important victory over the Duke of Clarence, brother of Henry V.; but when Henry himself again entered the field, his genius as a commander once more predominated, and the Dauphin was confined to the provinces south of the Loire. It was indeed a precarious and painful inheritance to which Charles VII. succeeded after the death of his father on the 21st of October, 1422. A large part of his native country had been torn away by a foreign invasion; the

Burgundians had made common cause with the English; and it was a question whether the independence of France had not been finally destroyed. The people were so wearied with the civil strife of many years that a large number accepted with positive satisfaction the transfer of the French crown to the King of England. Had Henry V. survived, it is possible, though perhaps not probable, that the English rule would have been confirmed; but the removal of that great conqueror acted as an encouragement to the patriotic party. Charles VII. was a person of very indifferent character, both intellectually and morally; yet he represented the national sentiment, which, though eclipsed for a while, was not extinct. He lost no time in assuming the crown at Poitiers, and in fixing his government at Bourges; but, at the same moment, Henry VI., the infant son of Henry V., was proclaimed the successor of his father, not only in England, but in France itself, and John, Duke of Bedford, the uncle of the royal child, was appointed to the Regency at Paris. Bedford was supported by Philip of Burgundy, and in 1423 a personal union was effected between these princes by the marriage of the English Regent to the sister of the Burgundian Duke.

The early part of the Regency was distinguished by great successes over the French, and by the discomfiture of their allies, consisting principally of fifteen hundred men furnished by the Duke of Milan, and six thousand Scots under the Earl of Douglas. In his last expedition to the Continent, Henry V. had taken with him the captive King, James I., in order that the Scots fighting under French banners should be placed in the predicament of acting against their own sovereign; and the conqueror of France actually hanged some of his Scottish prisoners, on the pretence that they were rebels. When James was at length released, in 1424, it was on the understanding that he would not permit any more of his subjects to enter the French service; and those who were already there fell in battle soon after. The prospects of the young sovereign, Charles VII., appeared so desperate that he contemplated a speedy escape from France; but at this juncture the Duke of Bretagne openly declared for the legitimate monarch, and the Duke of Bedford was likewise embarrassed by the mutual antagonism of the Duke of Gloucester, who occupied the position of Regent in England, and of Bishop Beaufort, the boyish King's great-uncle, who had charge of the royal person and education. It was as much as Bedford could do to maintain his position in France without any diminution of power. The country beyond the Loire was left to the enemy, and it was not until the latter part of 1428 that operations were commenced in that direction.

The siege of Orleans—a city giving command of the provinces beyond the Loire—was opened on the 12th of October by the Earl of Salisbury, and, on the death of that nobleman from a cannon-shot, was continued by the Earl of Suffolk. Soon afterwards, a dissension arose between the Regent Bedford and the Duke of Burgundy, who had already been offended by the marriage of Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, with Jacqueline, Countess of Hainault and Holland, who had obtained a divorce from her former husband, the Duke of Brabant, Philip's cousin. This unfortunate circumstance created an irritable feeling in the mind of the powerful Burgundian; but it was not until after the investment of Orleans had commenced that Bedford's ally came to an open rupture with the English. The new quarrel was consequent on a difference of opinion between himself and the Regent with reference to the prosecution of the siege. Philip was willing to withdraw, on the understanding that the citizens would capitulate without further resistance. The Regent refused to ratify this undertaking, and Philip, retiring to Flanders in a fiery and resentful mood, ordered all his vassals to quit the English service. This was a great blow to the cause of the invaders; but Orleans was still in danger, and Charles VII. knew not where to look for the succour which was necessary to his existence as a sovereign, but which seemed denied him on all hands.

It came, however, in a way the most unexpected, and from a quarter which no one could have supposed. A peasant-girl, named Jeanne d'Arc, but better known to English readers as Joan of Arc, was at that time dwelling in her native village of Domremy, on the frontiers of Champagne and Lorraine.* She was a person of profound religious impressions, an enthusiast and a visionary. As she worked in the fields, or traversed the deep woods, she saw celestial apparitions, and heard strange voices, compelling her thoughts to the unhappy condition of the King, and exhorting her to assist in his rescue. According to her own account, given at a later period, these heavenly revelations began when she was about thirteen years of age; but she was eighteen before they induced her to take any active measures. The people of Domremy and the neighbourhood were

* This celebrated heroine is generally called Jeanne d'Arc by French writers,—by English, Joan of Arc. It would seem that the proper spelling is *Darc*.

noted, even in those times, for their superstitious credulity; and a prophecy of Merlin's was current among them, that a virgin should rid France of her enemies. It is quite conceivable that the knowledge of this prophecy gave shape, direction, and colour to the visions of Joan. Nevertheless, there is no reason to doubt that she was perfectly sincere; and, if she occasionally showed human weakness in shrinking from the consequences of her acts, it must not be forgotten that, on the whole, she remained faithful to what she regarded as a divine mission, and perished at the stake rather than renounce a sacred cause. To her, France appeared as the chosen country of Heaven; the King was the lieutenant of God; and therefore the angelic powers had selected a spotless maid as the instrument of his deliverance. All this is so foreign to the modern intellect that difficult to place ourselves in the right position for judging so extraordinary a character. But in the fifteenth century the older forms of Christian faith were not yet outworn; and many persons were found to believe in Joan as fully as Joan believed in herself.

In May, 1428, the maiden of Domremy appeared before the governor of Vaucouleurs, and explained her mission, but, being received with contempt, remained in obscurity until February, 1429, four months after the formation of the siege of Orleans. Matters had by that time assumed so grave a complexion that de Beaudricourt, the commander at Vaucouleurs, abandoned his previous scepticism, and permitted Joan to set forth for Chinon, where Charles VII. was then holding his court. It was doubted at first whether her commission was divine or diabolical; but the military authorities at length determined to make use of her enthusiasm and strange self-possession. She frequently



PLACE DE LA PUCELLE, ROUEN.



EXECUTION OF JOAN OF ARC.

declared her ability to raise the siege of Orleans, and promised that Charles should be crowned king at Rheims. For Orleans, therefore, she set forth, panoplied in shining armour, mounted on a war-horse, with the banner of France in her hand, and a crowd of knights and pages gathered round her. On the way, she prayed at all the shrines, and infused into her companions the spirit of intense religious devotion which animated herself. The fame of her character, and of her marvellous prophecies, had preceded her arrival at Orleans; and when she entered the beleaguered city on the 30th of April,—obtaining admission by the river, and carrying with her a convoy of provisions,—it was thought that nothing less than a miracle had been worked. In one respect, circumstances favoured the brave peasant-girl. The assailants had only a small force—less than three thousand men—before the city they were besieging. They had sought to strengthen their position by erecting twelve large bastions round the walls; but the labour of executing these works had exhausted the troops, and the bastions, when finished, were insufficiently manned. Within the city, a number of gallant Frenchmen were prepared to do their utmost, and the presence of Joan of Arc raised their spirits to the highest. She headed the assaulting columns, and carried the English entrenchments in quick succession. On one of these occasions, she was wounded by an arrow, and for a while betrayed some natural weakness and trepidation, but speedily recovered her nerve on perceiving that the royal standard of France was in danger. The English were worsted at all points, and finally raised the siege in about a week after the arrival of Joan.

The humble peasant of Domremy, now called the Maid of Orleans, was soon afterwards placed in command of a detachment for operation in the open field. The invaders were defeated at Jargeau and Patay: in the second action, the brave and gallant Talbot, one of the most successful of the English generals, was taken prisoner. Troyes and Rheims surrendered without resistance, and in the middle of July, 1429, Charles VII. was crowned in the cathedral of the latter city. Joan, however, was not uniformly successful. In an attack on Paris, she and her companions were repulsed with great loss, and the Maid herself was again wounded with an arrow. During the spring of 1430, she entered the town of Compiègne, then besieged by the English and Burgundians (who were once more acting in concert), and was captured in a sally which she headed. The Burgundian commander, John of Luxemburg, kept her for some time in his fortress of Beaurevois, near Cambrai, but ultimately, at the instigation of Philip of Burgundy, and in consideration of a money payment, handed her over to the English, by whom she was conducted to Rouen. Now came the strangest part of the story. That the English should have desired to revenge themselves on one who had half-ruined their cause, is not surprising when we consider the ferocious habits of those times; but the English were really far less eager for punishment than the French. The University of Paris reproached the foreign authorities then ruling in that city for their tardiness in doing justice on the Maid of Orleans; and there can be no doubt that they represented the general feeling in that part of France. The story has never been made clear to those who regard the actions of men, not through the mists of sentiment, but from the grounds of acknowledged human motives. Joan was accused of sorcery; but, as her actions, howsoever arising, had been directed to the glory and prosperity of France, it is difficult to understand why Frenchmen should have been the most eager to compass her death. Under the seal of confession, she had admitted to a priest (so, at least, it was said) that she would disregard the ordinances of the Church, if the supernatural voices directed her to the contrary. This, of course, was rank heresy; but it was not until the determination had been formed to obtain a conviction somehow that these admissions were obtained, if, indeed, they were ever obtained at all. It is clear that the great ecclesiastics hated the unhappy girl; that the people of Northern France desired her death; and that the English rather moderated the popular fury than increased it. Her trial commenced on the 21st of February, 1431, in the chapel of the castle at Rouen. The judges were Pierre Cauchon, Bishop of Beauvais (a partisan of the English), and the vicar of the Inquisitor-General of France, supported by fifty doctors of the Sorbonne. The accused was denied the assistance of an advocate, and every attempt was made to convict her from her own lips. Finally, twelve articles were drawn up, and submitted to the University of Paris. By that great authority they were confirmed, and the Maid of Orleans was found guilty of blasphemy, imposture, indecency (in the assumption of masculine dress), and schismatical opinions. For these offences the penalty was death by fire; but the English authorities thought imprisonment sufficient.

By way of compromise, Joan was required to sign an act of retractation, and, overcome by fear, she confessed herself a deceiver. She was then

condemned to perpetual seclusion on a diet of bread and water; but in two days the retractation was withdrawn, and on the 30th of May, 1431, the Maid of Orleans was burned in the market-place of Rouen, affirming to the last that she had acted in obedience to the divine commands, and that the voices which had spoken to her in solitude were the voices of heavenly spirits. A statue to her memory now stands upon the spot where the cruelty of her persecutors was satiated by a barbarous death; and, in the hearts of Frenchmen, "Jeanne la Pucelle" occupies the highest and most sacred place in the roll of national benefactors. The story of her life has doubtless been adorned by many monkish legends. It is impossible to believe that she did all she is alleged to have done, or that whole armies of courageous and war-hardened men fled without striking a blow at the mere appearance of a girl in armour with a banner in her hand. But it is perfectly easy to credit that her passionate enthusiasm kindled the drooping spirits of the French beyond the Loire, that her self-reliance acted as a cordial and comforter, and that, by stimulating resistance, she converted it, within a few months, into actual victory. Her treatment after capture is the saddest and most disgraceful incident of a miserable time. It reflects lasting discredit on the English, but much more on the people of Northern France, who demanded and enforced her death, and on the selfish and depraved monarch, Charles VII., who made not the slightest effort to save his devoted champion, either by arms or negotiation. More than twenty years after the execution of Joan, an inquiry was instituted into the circumstances attending her examination and conviction; and the result was so entirely satisfactory as to the character and objects of the Maid that her sentence was publicly reversed and cancelled. In recent times, however, doubts have been raised by a French author as to whether Joan of Arc was ever really executed. There are, in truth, some grounds for supposing that an ordinary criminal was substituted for her at the stake, and that she was permitted to escape, and married a gentleman of good position. This view has not been conclusively established, and is perhaps incapable of proof; yet some suspicion rests upon a narrative which is still generally, and perhaps properly, received.

The triumphs of Joan, great as they were, left the English in a position of command north of the Loire; but the cause of the invaders was irretrievably injured by the events of the last two years. The national spirit had been roused, and, although King Henry VI. was crowned at Paris on the 17th of December, 1431, the Duke of Bedford saw that he could not retain the whole of France, and must confine his efforts to Normandy. His wife, the sister of the Duke of Burgundy, died in November, 1432, and Philip had no longer any personal tie between himself and the English Regent. He therefore finally abandoned a cause which he had never heartily supported, except for a brief period, and which he had partially relinquished once before. In September, 1435, he concluded a peace with Charles VII., and a few days later the Duke of Bedford expired. A sudden revolt at Paris compelled the surrender of the English garrison in April, 1436, and the invaders were now confined to Normandy, and to the fortresses of Picardy, Maine, and Anjou. The numbers of the English in France were terribly reduced; but they continued the struggle with a valour and persistency which their countrymen would not be justified in forgetting, however frankly it may be admitted that their cause was bad. Lord Talbot, who had for a time been taken prisoner by Joan of Arc, was once more in the field, performing feats of valour and generalship which were truly marvellous, considering the means at his disposal. But the greatest qualities were ineffectual against so far-spread a rising of the national spirit. It was seen that the English rule in France must cease, or at least be greatly circumscribed. The Government at home offered to fall back on the treaty of Bretigny; but the triumphant French would listen to no terms. At length, in 1444, a truce was agreed upon, to last two years; and in the interval a marriage was arranged between Henry VI. (now about three-and-twenty) and Margaret, daughter of Réné, titular King of Sicily and Jerusalem. Réné had a claim on Maine and Anjou, then in the occupation of the English; and the Earl of Suffolk, who had become the chief Minister of the English sovereign, offered to relinquish those provinces, on condition of the marriage taking place. The union was solemnized at Titchfield in April, 1445, and everybody saw that it was the preliminary of a peace, based on the exclusion of the English from the conquests they had made so many sacrifices to secure. The truce with France was prolonged to the 1st of April, 1449; but, before the expiration of that period, hostilities again broke out. The struggle, however, was hopeless from the first. Charles VII. was in such complete ascendency that he was enabled to defeat the English even in the province of Normandy, where they were strongest. That portion of France was entirely lost during the summer of 1450, and, by the close of 1451, all Guienne had

been recovered by the French. Bordeaux surrendered to Charles in October, 1453, and nothing remained to the English on the Continent but the town of Calais. More than a hundred years had elapsed since Edward III. entered France as an armed claimant of the crown; and a long period of bloodshed, strife, and international ill-will, had reached its close in the ruin of futile hopes, and of an unjust design.

While these events were dividing States and princes, how did it fare with the Western Church, which for so many years had been the greatest power in Europe? The Church of Rome had, to a considerable extent, lost its hold upon the nations, though the superstitions it had encouraged were still capable of a lively growth. The Great Schism had opened men's eyes to the fact that the Church could be at issue with itself, and that its opposing sections could be as bitter and uncharitable as secular monarchies or commonwealths. The division at head-quarters, shown in rival Popes and antagonistic Councils, encouraged minor ruptures which were rather ludicrous than grave. One of the reasons why Louis of Orleans was unpopular with the Parisians, was that on some great occasion he had paid his adorations to the bones of St. Denis at the little town called after that canonized martyr, in defiance of the cherished conviction of all good citizens at the capital itself that the bones of the patron saint of France were preserved in Notre Dame. This absurd quarrel was actually espoused by the clergy of St. Denis and Paris, and a great deal of ill-will was interchanged on a subject which all rational men, or men entertaining a higher faith, would have brushed aside with scorn. Meanwhile, the spirit of dissent was gaining strength in many quarters, and nowhere more than in England, where the teachings of Wyclif, enforced and emphasised by the sect of the Lollards, were acquiring a prominence which carried dismay into the hearts of prelates and of princes. One of the many troubles of Henry IV. proceeded from this cause; for Henry, though doubtless not a fanatic himself, found it necessary to obtain the support of the Church by assuming the part of its protector. The principles of Lollardism were diffused by wandering preachers, and in 1401 an Act was passed, imposing very severe penalties on the persons thus offending. The Statute of Heretics, sanctioned in a later year, was even more relentless in its provisions. It confided to the Bishops very dangerous powers over the liberty of subject, and enabled the civil authority to be stake all who refused to abjure their who relapsed after abjuration. This was the first time in the history of our country when such a punishment was attached to heretical opinions. The statute was not allowed to remain a dead letter, for in 1410 a man named John Badbie was burned in presence of the Prince of Wales (afterwards Henry V.), for having denied Transubstantiation. Sir John Oldcastle, whose marriage gave him the title of Lord Cobham, met with a similar fate in the next reign. This brave and noble gentleman (who, in a conference with Henry himself, had told him that the Pope was "the great Antichrist foretold in Scripture, the son of perdition, and the open adversary of God") escaped from the Tower of London, in which he had been imprisoned, but was supposed to be the instigator of a large gathering of Lollards in St. Giles's Fields in 1414. The movement looked like an actual insurrection, and, to prevent the Lollards of London from being reinforced by their friends in the country, Henry secured the city gates by bodies of armed men. Thirty-nine of the principal reformers were at once executed, and, in December, 1417, Oldcastle himself (who had been captured in Wales) was hung in chains over a slow fire, and left to perish by a terrible death.

Equally serious was the movement against Roman pretensions in Bohemia. Indeed, the revolt against ecclesiasticism took a more threatening form in that kingdom than in England. The opinions of John Huss and Jerome of Prague spread rapidly in the country of the Zechs. The Parliament of Bohemia protested against the action of the Council of Constance in condemning those great reformers to the stake, and passed a law authorising landed proprietors to permit the preaching of the new doctrines on their estates. Pope Martin V. issued a Bull of excommunication against all who should adhere to the opinions of Huss; but the citizens of Prague received these orders in a spirit which showed their determination to resist the despotism of Rome. They soon found a leader in a knight named John Ziska, a man familiar with warfare under foreign standards, and a favourite of King Wenceslaus. A sister of this knight, herself a nun, had been seduced and abandoned by a monk; and Ziska, who was a man of violent passions, conceived a furious hatred of the Roman priesthood generally. After the execution of Huss, he became moody and abstracted, and would wander about his castle, muttering heavily to himself. One day, the King asked him what occupied his thoughts so gravely. He replied, "They have burned Huss; the Bohemians have been insulted at Constance; and we have done nothing to revenge ourselves or him." The King

replied that it was out of his power to do anything, but that Ziska himself was free to take any measures he liked. The old soldier immediately called the Hussites to arms; and although Wenceslaus, fearing the consequences of so bold a step, endeavoured to suppress the movement, the citizens of Prague had received an impulse which nothing could check. On the 30th of July, 1419, a riot occurred in the Bohemian capital between the Catholics and the Hussites. Thirteen of the town-councillors, who were Germans, and therefore especially distasteful to the Bohemian populace, were thrown out of window, and Ziska soon afterwards gave orders that the house of an offending ecclesiastic should be stormed, and the master himself hanged at his own door. In the midst of these commotions, Wenceslaus, who was now old, died of a fit of apoplexy, brought on either by fear or rage.

The fury of the populace soon passed all bounds. Convents and churches were attacked, and images broken to pieces, with the iconoclastic rage of a much later day. The malcontents, however, had to encounter a powerful enemy in Sigismund, the German Emperor and Hungarian King, who considered himself the successor of his brother Wenceslaus in Bohemia. When a deputation from the Hussites waited on this sovereign, he fiercely dismissed them, and the Bohemians thereupon excluded him from the throne. With an army of 40,000 men, Sigismund entered the rebellious kingdom in 1420, and at the same time Martin V. preached a crusade against the heretics. In the beginning of the campaign, the Emperor obtained some successes over the malcontents, and several Hussite priests were burned alive by his orders; but Ziska changed the current of events, and, by his wonderful powers of military administration, converted a disorderly rabble into an effective army. For protection against sudden attack, he built numerous fortresses, the principal of which was near the town of Bechin, at which point the river Moldau winds round a precipitous hill, so as to form a peninsula accessible only from one side, where the ground is scarcely forty feet across. To this hill, the Hussites, in their love of Biblical phraseology, gave the name of Mount Tabor. Themselves they entitled Taborites, and their enemies were Moabites and Amalekites. On the hill of Bechin, Ziska formed a camp, which soon grew into a town, where the commander himself had a kind of palace for his residence. From that time began the extraordinary series of successes which distinguished the life of Ziska. He defeated the Imperial forces in several battles, and in a little while made himself master of Prague. In the castle of that city he found four cannon, and was so well satisfied with their operation that he manufactured many others, and made a liberal distribution of small firearms to his infantry. It was shortly after this period that the use of guns and arquebusses became general.

The Hussite commander had previously lost one eye when fighting under the Poles; he was bereaved of the other while conducting the siege of Raby, in 1421. But the disadvantage of total blindness seems to have had no effect on his genius, vigour, and activity. He used to ride in a cart, and to arrange the order of battle by the description of the ground furnished by his officers—a description which he was enabled to correct and enlarge by his minute knowledge of Bohemia, and his singularly exact memory. One of his principal battles was fought on the 18th of January, 1422, after his complete blindness, when he was encountered by an Imperial army which comprised fifteen thousand Hungarian horsemen, the finest cavalry in Europe. The charge of Ziska's troops, however, was so terrific that the enemy gave way with scarcely any resistance, and two thousand were drowned by the breaking of the ice upon the river Igla, which they endeavoured to cross in their retreat. Another great victory was obtained during the same year at Aussig, and Sigismund soon afterwards proposed an arrangement. Hostilities continued during the negotiations; before they could be brought to a close, the Hussite leader died of a pestilence, on the 12th of October, 1424.

Ziska had drawn his sword in defence of religious freedom, a cause which confers honour on all who are its champions; but the faults of his disposition led him into excesses of the most frightful character, and he can hardly be considered as other than a scourge and an affliction to his country. He was certainly one of the greatest generals of the Middle Ages; but his cruelty equalled his abilities. On one occasion (unless his enemies belied him), he shut up several priests in pitched barrels, and, having set these on fire, exclaimed, as he heard the cries of the sufferers, "Hark to my sister's bridal-song!" The glare of blazing towns marked the progress of his armies, and he slaughtered without mercy all who opposed his views, or endeavoured to thwart his designs; though in this respect he simply emulated the barbarity of his foes. In person he was short and deformed, and the expression of his face struck terror by its savage resolution. When the Emperor Ferdinand I. visited his tomb at Czaslau, in the middle of the sixteenth century, he is said to



ZISKA AND THE HUSSITES.

have been so scared by the memory of the deceased fanatic, and by the sight of his iron war-club suspended above the sepulchre, that he rushed out of the church, and would not even remain in the town during the night. After Ziska's death, the negotiations with Sigismund were broken off. The Taborites chose for their leader a person named Procopius the Holy; other sections of the Hussite body placed themselves under different commanders; and the war continued with undiminished ferocity for another eleven years. The ruinous contest was at length terminated by the Treaty of Prague, concluded in 1435, when Sigismund was acknowledged King of Bohemia. This agreement was to a great extent brought about by the Council of Bâle, which a deputation of the Bohemians attended by invitation. The struggle had been desperate and lamentable; but it ended in securing to the Bohemians liberty of preaching, and some of their other demands. Nevertheless, the more extreme members of the Hussite communion were dissatisfied with the arrangement, and, again appealing to arms, were overthrown in a great battle near Prague.

The Emperor Sigismund died in December, 1437, and the Luxemburg dynasty came to an end with his life. He was succeeded by his son-in-law, Albert of Austria, and the Imperial dignity continued in the Austrian line until it was abolished in 1806. The Hungarians and Bohemians opposed this succession, and the electors tried to induce the Margrave of Brandenburg to accept the Imperial crown. The choice of Albert, however, was at length ratified on all hands; but, after a reign of barely two years, the new sovereign died as he was entering into hostilities with the Turks. Frederick of Styria, the oldest representative of the house of Hapsburg, was next elected; but it was not until after eleven weeks' deliberation that he accepted the oppressive honour. Ladislaus, the posthumous son of Albert, succeeded his father in Hungary and Bohemia, and Frederick was left to administer the affairs of Germany with such abilities as he possessed, which were, indeed, but slight. His reign extended to the year 1493, and therefore led nearly to the epoch of the Reformation, for which many minds, and many events, were preparing in several parts of Europe.

CHAPTER XLVII.

THE FALL OF CONSTANTINOPLE.

The First and the Last Constantine—A Retrospect of Eleven Centuries—Union of the Poles and Hungarians in Opposition to the Turks—Successes of Ladislaus and John Huniades—Conclusion of a Ten Years' Truce with Amurath II.—Breaking of the Truce by the Christians—Defeat of the Polish and Hungarian Army at Varna—State of Albania—Romantic Career of George Castriot (Scanderbeg)—Second Battle of Kossova, and Rout of the Christian Forces—Accession of Constantine XIII. to the Throne of the Eastern Empire—Disposition and Capabilities of Mohammed II., the Turkish Sultan—Early Acts of his Reign—Imprudent Policy of the Greek Emperor—Hostile Proceedings of Mohammed—Weakness of Constantinople—Construction of a Great Gun for the Turkish Siege Operations—Closing of the Bosphorus by the Sultan—Insufficiency of the Greek Forces—Submission of Constantine XIII. to the Romish Church—Indignation of his Subjects—Preparations for the Defence—Progress of the Siege Works—Commencement of the Siege on the 6th of April, 1453—Incidents of the Attack and Defence—The Turkish Fleet Conveyed Overland into the Port—The Night before the Assault—Capture of Constantinople on the 29th of May, 1453—Pillage of the City, and Enslavement of the People—First Acts of Sultan Mohammed on Taking Possession of the Eastern Metropolis—Ruin of the Emperor's Palace, and General Desolation—Depopulation of Constantinople—Measures of Reparation—The Last of the Palæologi—Diffusion of Greek Learning over the West of Europe—Entire Cessation of the Roman Empire—Conquests and Reverses of Mohammed II.—His Death in 1481.

It is one of those facts which give a fatalistic look to history, that the originator of the Byzantine Empire, and the last monarch of that ancient sovereignty, bore the same name—a name associated with the Eastern metropolis itself. Between the era of the first Constantine and that of the last, there elapsed a period of nearly eleven centuries and a half: a time of extraordinary interest and importance to the human race; a time which saw the final establishment of Christianity, the fall of the Western Empire, the triumph of the barbarians, the rise and spread of Mohammedanism, the whole course of the Saracenic dominion and the Baghdad Caliphate, the origin and progress of the Turks, the struggles of the Crusades, the passing storms of Mongolian conquest, the development of the Papal authority, the formation of the European nationalities and languages, the dawn of modern scholarship and thought, and the first approaches of political and religious freedom. For

the Eastern Empire, it had been a time of growth and decay, of pride and humiliation, of predominance and servitude. It was also a time of slow but systematic change in the very character of the realm. In the early part of the fourth century, when Constantine the Great held the sceptre, the whole Empire was Roman to all intents and purposes. The separation into East and West was not yet complete and final: the Latin genius, the Latin tongue, the Latin policy, still prevailed over all the world of the Cæsars, and compelled a brief renewal of unity. But, in the course of ages, the Roman spirit, east of the Adriatic, succumbed to the Greek; and the Empire of Constantinople was Roman only in name, and by a remote derivation.

The last of the Constantines is variously described as the eleventh, twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth of that name, according as certain doubtful monarchs are or are not reckoned in the count. He was the brother of the previous sovereign, John VII., and succeeded to the throne on the death of that prince in 1448. To have rejected so perilous and encumbered an inheritance would have been cowardly; yet Constantine might almost have been pardoned had he declined a hopeless position. Fully to understand that position, it will be necessary to make a brief retrospect. Four years previous to the accession of Constantine, the Hungarians and the Poles, then under the rule of one monarch (Ladislaus VI.), had united their forces, but with only temporary success, for the expulsion of the Ottoman Turks from the south-eastern parts of Europe. Some combined action on the part of Christendom had been suggested by Pope Eugenius IV. after the nominal union of the two Churches in 1439; and the subjects of Ladislaus were foremost in their resistance to the common enemy. Self-interest alone necessitated an effort, as the Turks were making rapid advances in the countries of the Danube. Having defeated two rival claimants to the throne, conquered the Morea, captured Salonica, and compelled the Venetians to conclude peace, Amurath II. conducted successful expeditions into Servia, Wallachia, and Transylvania. It was in 1440 that the Hungarians placed themselves under the rule of the Polish sovereign—a compact which was the preliminary to martial operations. A sort of Crusade was preached all over Europe; and, although the Governments of France, England, and Germany declined to take part in the movement, many individual warriors from the North-west trooped to the expected scene of contest. A Spanish, a Venetian, and a Genoese fleet appeared the Hellespont; and the Mohammedan Sultan of Karamania, who was at issue with Amurath II., promised a diversion in the Asiatic dominions of the Ottoman.

The war, therefore, began under favourable circumstances, and Ladislaus had an able and heroic lieutenant in the Hungarian commander, John Huniades Corvinus, a reputed son of the Emperor Sigismund by a Wallachian lady. At the period of the Polish and Hungarian war against Amurath, Huniades was the Voïvode or Governor of Transylvania, then a dependency of the Hungarian kingdom; but he served in the armies of Ladislaus, and was a principal agent in the marked successes which distinguished the opening of the campaign. Crossing the Danube in 1442, after numerous victories on the northern shore, the Christian forces proceeded as far as Sophia, the capital of Bulgaria, and twice defeated the enemy in the open field. Although compelled by the approach of winter to withdraw, they had given such unequivocal proof of their military virtues that a deputation from the Divan solicited peace, and offered to restore Servia, to ransom the prisoners, and to retire from the Hungarian frontiers. The terms were so favourable that the King of Poland and Hungary, the Despot of Servia, and the Voïvode Huniades, resolved to bring the war to a close. A truce for ten years was concluded in 1443, and it was agreed, with mutual oaths, that neither Turkey nor the allies should cross the Danube into the dominions of the other. The Sultan of Karamania, however, incited the Hungarians to renew the war, and Ladislaus obtained a Papal dispensation from his engagement. Oaths to infidels, it was contended, were not binding; but, by the same rule, the Turkish Sultan might have refused to respect his own word. The Christian forces crossed the Danube in less than three months from the ratification of the treaty. Wherever they appeared, victory attended on their banners, and nearly the whole of Bulgaria fell into their possession. Amurath, who had retired from the cares of government on the conclusion of peace, that he might dwell with a society of hermits who lived after a very rigorous fashion, again took command of his forces on hearing what had occurred. A tremendous battle was fought at Varna, on the Black Sea, in November, 1444, and Amurath, displaying the violated treaty of peace on the point of a lance, exclaimed, as he led his troops into action, "Let the infidels come on against their God and sacrament; and, if their belief in those things be certain, let them, O just God, be their own avengers, and the punishers of their own ignominy!" The result was a grave disaster to the Christian

arms, made still more terrible by the death of Ladislaus, and of Cardinal Julian Cesarini, the Legate who had obtained the Pope's dispensation from the oath which consecrated the ten years' truce. Huniades effected his escape, and the Sultan, who had to deplore an enormous loss of men, once more retired to his solitude and his religious meditations.

In two years he was again called into the field. A sedition among the Janizaries, in 1446, was quelled with some difficulty, and, when this danger was removed, another took its place. Albania was at that time governed by its own princes, who occupied a position of fealty to the Sultans. The ruling power had for several years been in the hands of the Castriot family, and four youthful sons of this race were sent as hostages to Amurath in the early part of that monarch's reign. Three of them died at Adrianople, perhaps by poison; but the fourth, whose name was George, was brought up under the eye of the Sultan, educated as a Mohammedan, and appointed, when not more than eighteen, to a military command. His valour and abilities were great, and the Turks bestowed on him the title of Iskander Beg, that is to say, Prince Alexander, in allusion to the great hero of the ancient world. By the nations of Eastern Europe this appellation was contracted into Scanderbeg—a name which soon became famous as that of a great Christian warrior, who at one time seemed as if he might ruin the fortunes of the Turks in that part of the world. The father of George Castriot died in 1432, and the young man then formed a design of returning to his principality, which Amurath was ruling in his own name, through the agency of a Pasha. Castriot had been forced to adopt Mohammedanism, in contravention of a promise given to his father. He never sincerely professed it, and now considered that he was morally entitled to resume his own religion, and restore the outraged freedom of his country. The opportunity was long in coming, but it came at last. During the war with the associated Poles and Hungarians, Scanderbeg accompanied the Turkish army, but found means to conclude a secret arrangement with Huniades. By a sudden manœuvre of the forces under his command, he contributed to a serious defeat of the Ottomans at Nissa, or Nisch, and then, holding a dagger to the throat of the Sultan's secretary as he sat in his tent, forced him to sign an order to the Governor of Croya, the capital of Epirus, directing him to deliver that place into the hands of the bearer.

With the paper in his grasp, Castriot slew the secretary, that he might not divulge the truth, or take measures to rescind his own order; quitted the camp with three hundred Albanians; and, suddenly appearing before Croya, massacred the Turkish garrison, and re-established the independence of the principality. In this remote and difficult region, his power was so great that, although Amurath sent an army against the traitor in five successive years, he obtained no marked success, and was obliged to be content with confining him to his mountain fastnesses. In the eyes of the Christians, Scanderbeg was an invincible hero, while even the Turks regarded their enemy with respect and admiration. Amurath at length determined to lead an army in person against the rebel, but, before he could set out, received intelligence that Huniades, after ravaging Servia, was about to enter Macedon, where Scanderbeg would join him with his war-seasoned levies. Huniades drew up his forces on the plains of Kossova, ominously associated with the great victory of Amurath I., in 1389, over the Servians and their allies. The same good fortune, without its attendant calamity, now illuminated the arms of the second Amurath. The later battle of Kossova was begun on October 17th, 1448, and prolonged through a desperate struggle of three days. The Hungarians are said to have been overmatched in the proportion of four to one, and the expected reinforcement under Scanderbeg did not arrive upon the field. It is greatly to the credit of Huniades, both as a general and as a hero, that he should have maintained his resistance so long; but, in the end, his forces were scattered over the plain in tumultuous and irretrievable ruin. Such was the lamentable posture of affairs on the accession of Constantine XIII. to that throne, in the futile defence of which he was shortly to sacrifice his life.

The Eastern Empire had now fallen so low that Constantine was obliged to obtain the consent of the Sultan before his assumption of the Imperial title; on which account he has sometimes been excluded from the list of genuine Greek Emperors. He was living in the Peloponnesus, or Morea, at the time of his brother's death, and his coronation was performed at Sparta in January, 1449. Amurath II. died in February, 1451, after an unsuccessful attempt to reduce Albania, and was succeeded by his son Mohammed II., then a very young man, with no experience of government, but possessed of large abilities and an insatiable ambition. He is said to have understood five languages besides his own, and to have been able to express himself in Arabic, Persian, Chaldæan, Latin, and Greek, as well as in Turkish; but his temper was revengeful, and his morals were licentious.

Mohammed was not the man to pity a failing Empire because of its weakness and humiliation; rather would he regard such a caricature of dominion as devoted by Providence to extinction, and as the rightful prey of one like himself, with soldiers at command, and the capacity to use them. His pride was flattered by the servility of neighbouring princes, and at his European capital of Adrianople he received with haughty condescension the congratulations of the Emperors of Constantinople and Trebizond, and of the insignificant princes of Greece and the adjacent islands. There can be no doubt that from an early period he formed a design of putting an end to that quivering fragment of royalty which still maintained a ghastly semblance of power upon the banks of the Bosphorus. The sceptre of Constantine XIII. extended only a few miles from the ramparts of his capital; everything beyond those limits owned the sway of the Ottoman; and if the right of force is to be admitted at all, it seems not unreasonable that he who possessed the open country should likewise possess the city.

But the Sultan had first to establish his own dominion on a secure basis; and this he proceeded to do with the deliberate ferocity of an Oriental despot. He ordered the Agha of the Janizaries to strangle his brother (an infant only eight months old), and then despatched the Agha himself, as if to disavow or conceal his own responsibility. He next concluded a three years' truce with John Huniades, and afterwards crossed over into Asia to chastise the insolence of the Karamanian Sultan. The Emperor Constantine, though on the whole a man of good attainments, had the supreme folly to take advantage of Mohammed's absence for advancing a claim which he ought to have known would never be conceded. He demanded certain advantages as the price of acknowledging the Sultan's power, and even hinted that, if his wishes were not gratified, he would suffer Orchan, the grandson of Soliman, to claim the Ottoman throne. It would have been impossible to commit a more fatal act. The Grand Vizier Khalil, who had previously favoured the Greeks, was offended at the preposterous demand and its accompanying menace, and told the ambassadors that the policy of their sovereign would put Constantinople in possession of the Sultan. Mohammed restrained his anger until after the conclusion of the Karamanian war, when he began to show hostility towards the moribund Empire. He had inaugurated his reign by concluding a treaty of friendship with Constantine; but he now commenced a fortress on Greek at the narrowest part of the Bosphorus. On the opposite shore, at a distance of not more than three-quarters of a mile, another fort had already been constructed by Bayazid, so that the channel was entirely closed by the Turkish guns. The passage from the Euxine into the Sea of Marmora was thus completely in the power of the Ottoman sovereign; and Constantine, not without reason, apprehended a design to take the capital by famine. He sent an embassy to Mohammed in 1452, complaining of what he described as an infraction of the treaty of friendship. The Sultan answered that providing for his own safety was not a violation of any engagement, and plainly intimated that he would construct what edifices he pleased. Constantine then sent another embassy, and, adopting a loftier tone, insisted that the fort should be abandoned; but Mohammed, while declaring that he entertained no design against the city, bade the envoy remember that the Empire of Constantinople was measured by its walls. He made some angry observations on the assistance which the Byzantines had rendered to the Poles and Hungarians in the time of his father, and added that the ground on which the fortress stood had been paid for with Turkish money, and was therefore a part of the Turkish dominions. "Return now in safety," he concluded; "but the next envoy who dares to come with remonstrances shall be flayed alive."

The people of Constantinople could do nothing but await events. They had no military force of sufficient size to encounter the vast armaments of the Sultan. Frivolity and debauchery had debased their manhood, and there were few among them capable of supporting with efficiency the heavy armour which it was then customary to wear. Perhaps they hardly believed in the full magnitude of their danger; at any rate, they sat still throughout the winter of 1452–3, while the Sultan was steadily pursuing his design with all the vast resources at his disposal. Mohammed consulted with his generals on the best methods of prosecuting the siege; often he lay awake at night, revolving various plans of attack. Cannon had been used by the Turks in the reign of Amurath II., and Mohammed determined to make his artillery the most powerful in the world. He purchased the services of a Christian renegade, named Urban, who had been at the head of a cannon-foundry, and this man undertook to cast a gun capable of throwing a ball of stone large enough and heavy enough to batter the walls of Constantinople, even if they were more solid than those of Babylon. At the end of three months, he had completed a piece of brass ordnance with a bore so large that it

was able to receive a stone bullet weighing more than six hundred pounds. A trial being made, it was found that the ball traversed a mile, and buried itself to the depth of a fathom. But it was a work of time and labour to remove so large a gun from Adrianople, where it was cast, to the neighbourhood of the Greek capital, where it was to be used. The distance was not more than a hundred and fifty miles; but it took nearly two months for sixty oxen to convey the Sultan's model cannon on thirty waggons, linked together for the purpose. By that date, the European fort on the Bosphorus had been completed, and, the straits being now in his power, Mohammed imposed tribute on every vessel which passed along the channel. A Venetian ship which resisted the exaction was immediately sunk by the Turkish guns, and those of the crew who escaped were either beheaded or impaled. Constantine humbly besought Mohammed not to destroy the harvest; but the fierce antagonism of the Moslem knew no relenting. Several Greek reapers were attacked and slain, and Constantine, closing the gates of his capital, cut off all communication with the Ottomans. An embassy was despatched to the Sultan to demand redress. Mohammed replied by a declaration of war.

The doomed Emperor did all he could to avert the fate of his capital, but was poorly supported by the citizens. They refused a contribution for necessary expenses, and, out of a population of 100,000, only 4,973 enrolled their names for the defence of the metropolis. During the whole of the ensuing siege, not more than 6,000 Greeks appeared in arms; and, although this number was augmented by 3,000 Venetians and Genoese, the entire force was insufficient to man the fortifications in every part. The navy consisted of a few galleys and ships of war, which were unable to render much assistance in the face of Mohammed's guns. Constantine took care to form large magazines of provisions, and collections of military stores; and he looked in various quarters for allies. He even sent an embassy to Pope Nicholas V., begging immediate help, and declaring his readiness to complete or renew the union of the Churches which had been formally settled in 1439, but which John VII. had renounced before his death. The Pontiff was not greatly concerned in the fate of the Eastern capital. He promised, indeed, to send some galleys and troops; but very few arrived. With a view to the desired union, however, he despatched Cardinal Isidore, the Metropolitan of Kief, who had joined the Latin Church, and who represented Russia at the Council of Florence. Being himself a Greek, it was hoped that he would be favourably received at Constantinople; but the citizens were wild with rage when he celebrated divine service in the church of St. Sophia according to the liturgy and ceremonial of Rome. They declared that the sacred edifice of Justinian had been defiled, and protested that they would welcome the turbans of the Moslems rather than the hats of Roman Cardinals. Their attitude was so threatening that Isidore wrote to the Pontiff, dissuading him from lending any aid to people so obstinate and perverse. The Emperor himself, however, celebrated his union with the Papal Church on the 12th of December, 1452. The court and the higher clergy supported him by their presence; but the monks, and the whole body of the people, expressed the greatest indignation, and averred that the Greek cathedral had become a haunt of demons, and a place in no respect more holy than a Pagan shrine. What may have been the real convictions of the Emperor, it is impossible to say; but, although he acted for the best, there can be no question that he weakened the defence by alienating the affections and respect of his subjects. The Pope sent him no aid of any value; the Greeks looked on with sullen indifference while he strained every nerve to save the State.

The position might have been effectually defended, as in former ages, had there been sufficient men to guard the ramparts, and had the fortifications been in a proper state of repair. But, as regards both these matters, the capital of the Eastern Empire (if it could any longer be regarded as an Empire at all) was in the worst condition for resisting attack. The guns were cumbersome, and not very numerous, so that the Greeks depended mainly on the balistæ and catapults of an earlier time. The native defenders, as we have seen, were few and spiritless, and would perhaps have done nothing had they not been reinforced by a large number of Italians and other foreigners, who hastened to Constantinople on hearing of its danger—not, indeed, from any chivalric sentiment of devotion, but because the great city of the Bosphorus was an important seat of commerce. Amongst the strangers was a certain Genoese, named John Giustiniani, who arrived with two galleys and three hundred picked troops, shortly before the siege began. The person who was made general of the guard, and principal military engineer, was a German officer of distinction. Several of the most important posts were defended by the Venetians, the Catalans, and a few Papal troops who accompanied Cardinal Isidore. In fact, the defence was mainly entrusted to aliens, and to men professing the Latin religion. The Greeks had given up the game in despair, and were deeply offended at the subserviency of their monarch

to the demands of Rome. The entrance to the port, or Golden Horn, was closed by a massive chain; but it had been seen on a previous occasion that this barrier was not impregnable.



JOHN HUNIADES.

The winter of 1452 was spent by Mohammed II. at Adrianople, and it was not spent idly. Every detail of the impending attack was arranged by the Sultan himself, in concert with his officers. A fleet was constructed for the first time in the Ottoman annals, and soon became formidable in Mediterranean waters. In the meanwhile, preparations for the grand enterprise were being made in the immediate vicinity of Constantinople. Enormous guns were planted in the most favourable positions,

and high wooden towers, moving upon rollers, were propelled towards the walls. Battering-rams of extraordinary power, and great engines for casting stones, were also driven towards the points of attack; and Constantine beheld these hostile operations without the least ability to interrupt them. All he could do was to send out a number of vessels to ravage the coasts of the Propontis; but, although these expeditions resulted in the collection of a large booty, they did nothing towards facilitating the defence of Constantinople, or averting its inevitable doom. The cupidity of the Greeks was gratified by this accumulation of treasure; but the time had passed when it might have been advantageously expended in the purchase of mercenary aid. In those days of Condottieri and Free Lances, a formidable army might have been collected in the Eastern capital by a judicious expenditure of money. The Greeks, however, seem to have been besotted by an overweening sense of their historic name, and of the supposed inviolability of their metropolis. They made no effort for self-preservation until the hour of grace had passed; and even then their acts were characterised by the listless spirit of an effete and fallen race.

Mohammed set out from Adrianople on his momentous expedition in the spring of 1453. The number of his forces it is impossible to state with any precision: probably they were under 300,000, and the largest proportion consisted of irregular troops recruited from newly-conquered nations —a horde of ill-armed and almost naked wretches, who were driven forward by the whip or the scimitar. Nevertheless, they had their value; for it was the policy of Mohammed to place them in the front ranks, so as to consume a certain amount of the enemy's strength before the true soldiers of Islam advanced to the attack. The roads had previously been repaired for the passage of the artillery and baggage-wagons; bridges, capable of being taken to pieces, and re-erected wherever required, were thrown over the ravines and watercourses; and an advanced guard under Karadja Pasha was sent forward to reduce the intermediate towns. Mesembria, Acheloum, and Bizon, surrendered without a blow; but Selymbria resisted with so much spirit



MOHAMMED II. ENCOURAGING HIS SEAMEN.

that Mohammed ordered it to be closely watched, instead of being subjected to an assault which had every prospect of failure. It was on the 5th of April that Mohammed established his camp at a spot facing the quarter of Blachern. From that day we must reckon the commencement of one of the most memorable sieges in the history of the world; on that day the attacking forces began the construction of their lines, which extended from the head of the port to the shore of the Propontis. The Turkish army was accompanied by Ulemas, Sheikhs, and descendants of the Prophet; by large numbers of Dervishes and other holy persons; and, it is painful to record, by many soldiers of fortune from Hungary, Bohemia, and Germany, who hoped to profit by the general plunder.

To cover his attack, the Sultan dug a trench parallel with the land side of Constantinople. Fourteen batteries were erected opposite the weakest points in the defence; subterranean works were executed by miners from Servia; and the besieged were troubled by incessant flights of arrows. In time, breaches were made in the outer wall of the city; but they were speedily repaired, and the citizens began to show a better spirit, owing mainly to a report that Huniades, who was then acting as Regent of Hungary, would speedily arrive with succours. As a matter of fact, however, Huniades had given the Sultan a promise not to assist the Greek Emperor, and an ambassador from his court was then residing in the Turkish camp, as a guarantee for the fulfilment of the undertaking. So zealous was this envoy in the interests of the Ottoman sovereign, that he instructed the Turkish engineers in the better handling of their great guns, which until then had proved so unwieldy that they could not be discharged more than seven times a day. Occasional sorties were made by the garrison of Constantinople, but without producing any permanent effect on the investment. After a while, the besieged kept within the walls, and pointed their guns with so much precision that the trenches of the assailants were repeatedly destroyed. The destruction of life on the Turkish side was now very considerable; yet their lines continued to advance. The fosse was at length reached, and a desperate attempt was made to fill up the intervening space, so as to form a road to the assault; but it soon appeared that the walls could not be surmounted by direct attack. Mines were therefore opened in the massive fortifications; but the Ottomans were countermined by the Christians, and foiled at every point. Greek fire was poured down in liquid torrents on the heads of the besiegers, and for a brief space Mohammed lost heart, and began to consider whether he should not withdraw. Speedily rejecting this idea, he redoubled his efforts, and presently destroyed the Tower of Romanus, which fell headlong into the ditch, and filled a large portion of that enormous hollow. An assault on the ensuing night was repulsed by the Christians, who were led by the Emperor himself and John Giustiniani. Next day, Mohammed found that one of his wooden turrets had been consumed to ashes during the hours of darkness, that the fosse had been restored, and that the absence of the tower had been supplied by temporary works.

Four or five vessels from the island of Chios arrived soon afterwards in the Bosphorus, manned by a valiant crew, who lost no time in attacking the numerous Turkish ships which stretched from the Asiatic to the European shore in one unbroken crescent. The Greeks were terribly overmatched in point of numbers; but they were much better sailors than the Turks, and the celerity of their movements, the liquid fire which they continually projected on to the Ottoman galleys, and the huge stones which they dropped upon the decks, ensured them so complete a victory that the enemy's ships were scattered in disorder along the neighbouring shores. Mohammed watched the contest from the beach, and, spurring his horse into the sea, sought to encourage his men by words and gestures. Transported with rage at this defeat, he threatened to impale the Capitan Pasha, or Admiral, for what he regarded as either cowardice or treachery, and, though he afterwards spared his life, the unfortunate officer (a Bulgarian renegade) received a hundred strokes from a golden rod, and was exiled, with the confiscation of all his property. Mohammed, however, was not satisfied with simply avenging a supposed failure of duty; he took measures to avoid a similar misfortune in the future, and to make the fullest use of his naval power. A Christian in his army informed him that the Venetians had recently transported a number of galleys overland from the river Adige to Lake Garda, and he conceived that by a similar feat of engineering he could convey a number of his vessels from the Bosphorus into the Golden Horn, although to do this it would be necessary to traverse five miles of difficult ground, consisting of rugged hills and valleys. By means of a plank-road, made slippery with tallow, the aid of windlasses, and the efforts of numerous oxen, the ships were hauled up one steep path and down another, until, at the dawn of day on the 23rd of April, they were safely floating in the waters of the harbour. The whole exploit had been completed in one night, and it is said that the Genoese sailors at

Galata materially assisted the Turks in their design. The vessels moved with sails set, illuminated by torches, and accompanied by the sound of trumpets and clarions. The defenders of Constantinople had no idea of what was being accomplished, though they beheld from the ramparts the advance of enormous objects through the night, the glare of torches, and the gathering of great multitudes, and heard a confused clamour of voices and of instruments. The beleaguered citizens were struck with dismay when the light of morning revealed to them what had been effected in the darkness. The Turkish galleys were attacked, but without success, and a project for burning the Moslem fleet was frustrated by the treachery of a Genoese. All the Genoese were suspected in consequence of this event, though not with justice; and broils broke out amongst the defenders of the harassed city.

That he might preserve communication between the troops at Pera and the main body before Constantinople, Mohammed built a floating bridge across the port—a bridge of apparently frail construction, yet capable of sustaining heavy artillery, which speedily opened fire against the enemy's walls. Many of the fortifications now became untenable; but Giustiniani still devised new works, which kept the assailants at bay. Wild-fire and scalding oil were poured from the ramparts; the breaches were continually repaired; and, although the besieged were scarcely able to rest either by day or night, their resolution underwent no abatement. Attempts were made to induce the Sultan to abandon the siege; on the other hand, Mohammed offered to his adversary a portion of the Morea, if he would give up Constantinople. Both proposals were rejected with scorn, and, on the evening of the 28th of May, the Turkish sovereign prepared for the final assault. A proclamation was issued, promising the soldiers the spoil of the capital for three days, if they would win the position by their swords. The night was passed in festivity; fires were kindled throughout the camp; the tents of the commanders, and the vessels of the fleet, shone with innumerable lights; and exulting shouts rose into the air, answered, within the gloom of the city, by the doleful ejaculations of the "Kyrie Eleëson." Constantine, seeing that the supreme moment was at hand, summoned his officers to a consultation at the palace. The last speech of Palæologus has been described by Gibbon as the funeral oration of the Roman Empire; but he fears that the discourse was composed by the Greek historian Phranza, rather than delivered by the monarch. Whatever the latter may have said, however, the circumstances of the time gave it solemnity and effect. The auditors were deeply moved. With tears and mutual embraces, they devoted themselves to a common sacrifice, and departed for the outer walls, to consume the night in anxious watching. The Emperor, together with his more immediate friends, received the Sacrament in the church of St. Sophia; then, after snatching a brief repose in his palace, which echoed with cries and lamentations, he asked pardon of all whom he might have injured, and, with a firm spirit, though under the shadow of utter hopelessness, rode off to the ramparts, and to his death.

Before dawn on the following day, the attack began. It was Sunday, the 29th of May—the feast of All Saints, according to the Eastern Church; but the people of Constantinople had neither time nor heart for religious celebrations. The hour of their destiny had struck, and the serried ranks of the enemy moved up to the assault. Armed with an iron mace, supported by ten thousand Janizaries, and, beyond their compact mass, by a hundred thousand less-favoured warriors, the Sultan proceeded on horseback to the breach which had been effected in the gate of St. Romanus. At the same time, the ships in the harbour made ready for the final effort. The advancing line of the land forces has been compared to a twisted thread, so close and continuous was the extended column. Silence was enjoined under penalty of death; and in an ominous hush the embodied fate came on. The movement of such large numbers, however, must of necessity create a gathering rustle or murmur, and the watchers on the fortifications heard the rumour of the approach before they saw the masses of their foe. The actual conflict began at daybreak, when the worthless troops were driven forward with blows, that they might at least fatigue the defenders, and help to fill the ditch with their heaped-up bodies. On reaching the walls, they tried to scale them with their ladders, but were repulsed by the Christians in a struggle of two hours. Even the advance of better troops did not at first decide the fortunes of the day. On the one side, the Emperor encouraged his soldiers to leave nothing untried in the hope of deliverance; on the other, the Sultan urged on his followers to the work of victory, and consigned to immediate death all who recoiled towards the rear. Silence had now given place to the varied clamour of war—to the shock of arms, the cries of rage and agony, the noise of drums and trumpets. A heavy dust loaded the air and darkened the heavens; and, in the midst of these appalling circumstances, the Moslem chivalry trampled over the dead bodies in the fosse, and swarmed

into the breach. Darts, stones, beams of wood, and bars of red-hot iron, facilitated their attack; at the same moment, others scaled the walls; and it seemed as if the prize were at length fully in the grasp of the assailants. But the garrison rallied; women, children, and old men, joined in the contest; and the Ottomans were hurled back into the ditch.

It was only a momentary triumph. Mohammed ordered up fresh troops; the seamen in the Golden Horn captured one of the towers, and displayed the standard of the Osmanlis; the assaulting columns hewed a way through the city gates; Giustiniani, wounded in the hand, abandoned the outer walls; his Genoese countrymen retreated into the city; and the defence slackened from that instant. The Emperor, however, still remained at the breach, surrounded by a few of his nobles. He had always declared that he would not survive the Empire, and his only fear now was lest he should be taken alive. In his despair, he demanded whether no Christian could be found to cut off his head; and it is uncertain by what means he perished. To avoid capture, he laid aside his gilded panoply, and the other symbols of Imperial rank, and seems to have fallen amidst the tumult, together with the soldiers who shared his last defiance. All that is known with certainty is that his body was discovered beneath a heap of slain, near the breach in the portal of St. Romanus. Before the fatal stroke was dealt, the last of the Greek or Roman Emperors (for we may call him by either title) must have known that all was lost. The Turks poured through the inner wall, as they had poured through the outer; but there was no longer any resistance. The Greeks and their allies fled simultaneously into the streets and alleys of the city. Large numbers sought refuge in the church of St. Sophia, where they believed, in accordance with an ancient prediction, that an angel would descend from heaven, and annihilate the Mohammedans in the very moment of their victory. Many were slaughtered by the triumphant Ottomans; and when the rage of destruction was sufficiently glutted, men, women, and children, were divided among the soldiers as slaves, and placed under a military guard. The cathedral was sacked, and the richest portions of the city were invaded by an eager and rapacious crowd of troops.

More than 40,000 men had been killed in this terrible contest; more than 60,000 were loaded with chains. For three days, according to his promise, Mohammed suffered the pillage of the city to proceed. After that date he restored order, and t[illegible] *his captives* with some leniency. The [illegible] St. Sophia was at once converted into a mosque; but most of the other sacred edifices were left to the Christians, to whom liberty of worship was conceded. Cardinal Isidore was taken prisoner with the rest; but he had previously changed his clothes, and, being unknown to his captors, was sold for a trifling sum to a merchant, from whom he managed to escape. Giustiniani, who had been carried in a vessel to Chios, died there soon after, broken-hearted at the catastrophe which he had been unable to prevent, and at his own too precipitate retreat from the post of danger. The body of Constantine was reverently buried at a spot where the Turkish Sultans still keep a lamp constantly burning over the remains of their heroic antagonist.* The capture of the city was followed by some noteworthy incidents. As the Sultan rode through the Hippodrome (now called the "At-Meidan"), he perceived the brazen column, composed of three twisted serpents, which in ancient times had supported a tripod at Delphi, fashioned by the Greeks from the spoils of the Persian army defeated at Platæa. This interesting relic had long been a principal object in Constantinople; but to the severe mind of a Moslem it appeared simply as one of the abominations of idolatry. With a blow of his iron mace, Mohammed broke off the under-jaw from the head of one of the serpents. All three heads have now disappeared; but the column still remains in its position, and attracts the interest of every visitor to the Imperial city. The Sultan doubtless determined from the first to give a wholly different character to the metropolis which he had won—to transform it, in short, from a Christian to a Mohammedan capital. But in truth he saw in every direction so many evidences of decay that reconstruction would naturally be the first thought suggested to his mind. The population had long been dwindling, and at the period of the siege was small in comparison with the extent of the city. The Imperial palace had a bare and forsaken look: many of its princely halls had long been abandoned to solitude and ruin. The mutability of human affairs was impressed on the mind of the conqueror as he viewed this desolate scene, and he quoted a couplet from the Persian poet Firdousi, which runs, in English:—

"The spider's curtain hangs before the portal of Cæsar's palace;
The owl is the sentinel on the watch-tower of Afrasiab."

The physical condition of the palace and its surroundings was in itself sufficiently melancholy; but [illegible] of his success, the soul of

* IV., chap. 2, sect. 7.

Mohammed may have perceived, with something of a dark foreboding, the ghost of a dead Empire haunting the fallen monuments of its power.

So great was the depopulation of Constantinople, consequent on the slaughter of the citizens during the siege, and the sale of others into captivity, that the place became almost a desert. Mohammed afterwards purchased a number of the Greek prisoners from his Janizaries, and allotted them that quarter of the capital which is called the Fanar —a name derived from the beacon (*phanarion*) which is situated there. The descendants of these Byzantine Greeks became of considerable importance in the State, being more supple and quick-witted than their Turkish masters; yet their position was always that of an inferior race. The Genoese of Galata remained in their suburb; and an accession to the populace of the city generally was obtained by one of those high-handed acts which Oriental despots never scruple to commit. Five thousand families were chosen out of the Asiatic dominions of the Sultan, and commanded, under pain of death, to settle in Istamboul (as, by a corruption of its real name, Constantinople was called) by the end of September. The family of the Palæologi—the last to wear the purple of the Cæsars —survived for some generations, for the most part in Italy; but one of them married an English lady, and settled in Cornwall, where he died on the 21st of January, 1636. It is probable that the race is now extinct.

After the fall of Constantinople, several of the Greeks escaped into various parts of Europe, where their scholarship and artistic capability led to a revival of learning and the arts, which in time gave birth to that intellectual movement which we call the Renaissance. Owing to its proximity to the Eastern Empire, and the natural quickness of its people, Italy was the first country to experience this great impulse. Indeed, the effect of Greek erudition on the middle peninsula of Europe may be observed at an earlier period than that of the last Constantine. Previous Emperors, as the reader is aware, had journeyed into Italy, to seek material assistance from the princes of the West, and to effect, if possible, an understanding between the rival Churches. They were accompanied by many persons of literary accomplishments, and the conversation of these scholars excited afresh that tendency to mental culture which Italy had exhibited in the middle of the fourteenth century, but which died out towards its close. The dispersion of learned Greeks over the West, after the calamity of 1453, produced important results in many countries of the world. Precious manuscripts of the ancient Greek authors were carried far and wide, assiduously copied by many laborious pens, and, in the course of a few years, committed to the new agency of the printing-press. The horizon of the European mind was widened; and it is not too much to say that the subsequent revolt against Papal dictation in matters of faith was facilitated by the greater activity of the intellect which ensued on the diffusion of Greek thought.

From the 29th of May, 1453, we date a new epoch in the history of the Western world. Under whatever transformations, the Empire established by Augustus had endured until that moment; it then passed away into the dim region of things exhausted and thrown aside. The so-called German Emperors of the West had in truth no claim to be considered Roman in any sense whatever; but Constantine XIII. was really one of an unbroken line of sovereigns stretching downwards from the days of Pagan Rome. The brief exclusion of those sovereigns from Constantinople, following on the success of the Crusaders in 1204, does not really fracture the continuity of succession, as the line was continued provisionally on the other side of the Bosphorus. But the triumph of Mohammed II. brought the Roman Empire to an absolute close. New Rome, as Constantinople was at first called, became the seat of Moslem dominion, and Christianity was simply tolerated in a city which was dedicated to its especial honour.

The remainder of Mohammed's reign may be briefly summarised. The greater part of Greece was speedily subdued, although the Venetian Republic afterwards wrested from the Sultan some of those provinces which he had perhaps too easily obtained. In 1461, Mohammed II. seized on Trebizond, and put an end to the small Greek Empire which had been established there in 1204 by the Comneni. Yet he was far from being invariably successful. In August, 1456, he experienced a severe defeat at the hands of John Huniades, whom he had besieged at Belgrade. Both the opposing commanders were wounded on this occasion, and the Hungarian hero died a few days after. In Moldavia and Transylvania, the armies of the Turk suffered frequent discomfiture. Scanderbeg long defied his power, and in 1461 the victor of Constantinople proposed terms of peace to that Albanian chieftain. They were accepted, but subsequently broken, and the Ottoman generals found that they could effect little against the arms of Castriot. The Sultan, however, succeeded, in 1466, in detaching Epirus from its association with Albania, and, after the death of Castriot, or Scanderbeg, in 1467, the resistance of the Albanians was so seriously



THE FINAL ASSAULT ON CONSTANTINOPLE.

weakened that in 1478 they submitted to the Ottoman rule. Istria, Carniola, and Dalmatia, were ravaged by frequent incursions of the Sultan's troops. Friuli, one of the Venetian States on the mainland, was invaded. The great Republic itself was forced to give up Scutari and other places in 1479. The Shah of Persia was humbled more than once. Otranto was captured and sacked in 1480, and in the same year the island of Rhodes was threatened with subjugation, and might have succumbed, had not the valour of the Knights of St. John been equal to inflicting a repulse on the Greek renegade, Mischa Palæologus, who had been made a Turkish Pasha. The furious Sultan contemplated another expedition, but, while leading his armies against the Persian monarch and his allies, who had recently defeated Mohammed's eldest son, Bayazid, was surprised by death on the 3rd of May, 1481, at a small town in Bithynia. His remains were buried in Constantinople, and his tomb bore the epitaph,—"I designed to conquer Rhodes, and subdue proud Italy." Rome celebrated, by a three days' festival, the death of this relentless warrior. Of Mohammed II. little is to be related that is not condemnatory. Cruel, treacherous, and faithless, he was a man on whom no one could rely; and his licentiousness had the same brutal character that distinguished his acts as a sovereign and a warrior. He is said to have had no religion at all, and to have scoffed at the faith which he professed, equally with that which he condemned and outraged. This is probably an error; but he was doubtless far from strict in his opinions and observances, and his own subjects disliked him even more for the laxity of his belief than for the tyranny of his rule. It is said that he vanquished twelve kingdoms, and took more than two hundred towns; but his greatest title to a doubtful fame is the fact that he destroyed the last remnant of the Roman Empire, and planted the standard of the Prophet on the Sea of Marmora.



ENTRY OF MOHAMMED II. INTO CONSTANTINOPLE.

CHAPTER XLVIII.

THE END OF THE MIDDLE AGES.

The Mania of the Dance of Death a Type of the Middle Ages in their Decline—England in the Reign of Henry VI.—Insurrection of Jack Cade and the Kentishmen—Commencement of the Wars of the Roses—Claims of the Houses of York and Lancaster—Misfortunes of the Latter—Death of the Duke of York, and Proclamation of his Son as Edward IV.—Unavailing Struggles of Queen Margaret—Supposed Assassination of Henry VI.—General Character and Effects of the Wars of the Roses—Popular Liberties under Edward IV.—Sir John Fortescue on the Limited Constitution of the English Monarchy—Death of Edward IV., and Assassination of the Young Princes in the Tower—Reign of Richard III.—Rising under Henry Tudor—Battle of Bosworth Field—Reign and Character of Henry VII.—Increase of the Monarchical Power—State of Scotland, and Relations towards the English Monarchy—Reign of Charles VII. in France—Decline of Feudalism, and Establishment of a Standing Army—Reign of Louis XI.—His Contests with the Vassal Princes—Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy—Progress of Centralisation—Relations of Louis with England under Edward IV.—Wars and Death of Charles the Bold—Successful Schemes of Louis XI.—Final Years of the French Sovereign—Invasion of Naples by Charles VIII.—Ignominious Rule of the Emperor Frederick III. of Germany—Affairs of Bohemia and Hungary—Russia and the Tartars of Kiptchâk—Ivan III., the First Czar of Muscovy—Origin and Meaning of the Word "Czar"—Growth of the Russian Nationality and Power—Invention of Printing—Close of the Middle Ages.

A GHASTLY outburst of frenzy distinguished the troublous days of the fifteenth century. In the previous age, people had been accustomed to certain pictorial and dramatic representations called the Dance of Death, wherein our common mortality was represented in strange, in familiar, and in fantastic forms. But what in those earlier times was simply artistic, though with a moral purpose, became at a later date a positive mania, affecting large numbers of persons, who, assembling under a banner bearing the figure of a skeleton, leaped and whirled about with frantic gestures and violent shrieks. The performance sometimes took place in cemeteries, sometimes in the streets and roads; but, whatever the scene, the dance itself was an expression of the profound melancholy, the passionate despair, which possessed the hearts of a vast multitude. Wars, civil disturbances, famines, plagues, a general insecurity of life and property, theological persecution on the one hand, and religious fanaticism on the other, had created a sickness of the soul, which prompted men to wild and insane actions; and so they gathered under a hideous symbol, and, as it were, flouted and mocked the very terror which oppressed them. In the Dance of Death of the fifteenth century, we see a type of the Middle Ages in their decline. The old order was passing away in convulsive throes; the new order had not yet arrived. Feudalism was destroying itself by internal violence; the Western Church was decaying with internal corruption; and, in the East, the Crescent was shining above the subverted Cross.

One of the evidences of this disturbed and feverish state, so far as England was concerned, was apparent in the sedition of Jack Cade and his Kentishmen—an outbreak similar in some respects to that of Wat Tyler in the reign of Richard II., and equally revealing the existence of widespread discontent, though of a different character. Cade appears to have been an Irishman by birth; but he claimed relationship, though of an illegitimate nature, with the Duke of York, on which account he assumed the name of Mortimer. This person had served in the French wars, and wanted neither courage nor ability. The fiscal oppression consequent on those very wars, which had involved the country in ruinous expense, and had resulted in nothing but barren glory and ultimate failure, gave occasion to the rising with which the name of Cade is associated. Great dissatisfaction was felt with the Duke of Suffolk, the principal Minister of the Crown, who was regarded as the cause of all the national disasters, and whose treacherous execution, on his passage to Calais, immediately preceded the popular revolt. It was especially in Kent that this feeling of anger was excited, because, in those days, Kent was the principal seat of English manufactures, and trade suffered from the ill-conduct of the war. A large number of the insurgents were men of good position; some belonged to the class of gentry and landowners. The movement, in fact, was more political than social. The condition of the working classes had vastly improved since the rising of 1381, and, excepting a demand for the repeal of the Statute of Labourers (which gave an absolute fixity to wages, and forbade the tiller of the soil to seek work in any other parish), nothing was said about any special wrongs of the poor. The grievances of the malcontents were set forth in a document entitled "The Complaint of the Commons of Kent," in which it was alleged that the people were mulcted unfairly for the benefit

of the King; that the English possessions in France had been alienated; and that the men of Kent were not suffered to have free election of members to serve in Parliament. Being placed at the head of the insurgents, with the title of "Captain of the Great Assembly," Cade addressed a special memorial to Henry VI., and, on the 17th of June, 1450, encamped with his followers on Blackheath. The obstinacy of the Government led to a veritable civil war, during which Cade defeated a detachment of the royal forces, and marched to London, where, for a time, he became master. Tardy concessions were then made; but the insurgent leader executed Lord Say and his son-in-law, and the mob committed many excesses. The rebels were soon afterwards beaten in a desperate fight on London Bridge; the greater number dispersed; and their leader, flying into Sussex, was slain, after a fierce resistance, in the woods near Lewes. The insurrection was over in less than a month, and the concessions of fear were quietly rescinded.

Much more serious than this outbreak of discontented commoners was the great quarrel of the aristocratic families which resulted in the Wars of the Roses, the almost complete destruction of the old nobility, and the foundation of a stronger and more absolute monarchy under the Tudors. The origin of the contention was in the claims of Richard, Duke of York, who, when Henry VI. fell into a state of imbecility, claimed the reversion of the crown in right of his descent from Edmund of Langley, Duke of York, the fifth son of Edward III. He was opposed by Edmund Beaufort, Duke of Somerset, a descendant of John of Gaunt by his mistress, Catherine Swinford, but, being popular, was appointed Protector of the Realm during the malady of the King. The power thus acquired he was not disposed to give up when Henry was restored to health, and, rather than submit, he raised the standard of civil war in 1455. He had at one time supposed that his kinsman, the reigning monarch, would die childless, and that, on his death, he would succeed to the throne without dispute. But this expectation had been disappointed in 1453 by the birth of a Prince of Wales, and the Duke of York saw that he had no chance but in open violence. The utter rout of the King's forces at St. Albans, in May, 1455—on which occasion the Duke of Somerset was slain—was followed by the restoration of the Yorkist leader to his former office of Protector; but this lasted only a short time, and, after a prolonged retirement from court, during which he was doubtless arranging his plans, the Duke once more took the field in the autumn of 1459. The course of events was at first somewhat chequered; but by July, 1460, the Duke of York was in a position of complete ascendency, the King was a prisoner in his hands, and Queen Margaret had fled to Scotland with her son.

In considering the claims of the several parties, it must be recollected that Henry VI. was undoubtedly out of the right line. His grandfather, Henry IV., who obtained the throne by a revolt, was the son of John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, the fourth son of Edward III.; but the true heir to the throne, according to the law of hereditary succession, was Edmund Mortimer, Earl of March, great grandson of Lionel, Duke of Clarence, the third son of Edward. The sister of this Earl of March married the Earl of Cambridge, second son of Edmund, Duke of York, fifth son of Edward III., and became the mother of the Duke of York with whom we are now concerned. It will thus be seen that both by his father and his mother the leader of the revolt derived his lineage from the victor of Cressy; but his real claim was in right of his mother, the descendant of Lionel, Duke of Clarence, the elder brother of John of Gaunt, and not in respect of his father, the son of John's younger brother, though in the first instance he appears to have rather depended on the latter. So far, the Yorkist claim was perfectly good from the genealogical point of view; but an Act of Parliament had placed the House of Lancaster on the throne, and specifically excluded the House of Mortimer. Henry VI., therefore, had a distinctly legal right to the throne—a right which, at the outbreak of the troubles, was strengthened by many years' possession. But the unfortunate events of his reign, the numerous acts of persecution, and the frequent interference with Parliamentary elections, had accumulated a degree of odium about the King, which gave encouragement to the party of the Duke of York. London and the other manufacturing towns were on the Yorkist side; the Lancastrians found their chief supporters in the West.

Even on the morrow of the great victory at Northampton, in 1460, the leader of the insurgents made no pretence of deposing the sovereign. He professed to have no other design than to procure a redress of grievances; and a Parliament which met at London annulled the acts of a previous Parliament at Coventry. But on the 16th of October, 1460, he put forward a written claim to the crown, and it was finally determined that Henry should be allowed to remain King until his death, and that the Duke of York should be declared his successor.

On the 31st of December, in the same year, the ambitious and enterprising prince was defeated and slain at Wakefield, in Yorkshire, by Henry's Queen, Margaret of Anjou, and the war was then continued by the Duke's eldest son, who was proclaimed King, as Edward IV., in the early part of March, 1461. During these and subsequent events, the guiding spirit on the Lancastrian side was the heroic and undaunted Margaret, who, notwithstanding several defeats, still contended for the rights of her husband and her son, and at times seemed on the point of succeeding. Were it not for the acts of vindictive ferocity committed by this princess, her conduct would be worthy of all praise; and even in this respect she was no worse than her enemies. Her final disaster was at the great battle of Tewkesbury, on the 4th of May, 1471, when, together with her son, she fell into the hands of the triumphant Yorkists. The young prince was brought before Edward on the following day, and slain in cold blood by the King's brothers, the Dukes of Clarence and Gloucester. Margaret was kept a prisoner in the Tower of London, until, in 1475, she was set at liberty, in conformity with one of the articles of a treaty concluded with France, but not without the payment of a heavy ransom. The remainder of her life was untroubled, except by distressing memories; and she died in Anjou in 1482. Her feeble and spiritless husband had passed away eleven years before. Ever since 1460, his life had been one of great vicissitude. Sometimes a prisoner to his enemies, sometimes released by his supporters, he was little more than the passive subject of varying fortune. A brief gleam of prosperity broke upon him in 1470, when the Earl of Warwick—the "King-maker," as he was called—obliged Edward to fly into Holland, and for a few months restored Henry to the throne. But Edward returned in 1471, made his way to London, seized his rival, and again confined him in the Tower, where, about three weeks later, he died, perhaps by violence. As to the manner of his death, nothing is known with certainty; but people believed that he had been murdered by the Duke of Gloucester, who ultimately became Richard III.

The hopes of the Lancastrians were now entirely crushed, and, although their cause was ultimately to revive in the person of Henry VII., it may be said that the Wars of the Roses (which took their name from the red and white flowers chosen as symbols by the Lancastrians and the Yorkists) terminated with the battle of Tewkesbury. In the sixteen years which had elapsed since the fight at St. Albans, in 1455, vast numbers of all classes *had perished; and* after the final settlement, in 1485, it was calculated that twelve princes of the blood-royal had been slain, together with two hundred nobles, and a hundred thousand of the gentry and common people. The ferocity, the treachery, the absence of all grand and self-sacrificing principle, which marked the progress of the contest, present one of the most melancholy chapters of English history; yet the French historian, Philip de Commines, records the singular fact that, in spite of all the fierceness of the combatants, no buildings were destroyed, and the chief suffering fell on those who made the war. The explanation is to be found in the wise determination of the towns, with a few exceptions, to stand apart from the struggle. It was a quarrel of the great houses, who of course carried their retainers with them, but who were hardly recognised by the middle and industrial classes. During this disastrous period, the commerce of the country actually increased; the administration of justice was wholly undisturbed; and the welfare of the people generally was but little affected by the shock of contending armies. Nor did the popular liberties suffer in any serious degree from the triumph of Edward IV., though particular acts of cruelty were committed. Sir John Fortescue, who had been Chief Justice of the King's Bench under Henry VI., and ultimately Chancellor, told the successor of that monarch, in a treatise written for his instruction, that the government of England was not absolute, but limited; that the King himself was subject to the laws, and that he could neither alter them, nor impose taxes, without the consent of the national representatives. Still, it is evident that the tendencies of Edward were towards despotism; and his enormous wealth —acquired partly by the confiscation of estates, and partly by the commercial operations which he carried on in his ships—enabled him to assume a position of greater independence than had been open to his predecessors.

On the death of Edward IV., in April, 1483, he was succeeded by his son, a boy then in his thirteenth year. The reign of Edward V., however, was nothing more than nominal, and it lasted only a few weeks. Richard, Duke of Gloucester, speedily obtained possession of the child, together with his brother, the young Duke of York, and placed both in the Tower, then one of the royal palaces of England. Towards the end of May, Richard was declared Protector of the kingdom; but he coveted a higher title. The fate of the princes is mysterious; but popular tradition always pointed to their murder by creatures of the Duke of Gloucester, commissioned for that purpose, and it seems extremely probable that such was the

fact. In 1674, nearly two hundred years after the event, a number of bones were discovered under a heap of stones at the foot of an old flight of stairs in the Tower; and this position exactly corresponded with the description given by Sir Thomas More of the place in which the unhappy boys were buried. The whole character of Richard is in accordance with such a crime; and it is clear that, if he was to secure his occupation of the throne, the disappearance of the two princes was imperative. The accession of Richard III. to the regal title appears to have taken place on the 26th of June, 1483, about two months before the probable assassination of Edward V. and his brother. His earlier actions gave no offence to the main body of the people, and he was especially popular in the northern counties, where men regarded him with some feeling of local pride as the representative of the House of York. But in the south he was accepted with less favour, and an insurrection headed by the Duke of Buckingham inspired momentary alarm. When, however, Richard thought his power safe, he threw aside the apparent liberality with which he had commenced his reign, and offended all classes by tyrannical and violent measures. Many of his adherents deserted him, and crossed over into France. Fear of rebellion increased the natural cruelty of the usurper, and his brief reign is a story of almost unbroken crime. He dared not call a Parliament to supply him with the funds he needed; and it was doubtful from day to day whether his position could be by any means preserved.

For a considerable time, the enemies of Richard had been gathering round a Welsh nobleman, connected with the royal houses both of England and France. Henry Tudor was the son of Edmund Tudor, Earl of Richmond, whose mother was Queen Katharine, the widow of Henry V. The mother of Henry Tudor was Margaret, only child of John Beaufort, Duke of Somerset, and grandson of John of Gaunt. The descent from John of Gaunt, however, was not strictly legitimate, and Henry Tudor was therefore disavowed as an actual member of the House of Lancaster. Nevertheless, he considered himself as possessing some claims to the throne, and he was undoubtedly regarded with suspicion by Edward IV. His earlier life was passed in a species of durance, and for some years previous to the accession of Richard III. he was living in exile in Bretagne. The Tudors seem to have been descended from the ancient sovereigns of Wales; at any rate they were connected with that principality; and the cognate population of Bretagne received the Earl of Richmond with something of national favour. In England also, a confederacy was formed in support of the Earl of Richmond, and he was informed that a general rising on his behalf would take place on the 18th of October, 1483. This first attempt, however, ended in failure; but another expedition set out from the Continent on the 1st of August, 1485, and on the 7th of the same month Henry landed at Milford Haven, in Pembrokeshire. The adventurer was welcomed with enthusiasm by the people of Wales, who hailed him as the champion of their race, and as one destined to restore British supremacy over the whole island. To flatter this impression, he emblazoned his standard with a red dragon (one of the symbols associated with King Arthur), and, at the head of a considerable army of Welshmen and Bretons, marched to Bosworth, in Leicestershire. The battle of Bosworth Field was fought on the 22nd of August, and the unpopularity of Richard was made apparent by the readiness with which two of his divisions deserted to the enemy. In a transport of rage and despair, the usurper fought his way to the very presence of his opponent, but was soon overpowered by numbers. The crown which he had worn, and which was afterwards discovered lying near a hawthorn-bush, was immediately transferred to the victor; and, a few months later, Henry married the Princess Elizabeth, daughter of Edward IV., in accordance with an engagement previously made. The two rival houses being thus united, the sanguinary struggle of thirty years came to an amicable termination.

The reign of Henry VII. was troubled by numerous plots and insurrections, and by the impostures of Lambert Simnel and Perkin Warbeck; the first of whom professed to be son and heir of the Duke of Clarence, brother of Richard III., while the latter asserted that he was Richard, Duke of York, younger brother of Edward V., whose assassination in the Tower was very generally believed. But Henry prevailed over all his enemies, whether open or concealed, and reigned for nearly a quarter of a century; not, indeed, much loved by his subjects, but yet not greatly disliked. The King, though far from a man of genius, was possessed of fair abilities, and his prudence, if it bordered upon craft, was nevertheless capable of securing to his country the repose which it deeply needed. The methods of Henry were undoubtedly despotic: Parliament was convened only once during the last thirteen years of his reign. His policy was not actually cruel, but it tended to a dangerous concentration of power in the hands of the monarch. Still, it must be recollected that this aggravation of monarchical authority

was in those days the only available mode of conducting the nation out of the system of feudalism into that of popular rights, as understood in modern times. The rule of the great barons, to whom in former ages the King was only nominally superior, and who often used the monarch as a puppet for the attainment of their own ends, had utterly broken down under the stress of its inherent vices. A period of commotion, lasting thirty years, had created the necessity for a new beginning; and perhaps nothing but a single will could have saved the country from evils even worse than the supremacy of an individual. The people were not yet sufficiently educated, or sufficiently organised, to take the direction of affairs into their own hands; and, as the old aristocracy had almost entirely disappeared in the recent convulsions, it was in some respects an advantage that power should be exercised by a cool, watchful, and cautious intellect, who secured the peace of the land, and enabled the State to recover itself from the long disease of civil war. The greatest fault of Henry VII. was his avarice. By many processes of questionable legality, he extorted such large sums of money from the people, that when he died, in 1509, he bequeathed two millions to his successor.



EDINBURGH CASTLE, FROM THE KING'S MEWS, 1825. (*After Ewbank.*)

One of the most important acts of this reign, so far as its remote consequences were concerned, was the marriage of James IV., King of Scotland,



LOUIS XI. VISITING CARDINAL BALUE IN THE IRON CAGE.

with Henry's eldest daughter, the Princess Margaret. The union was solemnised at Edinburgh on the 8th of August, 1503, and thence proceeded the junction of the crowns, a hundred years later, in the person of James VI. of Scotland, who became James I. of England. The immediate effect

of this marriage was to establish between England and Scotland the first peace which had existed since 1332. War between the southern and the northern kingdom had been waged even in the time of Henry VII., but it was rather a local or border war than a national contest. Henry himself was not at all desirous of martial honours; even the support of Perkin Warbeck by the Scottish sovereign moved him to no outward resentment; and he seems to have really aimed at the creation of an amicable feeling between his own dominions and those of James. It is one of the instances of his astuteness as a politician that he should have sought to terminate a period of rancorous antagonism between two cognate peoples, who could do one another infinite mischief by their continued feuds, and might establish a valuable alliance if influenced by more reasonable ideas. The French, who had always profited by the quarrels of England and Scotland, did the utmost, by a liberal expenditure of money, to prevent the marriage between James IV. and the Princess Margaret; but, while delaying that union, they could not ultimately prevent it. The Scots themselves were beginning to perceive that their interests lay more in the direction of English than of French support. Their country was in a very disturbed condition, and an inroad from across the border was always to be apprehended, while the amity of the King of France did not amount to any very substantial advantage. The reign of James I., when he was at length set free from English imprisonment, had been characterised by great wisdom, and the prosperity of the country was advancing by rapid stages when the monarch was assassinated, in 1437, by a rebellious subject. His son and grandson, the second and third Scottish sovereigns of the name of James, were vexed by a restless and insolent nobility, with whom they were frequently at issue; and the distraction of the country was so great that Scotland could not avail herself of the opportunities presented by the equally unsettled state of England during the Wars of the Roses. The union of contending interests was therefore an excellent device of policy; but the friendship thus created was broken in the course of a few years.

The same general disruption, the same painful birth of the new order out of the old, was observable in France, as in England and in Scotland. When the English invaders receded towards the north, the French King discovered that he had succeeded to a realm which was almost in a state of dissolution. The old nobility were, with few exceptions, either exterminated by many years of sanguinary contest, or entirely ruined. Those who remained were not well disposed towards the monarchical despotism which events had created. The houses of Foix, Albret, and Armagnac, who had considerable possessions in the south, assumed a position of almost complete independence, and even the princes of the blood looked with jealousy on the predominance of Charles VII. Many of the disbanded soldiery, uniting with the turbulent artisans of Paris, ranged the country with all the licence of brigands, and officers of high social standing joined their forces, and gave vigour and direction to their attacks. The King, who made his triumphal entry into Paris on the 12th of November, 1437, exhibited a degree of energy which his former indolence and licentiousness had led no one to anticipate. In 1439, he established a military force for the defence of his kingdom —a corps of nine thousand cavalry, soon afterwards augmented by a number of foot-soldiers, which has been considered the first standing army (with the exception of body-guards) maintained in Western Europe since the days of the Roman Empire. At the same time, the nobles were prohibited from engaging troops without the royal permission, and it was settled that thenceforth all military officers were to be nominated by the King, and that the expenses of the army should be defrayed by a permanent tax. These changes were unanimously sanctioned by the States-General; but the territorial aristocracy rebelled against measures which had evidently for their object the extinction of feudalism, and the concentration of power in the hands of the sovereign. The rule of Charles VII. was disturbed by many attempts at rebellion, but these found no support among the people. The latter years of the monarch were troubled by domestic plots headed by the Dauphin, who was at length compelled to take refuge at Brussels. The worst habits of Charles's earlier years returned towards the end of his life, and a state of mental incompetence, bordering on insanity, cast its heavy shadow on his declining days. Dreading the introduction of poison into his food, he refused to take any kind of sustenance, and died of exhaustion on the 22nd of July, 1461.

The reign of Louis XI., son of Charles VII., is one of the most painful in the history of France. Louis was a man of great mental power, a master of statecraft and intrigue, and a student of human nature who gave no place to conscience. But his wisdom was little better than cunning; his untruthfulness was extreme; and the despotic spirit in which he administered the affairs of the kingdom

raised up a host of enemies, who furnished him with fresh excuses for oppression. The third year after his accession was signalised by a hostile league, comprising all the princes and great vassals of the French crown, directed by Charles, Duke of Berri, the King's brother and presumptive heir. The conflict that ensued was called the War of the Public Weal, but we may reasonably doubt whether a desire for the general good had much to do with it. It was in truth a movement on the part of the feudal aristocracy to preserve their privileges, and, had it succeeded, the result would probably have been the division of France into a number of small principalities, which would have possessed little ability to resist foreign attack. To a manifesto of the Confederates, published in 1465, Louis replied by an address in which he observed that, had he been willing to augment the revenues of the aristocracy, and let them trample on their vassals, they would never have concerned themselves about the public weal; and this was doubtless true. The malcontents were unable to succeed by force of arms; yet Louis found himself in so difficult a position that he conceded the demands of the nobility, though with the intention of breaking his promises whenever his strength should be equal to the task. In this design he was ultimately successful; but he had a powerful opponent in Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy, who succeeded to the possession of that province on the death of Philip in 1467. The conduct of Louis to this prince was marked by the treachery which formed a distinguishing feature of his character. He invited the Burgundian ruler to a friendly conference at Peronne, in October, 1468; but in the meanwhile his agents excited the people of Liège to revolt against the Duke. Charles, hearing of the occurrence, made the French King a prisoner, and treated him with little consideration. For a time, indeed, he meditated his death, and during the whole of one night paced up and down his chamber in fiery agitation of spirit. At length, however, he released the King, upon the latter taking a solemn oath that he would carry out the undertakings by which he had brought the War of the Public Weal to a conclusion, and that he would proceed with the Duke of Burgundy to Liège, and witness the punishment of the rebels he had himself suborned. The citizens of Liège were treated with the utmost ferocity, and Louis retired to Tours, humiliated and cast down for the time, but still quietly resolved to obtain his ends in the near future.

One of the chief designs of the King was to incorporate the great vassal principalities with the French monarchy, so that their position of semi-independence should be extinguished, or at any rate reduced to the lowest point. In this policy (which reveals in an interesting light the modern French tendency to centralisation) Louis was undoubtedly supported by the States-General, who represented the opinions of the nation with tolerable fidelity; but it was not to be expected that the great vassals would entertain a similar view, and the reign of Louis XI. was a prolonged contest between the princes, who desired to maintain their separate powers, and the French people, headed by their King, who wished to establish an Imperial authority over all the dependencies. On the whole, Louis was successful in these projects; but he prevailed rather by dissimulation, treachery, and murder, than by the open exercise of force. He is stated to have confined several of his victims in iron cages; amongst them, Cardinal Balue, who had at one time been a trusted minister, but who, falling under suspicion, was imprisoned for eleven years. The old enmity between France and England revived under the sway of Louis, and during the Wars of the Roses he supported the claims of Henry VI., whose Queen was a kinswoman of the French sovereign. He even furnished a military force for helping to reinstate Henry on the throne from which he had been expelled. This was the expedition headed by the "king-making" Earl of Warwick; but Edward IV., as we have seen, speedily returned to the head of affairs, and naturally cherished a feeling of enmity towards his opponent. An invasion of France followed in 1475, when Edward led a numerous army into the dominions of Louis. The enterprise, however, was feebly conducted, and came to an end within three months, when the English monarch consented to forego his ancestral claims on France, in consideration of an annual payment of 50,000 crowns. Bribes were freely distributed from time to time amongst Edward's ministers; but a promise that the Dauphin Charles should marry the eldest daughter of the English King was deliberately broken by Louis a few years after. Edward was so angry at this breach of faith that he contemplated a new descent on France, and would probably have carried out the design, but for his sudden death in 1483.

The relations of Louis with England were never very grave, for the conquering spirit had to a great extent died out amongst the English people, and Edward IV. was too indolent a man to have much chance of emulating the achievements of his predecessors. The greatest peril to the French King was always from the side of Burgundy. Charles the Bold was no match for Louis in the arts of statecraft; but he was a much braver and more

resolute man, sufficiently unscrupulous in all his ways, and possessed of military resources equal to those of his adversary. Burgundy was at that time a province of very considerable extent. Charles had inherited from his father an immense treasure, and his capacity as a soldier was evinced on several occasions. On the breaking out of war between himself and Louis, in 1471, he asserted his entire independence of the King of France. He even cherished an intention of assuming the royal title, and the German Emperor, Frederick III., who still claimed a kind of suzerainty over the Burgundian State, was at one time on his road to confer the coveted dignity, but suddenly turned back, owing to some suspicion of the Duke's designs. The valour and self-reliance of Charles must excite our admiration; yet he was a remorseless tyrant, and the pertinacity with which he sought to destroy the independence of the Flemings and their neighbours shows how little right he possessed to demand of others any consideration for himself. Flanders had come into the possession of the Burgundian Dukes, by marriage, nearly a century before; but the people of the towns never accepted the union. In the promotion of his own designs, Louis permitted Charles to take possession of Lorraine, and the latter soon proceeded to make war upon the Swiss, who had been encouraged by the French King to affront him in various ways. His failure in attacking those mountaineers seemed a very probable contingency, and such in fact was the result. Charles suffered a terrible reverse at Granson on the 2nd of March, 1476. A few months later he was again defeated at Morat, and Lorraine immediately regained its independence. Charles was almost reduced to desperation, but, with the spirit that never failed him, he concentrated his shattered forces, and laid siege to Nancy, the capital of Lorraine, where, in January, 1477, he was attacked by the hosts of Duke Réné. He might, without disgrace, have retired before an army immensely superior to his own in point of numbers and self-confidence; but he rejected the advice of his officers, and gave battle to the adversary. Another overwhelming defeat entirely dispersed his forces, and he himself perished in this last attempt to support an unrighteous claim.

The Duke of Burgundy left no son. His only child was a daughter, whose title to the paternal Duchy was questionable, owing to the fact that King John of France had granted that province to his son Philip by way of appanage, and that appanages, in the opinion of the French lawyers, reverted to the crown in default of male heirs. Flanders, Artois, and some other possessions, indisputably descended to Charles's daughter Mary; and, with respect even to Burgundy, there was some doubt whether her claim was not good. Louis, however, forcibly seized several parts of his former rival's dominions; and when, in 1477, the Princess Mary married Maximilian of Austria, son of the Emperor Frederick, he declared war against the Archduke. Peace was concluded at Arras on the 25th December, 1482, when the counties of Burgundy and Artois were handed over to France. Louis also succeeded in annexing Provence to the crown as a lapsed fief; and it must be admitted that his policy was fortunate in its main objects, however despicable the methods by which the ends were secured. Personally, his life was far from enviable. His conscience reproached him for cruelty and frequent breach of faith; his fears were continual; and even in the time of his greatest prosperity he was weighed down with care and apprehension. "Of all amusements," says Philip de Commines, "he loved only the chase, and hawking in its season. But even in this he had almost as much uneasiness as pleasure; for he got up early, rode hard, and sometimes went a great way without regard to weather, so that he used to return very weary, and almost ever in wrath with some one. I think that from his childhood he never had any respite of labour and trouble to his death." In 1480, shortly before his acquisition of Provence, Louis was seized with an attack of apoplexy. A second fit occurred in 1481, and reduced him to a lamentable state of physical and mental weakness. It is said that during his reign he had put to death (for the most part without form of trial) about four thousand persons, and the dread of revenge now haunted his declining days with an overmastering terror. He shut himself up in the gloomy castle of Plessis-les-Tours, the battlements of which were guarded, day and night, by archers, who were charged to shoot indiscriminately at any one who approached the walls after darkness. Every visitor was suspected, even to the King's daughter and her husband; and the fear of death was so extreme that Louis demeaned himself with abject servility to his physician, a man of brutal manners, who knew how to turn his power to his own advantage.

There are few more instructive pieces of writing than the account which Philip de Commines, speaking from personal knowledge, gives of Louis XI. in his declining days. Referring to his physician, Jacques Cothier, he says that he gave him, in five months, fifty-four thousand crowns, besides the Bishopric of Amiens for his nephew, and other offices and lands for himself and his

friends; and yet "the said physician used him so roughly that a man would not give his servant so sharp language as he gave the King, who nevertheless durst not command him out of his presence, because this physician once said to him, 'I know



WILLIAM CAXTON.

that one day you will command me away; but you shall not live eight days after,'—binding it with a great oath: which words put the King in such fear, that ever after he flattered him, and bestowed gifts upon him. Moreover, he had caused divers cruel prisons to be made; as, for example, cages eight foot square, and one foot more than a man's height; some of iron, and some of wood, plated with iron both within and without, with horrible iron works. As, in his time, these divers and sundry cruel prisons were devised, even so he, before his death, lay in the like, yea, in much crueller prison than any of them, and was in greater fear than they that stood in fear of him; which I account as a great grace towards him, and as part of his Purgatory, and rehearse it only to show that every man, of what estate or condition soever he be, is punished either secretly or openly, especially those that punish others. Is it possible to hold a King (I mean, using him like a prince) in a straiter prison than he held himself? The cages wherein he held others were about eight foot square; and he, being so great a prince, had but a

little court in the castle; yea, and seldom came he into that, for usually he kept himself in the gallery, from whence he never stirred but when he went to Mass, at which time he passed through the chambers, and not through the court."* Apprehensions of the next life added to his misery in the present, and he vainly strove to quiet his conscience by magnificent offerings to the shrines of the Virgin and the saints. A third stroke of apoplexy, on the 25th of August, 1483, carried him off, five days later, in the sixty-first year of his age. He had reigned two-and-twenty years, and he left France stronger than he found it; but it may be questioned whether the results of his craft were equal to the price that had been paid for them. Nevertheless, it must be recollected to his credit that he encouraged literature and education, promoted manufactures, commerce, and mining, and advanced the civilisation and prosperity of the French.

Charles VIII., the son of Louis XI., was not more than thirteen when the death of his father put him in possession of the crown. For the next eight years, the government of France was administered by his sister, Anne of Beaujeu; but, on attaining his majority, in 1491, the new King began to form projects of aggrandisement, which he was unable to carry out. His military genius, however, was not inconsiderable; and when he entered Italy, in 1494, to prosecute a claim upon the crown of Naples—a claim derived from the former sovereignty of the Angevin princes—he created for a time considerable alarm among the Italian rulers and other European sovereigns. Little resistance was offered to his southward march through the peninsula, and he pushed on towards Naples. His pretensions were disputed by Pope Alexander VI. and the rulers of Venice; but in 1495 he made a treaty with the Pontiff, and quitted Rome for Naples. The Aragonese sovereign of that kingdom left his capital three days before the arrival of the French, and everything seemed favourable to the attempt. Charles had recently purchased the nominal rights of Andrew Palæologus, nephew of the last of the Eastern Emperors, and he wore the insignia of that extinct dominion when he entered the capital of Southern Italy. He entertained some wild idea of making Naples the basis of an attack upon the Sultan, of re-establishing the Greek Empire, and of then proceeding to the redemption of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem. But, in the event, he was unable to secure even those possessions which his sword had for a moment obtained. The Neapolitans, who had welcomed the arrival of the French, were soon offended by their arrogance. Charles found himself confronted by a formidable league, consisting of the Pope, the German Emperor, Ferdinand of Spain, the Republic of Venice, and Ludovico Sforza, the tyrant of Milan, the last of whom had originally encouraged the aggression of the French monarch, but now treacherously deserted his cause. A speedy return to France became imperative, and the confederates took measures to intercept the French. Their forces were assembled at Fornovo, at the foot of the Apennines; but the French, though greatly outnumbered, defeated their antagonists on July 6th, 1495, and obtained the concession of an unmolested withdrawal. The King of Naples re-entered his capital three months after his hasty flight; and, although Charles contemplated a second expedition, he found himself unable to adopt active measures. The earlier part of the reign was distinguished by several territorial acquisitions, which increased the strength of the monarchy; its conclusion was signalised by reforms in the internal government, which added to the general security. Charles VIII. died from an accident in 1498, and, as he left no children, the crown of France passed from the direct line of the House of Valois to the collateral branch of Valois-Orléans.

Returning to Germany, we find little to relate during the reign of Frederick III., whose election to the Imperial throne, in 1440, has been mentioned in a previous Chapter. The habits of this monarch were rather those of a scholarly recluse than those of a statesman. He was addicted to the study of astrology, alchemy, and botany; and the consequence of his learned and mystical cogitations was that he was out-manœuvred by contemporary sovereigns. Although, in 1468, he visited Rome for the purpose of conferring with Pope Paul II. on the best means of opposing the progress of the Turks, no positive measures were taken, and the victorious legions of the Sultan penetrated nearly to Salzburg without any serious opposition. Frederick was fond of inscribing his books and furniture with the letters A.E.I.O.U. Nobody could divine, during the Emperor's life, what these mysterious symbols were intended to convey; but, after his death, the explanation was found among his papers in his own handwriting. The Latin words for which the initials stood were "Austriæ Est Imperare Orbi Universo"; in

* The History of Philip de Commines, Book VI., chap. 12, Abridged from the old English translation, 1665 (Third Edition).—After relating all his cruelties, Commines still says that Louis was a good King, because, although he oppressed *the people himself*, he suffered no one else to do so!

German, "Alles Erdreich Ist Oesterreich Unterthan"; or, in English (where we lose the concatenation of initial letters), "The whole world is subject to Austria." Yet the very man who made this prodigious boast could hardly maintain himself in his own dominions. Having set the Kings of Bohemia and Hungary at issue, he afterwards became the object of their common enmity. The Hungarian monarch, Matthias Corvinus, laid siege to Vienna in 1479, when the attack was pressed with so much determination that the Emperor was glad to purchase the withdrawal of the foe by renouncing his own pretensions to Hungary, and granting his rival the investiture of Bohemia, together with a sum of money. Six years later, Matthias took possession of Vienna and all Lower Austria, and Frederick retired to the Netherlands. Austria, which was the hereditary possession of the German Empire, was recovered in 1490, after the death of Matthias; but Frederick was compelled to grant the Hungarian crown to his enemy, Ladislaus of Bohemia. When he died, in 1493, the inquirer into alchemic secrets left Germany in a state of incipient revolution, which was largely due to his own incapacity as a sovereign.

The progress of Spain, Portugal, and the Italian States, since last they engaged our attention, belongs rather to the modern epoch which we are approaching than to the mediæval centuries which we are quitting. But, in a totally different direction, a country of great territorial magnitude, yet of low civilisation, requires a brief and rapid notice. The Russians were slowly and laboriously shaping their national existence in the wilds of North-eastern Europe; but their fate was for many years rendered doubtful by the power of the Tartars, who had established themselves at Kiptchâk. Moscow, which had been founded about the middle of the twelfth century, was in 1328 declared by Ivan I. to be the capital of Russia. It soon became the leading city, and in 1363 the predominance of Dimitri Ivanovitch, Grand Duke of Moscow, over all the other Russian princes, so alarmed the Tartar Khan that he demanded an increase of tribute, and insisted that Dimitri should appear before him as a vassal. The prince refused, and the ensuing war went entirely in his favour. The insolence of the Tartars, however, was restrained only for a time, and we have seen that the hordes of Timour inflicted serious injury on the Christians of Russia. The Tartars of Kiptchâk, in the days of their prosperity, were amongst the most splendid sovereigns of the East. They built for themselves a capital, called Seraï, on one of the arms of the Lower Volga. Ibn Batuta, who visited this city in the fourteenth century, described it as a large, populous, and beautiful town, possessing stately mosques, fine market-places, and broad streets, thronged with merchants from Babylonia, Syria, Egypt, and other countries; but it has now entirely disappeared. For more than half a century after their Russian conquests, the Tartars of Kiptchâk professed a religion which combined some of the features of Buddhism, and other forms of idolatry, with the fire-worship at one time prevalent in Persia. Many of the Khans had strong inclinations towards Christianity; some even adopted it; and one of these Tartar chieftans is reckoned among the saints of the Russian Church. Ultimately, the Golden Horde was converted to Mohammedanism, but the spirit of tolerance still survived among its members. In other respects, their conduct towards the Russians was extremely arrogant. When a Mongol ambassador was sent to one of the native princes, the latter was obliged to spread a sable fur under the hoofs of the envoy's horse, to listen on his knees whilst the Khan's despatch was read, to present the ambassador with a cup of mare's milk, and to lick from the horse's neck any drops that might have fallen on it.

The Tartar power in Russia was nearly destroyed by Ivan III., the first Czar of Muscovy, as the country was then called, who ascended the throne as Grand Duke of Moscow in 1462, and took the title of Czar twenty years later. The word "Czar" is derived from the old Sclavonic tongue, and is probably allied to the Latin Cæsar, unless, as some suppose, it may be carried up much higher, to the time of the old Assyrian and Babylonian kings, whose names often terminate in a syllable of the like sound. The meaning of the Russian title is probably much the same as we attach to the word Emperor; yet, when Peter the Great assumed the latter appellation, he appeared to suggest that the native term was not quite equal in dignity and importance to that which is derived from Roman annals. Ivan III. was the founder of the present Russian monarchy. His wife was one of the Palæologi, and to the advice of this princess is attributable much of the glory of Ivan's reign. The Tartars of Kazan were successfully attacked about the year 1470; and although, in subsequent years, they made strenuous efforts to recover a lost supremacy, their power was irretrievably ruined by the operations of Ivan and his generals. The domestic rule of the first Czar of Muscovy was an unmitigated despotism, and he exacted from his

nobles a degree of servility till then unknown in Russia. His fame, however, spread over the whole of Europe, and embassies from all the principal governments visited the distant city of Moscow, and sought the friendship of this semi-barbarian monarch. His reign extended over forty-three years, and closed with his death in 1505. From that time forward, the Russian power was assured; yet it was long before the West knew much of the strange, half-Asiatic race which peopled the frozen deserts of the North-east.

The heart of the fifteenth century was irradiated by an invention which may well bring our record of the Middle Ages to a close—an invention the most remarkable of any that has ever affected the human race—an invention which, by giving freedom to the intellect, inaugurated the modern era. A kind of printing from wooden blocks had long been known in China, and some distant idea of this process seems to have been familiar to the ancient Assyrians. Block-printing of a pictorial character was practised in Europe towards the end of the fourteenth century; but the printing of literary matter from movable types was the invention either of Guttenberg and Faust in Germany, or of Laurence Coster in Holland—probably of the former, though there may have been a simultaneous invention in two places. The exact year of this marvellous disclosure has been variously stated; but in any case it seems to have been a little before the middle of the fifteenth century—the same century which witnessed the fall of Constantinople and the discovery of America. Wherever it may have originated—whether at Haarlem or at Mainz—printing rapidly spread into all the chief countries of Europe, and was first practised in England by William Caxton in 1470. Thenceforward, books ceased to be the privilege of the few, and became, like air and light themselves, the rightful possession of the many. The world was awaiting a new birth. Feudalism was dead; the Romish Church was being victoriously challenged; the mighty quest of Columbus was on the point of completing the terrestrial orb; and it would seem as if Providence had prepared the world for the universal spread of intellect, and had at the same time revealed the only means by which intellect could be made to leaven the entire mass. With this great uprising and illumination of the Western mind, the Middle Ages vanish into mist and shade; and, almost as we would turn the page of a book, we pass from the old worn-out forms into the younger life of man.

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